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I.—THE VERBAL SYSTEM OF THE SALTIR  
NA RANN. By J. STRACHAN.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society, May 3, 1895.*]

LAST year I had the honour of laying before this Society the results of an attempt to trace a particular form of the Irish verb through its history. To-day I would submit for your consideration a transverse section of the Irish verb as it appeared in the end of the tenth century. In the endeavour to follow the history of the Deponent, it became sufficiently clear that the great obstacle in the way of an historical grammar of the Irish language is the paucity of dated documents. In the case of most early Irish texts the chief, if not the only, means of fixing their date is the language. And in the absence of any exact knowledge of the various stages through which Irish went, it is clear that any such determination must be of the vaguest and most subjective character. The foundations of Irish historical grammar must be laid by a minute investigation of those texts whose date we are permitted to know. However wearisome the way may be, it is only by patiently toiling through this arid desert that we can hope to reach the promised land. And in the desert many an oasis may be met with to refresh the weary traveller.

In our researches of last year the *Saltair na Rann* played an important part, for it was from it chiefly that our knowledge of the fortunes of the Irish Deponent, in the end of the tenth century, was derived. If the *Saltair* furnished invaluable aid there, it should be of equal service in providing us with a faithful picture of the literary language, at least of the language of poetry, of that period. I say of the language of poetry, for poetical tradition and metrical convenience may have kept words and forms that had vanished from the language of literary prose;

how far that was so must form the subject of another investigation. On the other hand, the very metrical form increases the value of the work, for the language of a poem composed in so intricate a metre is of necessity much less liable to alteration in the course of transmission than that of a prose text would be. Not that the metrical form is an absolute security against all change. Anyone who has had to do with Irish poetry must be aware what differences are sometimes found in two copies of a poem. Without going farther afield, this can be exemplified from the *Saltair* itself, the tenth poem of which is preserved also in the *Leabhar Breac* 111<sup>b</sup>. For the sake of any who have not the facsimile to hand, the LBr. version may be quoted:—

Rig roraidi erim nglan  
*frí* h-Eua 7 *frí* h-Adam  
uair dochuabar darmosmacht  
nista ní dodeolaidecht  
Ercid imbethaid mboethraig  
serig snimaig, sirsæthraig  
torsig truagaig censil foiss  
rosbia luag *barnimarboss*  
Bar clanna bar *móic* bar mna  
fognam doib *cech* sênratha  
nochuata maith monar nglan  
coti allus bar netan  
Imad *cech* galair rusta  
scarad cuirp 7 anma  
7 sæthar rosbia andan  
oes 7 iscrine iscrithlám  
Frithoilid aslach diabuil  
*cech* lathi 7 *cech* bliadain  
nach foruca lais diathig  
dochum iffirn naduathmair  
Bar ngnimrada diamba glain  
iartimnaib iarforcetlaib  
doberthar nem cloethech cruth  
do chach iarnairillud  
Ri richid ranmair ni suaill  
ri betha bladnair bithbuain  
nitlaith *fríglegreim* *cech* tan  
ri roraid erimm ngleglan.

A comparison of this fragment with the copy in the Bodleian MS. B 502, from which Mr. Stokes edited the text, is greatly to the advantage of the latter. Thus, to take obvious cases, *nipta*, l. 4, 'is not to you,' is better than the absurd *nista* 'is not to them'; so l. 4 is *domdeolaidecht* compared with *dodeolaidecht*, l. 8 *forbia* 'there will be to you' compared with *rosbia* 'there will be to them,' l. 13 *forta* by *rusta*, l. 20 *aduathmair* by *naduathmair*, l. 21 *diamat* by *diamba*, l. 22 pronoun inserted. In l. 7 the rhymes *tróg lóg* and *fos imarbo*s show the superiority of the Rawlinson text. In l. 10 LBr. seems to give a simpler text, 'your children . . . slavery to them every day,' but the more difficult Rawlinson text may be the original, 'your children . . . serve [*present* vivid for *future*] them [the evils mentioned above] every day.' In the same line the disyllabic *laa* has been replaced by *tratha*. In l. 12 *forhécon* 'under necessity' has been changed to *bar nētan* by some one who thought of the sweat of the brow. He is convicted by the change of pronoun, 'there is no good to *them* till the sweat of *your* brows comes.' From these considerations we are evidently fortunate in that the complete copy has come down to us in Rawlinson B 502, and not in the *Leabhar Breac*. At the same time it may be noted how little difference there is between the verbal forms in the two cases. The only serious discrepancy is between *diamba* and *diamat*. That R. itself is by no means free from blunders, has been pointed out by Stokes in the *Academy* for July 14, 1883. But in proportion to the length of the poem the number of serious errors that he has indicated is not great. In the inflexional system, where the metrical control fails, there is still the control of other similar forms; in the case of peculiar isolated forms not established by the metre, caution must be exercised. Another means of control is furnished by other poems of about the same time. So far as I have investigated them, the verbal system there is much the same as in the *Saltair*. Thus, if allowance be made for possible changes of spelling and little corruptions that may have crept in during the transmission of the poem from the tenth century to the twelfth, we may believe that the *Saltair* will give us in all essentials a fair picture of the Irish language as it was used by Irish poets in the end of the tenth century.

I have already alluded to the possibility that the language of poetry may differ in some respects from the language of prose, though this difference would probably lie more in vocabulary



than in inflexion.<sup>1</sup> Apart from any archaisms which might be discovered from a comparison with contemporary prose, there are undoubted cases in which the metre has influenced the form. Such instances need mislead no one; the disturbing influence is clear, and allowance can be made for it. Irish metre, with its alliteration, its external and internal rhymes, etc., was a very complicated thing, and, though the *Debide* metre of the *Saltair* is not bound by so strict rules as O'Molloy<sup>2</sup> afterwards laid down for it, still the poet seems to have been at times hard pressed to satisfy its requirements. I will confine myself here to some examples of this from the verbal system. In l. 8226 we find *tadbán* rhyming with *talman*, in l. 279 *tadbáin* rhyming with *talmain*, and, yet again, l. 303 *tadbann* rhyming with *annann*. In l. 3928 *roráidi* rhymes with *cri*, in l. 3868 *roráide* rhymes with *glé*. In l. 844 the unusual form *tairbiur* may be due to the desire to get a rhyme to *airniul* (*tairniud*, Stokes) in the preceding line. In l. 3284 *túaislicfes*, the irregular relative form from the compound verb, seems to have been used for the sake of the rhyme with *chess*. The usual form of the perfect of *rethim* is *ráith*; in l. 1708 *indroith* rhymes with *croich*. The regular perfect passive of *cluimim* is *rocklous*; in l. 769 *rocklús* rhymes with *exercitus*. Cf. also *féindeth*, *fáuprad* p. 15 note, *nosuildis* p. 16 note, *atacomong* p. 21 note, *tharlaid* p. 23 note, *rosdóeraid*, *roderbaid* (if I am right in so correcting *roderbait*<sup>3</sup>) p. 33 note, *rosiach* p. 24, *forúacar* p. 25 note, *-táraig* p. 31, *dorairchel*, *dorúacel* p. 30, *dorigentar*, which rhymes with *gal*, p. 34, *rodoscar* p. 26, *roddattiustigad* p. 36, *rodabádes*<sup>4</sup> p. 37 note. It may further be noted that in most cases where the *t* preterite has given place to the *s* preterite (p. 26) the new form rhymes. Something of the same kind may be remarked in the variation between *-ai* and *-s* in the preterite (p. 32). We need not regard all these forms as so many inventions for

<sup>1</sup> The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick was probably composed in the second half of the tenth century. So far as appears from the account of the language which Mr. Stokes gives in the preface to his edition, the verbal system there closely resembles that of the *Saltair*.

<sup>2</sup> O'Molloy goes so far as to recommend that the second part of the verse should be written first, as being the more difficult.—*Grammatica Latino-Hibernica*, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> We may have another instance of the same kind, which I had previously overlooked, in *dodeccraib* 6875, which rhymes with *ettlaib*. It probably stands for *do-d-ecerrai*, cf. *do-d-ecerrai* 717, *tecras* 'rel.', rhymes with *etlaia*; 4439, which should be added to the examples of the *s* preterite.

<sup>4</sup> This may be based on an absolute *bádes*.

helping out a halting line. In some cases double forms may have been in use through literary tradition, or a fight may have been going on in the spoken language between an old form and a new analogical formation which sought to take its place. Under such circumstance the writer might choose whichever of the forms suited him best. But Irish metrical theory allowed the poet greater liberties than that, and some of these forms, which can never have had any place in the prose language, must be ascribed simply to poetical license. In a form like *rodderaid* the innovation was probably more a matter of outward appearance than of sound. *Dorigne* by *dorigni*, etc., point to a confusion of final vowels. The ordinary pronunciation of final *i* and *e* was probably the same; the poet used now one, now the other, as his verse demanded, and availed himself of the license to make either of them rhyme with a long vowel.

In the *Saltair* the complicated verbal system found in the Old Irish Glosses is, on the whole, well preserved. Some old things have been lost, and some new things now appear, but the great bulk of the changes that the Irish verb has undergone are subsequent to this period. I do not propose here to enter into a detailed comparison of the language of the *Saltair* with that of earlier documents. My collections from the Glosses and other old texts are as yet too incomplete to permit of that, and with incomplete collections there is always the risk of branding as late some form which is in reality much earlier. But one or two points may be noted without much hazard of error.

In compound verbs the distinction between so-called orthotonic and enclitic forms is for the most part observed, e.g. *conic* : *ní chumaing*, *adchúaid* : *con-hécaid*, *romemaid* : *co rōemid*. But where the first of two particles ends in a vowel and the second begins with a vowel or *f*, e.g. *to-aith*, *to-for*, the orthotonic form is often replaced by the enclitic. Examples are *fúcbaid* 3687, 7033 for *foacaib*, *turbaid* 7694, *fúapraid* 4003, *tinolat* 8253, *tadbain* 423, *tadbat* 4201 by *doaidbet* 750, *tinscanat* 8033, *dingēb* 5835, *tarrasair* 1633, etc., *tárnaclar* 6939, *fōcart* 6777, *fācaib* 6168, *túargaib* 2698, etc., *tinólat* 3109, etc., *túargabad* 2759, etc., *tārfas* 3309, etc., by *doārfas* 3225, etc. Instances of this disturbance are already found in the Old Irish Glosses, regularly in *tānic*, Ascoli *Gloss.* ciii, cf. further *túargab* Wb. 26<sup>d</sup> 11, *túargabad* Wb. 14<sup>b</sup> 22, in both of which cases the orthotonic form occurs in close proximity to the enclitic, *tairchechuin* Wb. 4<sup>d</sup> 8, *tadbat* Wb. 4<sup>d</sup> 10. Additional

examples will be found noted by Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi, 149-151 *passim*. Where the orthotonic form survives in the *Saltair*, *f* (*f*) or *th* often appears between the vowels, e.g. *dothadbat* by *doaidbet*, *rohuc*, *rofuc*, *rofucsat*, *dofuc*, *dofuc*, *dothuc*, *dafingebad*, *dofarraid* by *dotharraid*, *sofūcaib*, *dothārfas*, *dotārfas* by *doārfas*. The variations in the same word indicate that in many of these cases at least we have to do with a matter of orthography, not of pronunciation; at the most the sound indicated by this variety of spelling can hardly have been more than a transition *h* between the two vowels, cf. Zimmer, KZ. xxx, 24 sq. The presence of *f*, which already appears in *dofarlaic* Tur. 102, may, in many cases, be due to the analogy of regular variations like *do-fōethsat*, *tōethsat*, *do-fuargabad*, *tūargabad*, *du-futhracair*, *dūthracair*, and the like. This *f* also appears after an infixed pronoun, e.g. *do-s-fanic*, *do-s-farraid*, *ro-s-fuc*. Cf. *do-d-fongad* Ml. 36\*, where the simple verb *tongaim*, W. *tyngu*, is treated as though it were a compound *do-fongaim*. These instances, again, have a certain superficial likeness to O.Ir. *du-d-futhracair* by *dūthracair* and the like. In other cases the *f* may have been inserted from other forms of the verb, *sofūcaib* for *soācaib* after *fācbaum*, etc., so after *ro-forfācsam*, *sofūacart*. As to *th*, one is disposed to seek the starting-point of it in compounds with *to*- like *do-thiagam*, *do-théit* by the simple *tiagam téit*, but I have not sufficient material to follow up the development. Other instances in which *to*- is prefixed without apparently changing the meaning are *do-diuscaim* by *diuscaim* 'arouse,' *do-écmaing* by *adcumaing* 'happens,' *do-riacht* by *ro-siacht* 'reached.' These may cast some light on cases like *doss-tim-chellae* 180, *dōmthabair* 3301, where *to*- is added over again with an infixed pronoun. So in a simple verb *to*- is prefixed with an infixed pronoun in *dot-ro-marbus* 1908, *dos-r-ort* 3398. These last cases have an outward resemblance to *do-t-riacht* 2100, by *ro-siacht*, where *dotriacht* belongs historically to the compound *do-riacht*. The historic *dotriacht* by *ro-siacht* might easily have given rise to such formations as *dotromarb* by *romarb*. Apart from the preceding class of verbs the enclitic form is found in *dirgea* 1008, *hēirgēt* 8246, *cumgēda* 8091, 8107, *dī-ligfat* 2429.

In the personal endings the distinction between absolute and conjunct forms is, for the most part, maintained.<sup>1</sup> The few

<sup>1</sup> In the Old Irish Glosses the ending *-im* is the prevalent one in the conjunct inflexion of the 1 sg. pres. ind. There are certain difficulties in that form into

exceptions will be found under the present pp. 10, 12, and under the future p. 18. In simple verbs in Old Irish the third persons of the present indicative and subjunctive and of the future indicative have a separate relative form. In the *Saltair* these forms are common in the singular, and have spread to compound verbs in *dirges*, *tuccas*, and *túaslaicfes*. In the plural there are no certain instances. Compare the rule laid down for Modern Irish by Atkinson, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 3 ser., vol. i, p. 430—"In WHO-clauses, use the 3rd sg. as the Relative form for EITHER SG. OR PL. in all the tenses, save Pres. (and Fut.), where we must use the ending *-as* (and *-fas*); while in WHOM-clauses, and in the SUBORDINATE-clause, the 3rd PL. must be used in all the tenses in connection with a PLURAL NOMINATIVE." In the 1 sg. subj. the ending *-ur* is found side by side with the old formation. In the *s* preterite, in comparison with the total number of occurrences, the instances of the absolute forms are few. In the 3 sg. endings *-i* in the third class and *-a* in the first class are found as in Old Irish, and there is also an ending *-ai*, on which see p. 32. In later Irish in the 2 pl. the ending *-id* tends to be replaced by the ending *-bar*. The instances of *-bar* in the *Saltair* are not many. It is the only ending found in the perfect, *cualabar*, *dochúabair*, *tancabair*, *dorochrobair*. It happens that there are no cases of this person of the *t* preterite. In the *s* preterite is found the solitary *rorecsabair* by the solitary *dorinnsid*. In the *s* subjunctive by *essamar*, *fessamar* are found *essabair*, *fessabair*, but the 2 pl. of active verbs ends in *-id*, *tissaid*, *dechsaid*. It is evident that *-bar* is a new formation to *-mar*, *-tar*; *-ammar*, *-id*, *-atar* become *-ammar*, *-abar*, *-atar*. The steps in the change of *-id* to *-abar* are not clear, and the history of the development of the form has still to be written.

We come now to the tenses. Of these the present calls for no remark. In what is usually called the secondary present may still be observed the distinction between indicative and subjunctive moods. The various forms of the future still, for the most part, keep within their original bounds; instances of transition are few. Of preterite tenses of the indicative active, the *s* preterite is naturally by far the most frequent. But the perfect and the

which I will not enter here, but which I hope to treat of on another occasion. In l. 1196 *dognim* is a startling innovation for *dognim*, if it be really a verbal form. Can it be that the poet has used *less* loosely for the gen. *lessa*, and that *gnim* is used as a verbal noun as in l. 2758?

*t* preterite are still in an excellent state of preservation, though in a good many cases there has been transition to the *s* preterite, and in a couple of instances the *t* preterite has taken the place of the perfect. In the perfect passive there is little to note, except a few instances of transition of verbs of the first class to the later mode of inflexion. In a small number of cases the old perfect passive has been replaced by the passive participle. The form usually known by the misleading designation of the consuetudinal present is only beginning to appear. The classical modern usage of this form has been admirably discussed by Professor Atkinson in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 3rd ser., vol. i, pp. 416 sq. No detailed investigation of the extent of its usage and of its functions in Middle Irish has yet been published. In the instances which I have noted from Middle Irish prose, it is used in the enclitic position, e.g. *óngenend*, *riasamaidend*, *con-gonand*, *nostúarcend*, *noscerband*, *noscengland*, *inn anand*, *ní anand*, *národilgend*, and it is in most cases clearly either a simple present or an historic present.

As we saw last year, the deponent inflexion is now rare. In the substantive verb some new formations will be found.

In each case I have aimed at giving the occurrences in full, except in the infinitive, the exhaustive treatment of which has been reserved for the inflexion of the noun. In a text of such length it is improbable that some things have not been overlooked, but I trust that for the less usual forms at all events the collections are complete. The Psalter is followed by several other religious poems, cf. Stokes, Preface II. Whether they were composed by the same hand or not, the language is the same as that of the Psalter, and the concluding lines of the last poem point to its composition in the tenth century. In forms taken from these poems the numerals are printed in thick type. For a Middle Irish poem the diction of our text is comparatively straightforward and clear. But there are many difficult passages where one cannot get at the meaning with certainty. In the earlier part a good deal of help can be obtained from the prose paraphrase in the *Leabhar Breac*. But after a time this prose paraphrase gets very meagre, and finally ceases.

My best thanks are due to Dr. Whitley Stokes for counsel in difficulties, and for his great kindness in reading the proofs. In the interests of Irish lexicography an index is added of the verbs and forms of less frequent occurrence. I had hoped at the

same time to treat of the inflexion of the noun and pronoun, but that must be reserved for another occasion.

### THE VERBAL PARTICLES.

[The references will be found under the various tenses and moods.]

#### THE PARTICLE *no*.

Present indicative:—*no-thēig, no-s-dedlai, no-t-cheil, no-s-oroiḡ, no-da-foilec, no-t-geib, no-s-airbrig, no-d-[f]ossaig, no-s-lui, no-do-sāi, no-s-fraccrat, no-mthā.*

Present subjunctive:—*no-m-būala, no-d-marba.*

Imperative:—*na-bar-silaid.*

Secondary indicative:—*no-marbad, no-sernad, no-dechrad, no-maided, no-chinned, no-gnāthaiged, na-lūaided, no-oisced, no-s-ordaiged, no-dos-ordaiged, no-rāded, no-bruindis, no-suildis.*

Secondary subjunctive:—*no-m-scarad, no-chiad, no-s-fūaslaiced, co no-tuctais, no-bēth, no-bētis.*

Future indicative:—*no-t-nōehfaider, no-t-sōerfaider, no-t-mairfider.*

Secondary future and subjunctive:—*no-s-ainsed, no-thissed, no-bērad, no-taiscērad, no-thargad, no-ragtais, no-maidfed, no-m-bīfad, no-biad.*

#### THE PARTICLE *ro*.

Present subjunctive:—*ro-marb, ro-bādur, ro-n-dāera, ro-marba, ra-gba, ro-herala, ro-t-chnā, ro-m-sāera, ro-n-sāera, ro-n-fūema, ro-r-chōemchinni, ro-āirme, co r-failsigder, rui-bēm, nār-bar-dūrcridig, -raib, for-raib, rob, rop, corb, nā-r-bam, nī-r-ba.*

Imperative:—*ro-do[s]-samaig.*

Secondary subjunctive:—*ro-n-crīnad, ro-thogad, ro-fōemad, ro-leiced, ro-sluiced, conā-r-choicled, co-r-glanmais, co r-airgtis, co-r-guiditis, ro-m-bēth, ro-pad.*

Future indicative:—*ro fessamar, ro-m-bīa, ro-t-bīa, ram-bīa, ro-dm-bīa, ro-t-bīat.*

Secondary future and subjunctive:—*ro-fessad, ro-das-fessad, ram-biad.*

The preterite forms will be found under the several tenses. It will be observed that there is a very large number of instances in which the particle does not appear. This omission of *ro-* is much more frequent in compounds than in simple verbs. This also holds true of the Old Irish Glosses, where *ro-* is rarely omitted in simple verbs. In the *Saltair* the necessities of the metre must



largely have determined the use of one form or the other. In one or two cases *de-* appears for *re-*, p. 29. In compound verbs *re-* is often prefixed where in older Irish it would have been infixed. Note also the frequent elision of the vowel, which shows that it must have been unaccented. To some extent, in enclitic forms, *re-* must have been unaccented in the Glosses, cf. Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi, 323. For instance, in *nísearuaacobrais*, ML 136<sup>b</sup> 7, the assimilation of *de* to *ce* shows that the accent fell on *a*.

## ACTIVE VOICE.

## PRESENT INDICATIVE.

- sg. 1 (a). *samlaim* 375, *álim* 1192, *rádim-as* 1829: *at-bálim* 2032, *at-beirim* 1873, *do-gnim* 1196, *ná dí-gthim*<sup>1</sup> 3203, *ní hétraigim* 3178, 8001, *ní léim* 2434, *ní ráidim* 2880, *ní-s-téclaigim* 8002.
- 5 (b). *as-biur* 3571, *do-biur* 3183. Traditional *arce fuin* 2081. Deponent—*ní lamur* 1259.
- sg. 2 (b). *nách-ar-cobrai* 3759, *nách-a[m]-marbais* 1528, *no tháig* 3094, *do-gní* 1694, 2888, *in-dam-chluini* 1182, 1429, *in-deónaigi* 1431, *im-ráidi* 1209 (rel.), by extension to radical verbs *mar at-beirs* 1268, *ná ta-brai* 848, *cid con-daige* 3095, *an con-dnigi* 5993.
- 10 sg. 3 (a). *blóraid* 881, *clannaid* 4489, *gabaid* 4789, 5869, 5874, *fillid* 2089, *fóidid* 2549, 2582, *orddaigid* 4873, 4928, *ráidid* 3841,<sup>2</sup> 3889, 4481, 4500, 4721, 4737, 4929, 6742, *sóid* 3055, *sréid* 5870, *anid* (?) 8378, *uidid* 5133. By extension *fuapraid* 4003, *ad-fét* (*febdai*) 2250, *feib* 2526, (*amal*) 2530, 4202, (*feib léir*) 4968, 6819, *fácbaid* 3687, 7033, *turbaid* 7694, *do-gnid*<sup>3</sup> 7117. With a suffixed pronoun *im-sóid-i*<sup>4</sup> 2121.
- 15 20 (b). *doss-tim-chellaas* 180, *amal fo-dasn-iada* 288, *'mo-n-iadais* 4723 (rel.), *do-nessai* 3891 (rel.), *no-s-dedlai* 8348, *fo-d-chnā* 8010, *im-rā* 2647, *for-sāera* 4831 (rel.), *fo-roana* 292, *hūas-treba* 1703, *ad-fiad* 2518, *cola-ōi*

<sup>1</sup> I take *dí-gthim* to be a present corresponding to the perfect *do-chasid* 'went.' The context is *Anair na dí-gthim—istech á-aorcha m'ennraun* 'because I do not go alone into the dark house.'

<sup>2</sup> But in the repetition of the verse at the end of the poem *roráid*.

<sup>3</sup> If this be not a scribal error for *do-gní*.

<sup>4</sup> This form seems to be used to avoid hiatus.

644, *con-dí* 449 (rel.), *tad-ban*<sup>1</sup> 97, **8228** (rhymes with *talman*), *tad-bain* (rhymes with *talmain*) 279, 423, 25 *as-beir* 7717, *at-beir* 4169, *do-beir* 5811 (rel.), *dam-beir* 2952, 'mo-beir 527 (rel.), *dom-thabair* 3301 (rel.), *do-en-ar-bair* 89, *dia-cain* 583, *do-cain* 1021, *do-ceil* **7918**, *ní cheil* 3751, 4027, 6887, 7441, **8153**, *doig no-t-cheil* 6339, *do-s-ceil* **7905**, *nocho-s-ceil* 251, *fo-30 cheird* 169, 1198 (rel.), 2569, 6153, *no-s-croith* 3863, *do-s-feim* 253, *do-d-feim* 7917, *no-da-foilec* 251, *do-thaet* 5963, *téit* 232 (rel.), 247, 447 (*ní*), 1197 (rel.), 1203 (*intan*), *tét* **8048**, *im-thét* **7916**, *téite* 2036 (rel.) 8116, *do-fuit* **8133**, *ní-s-gaib* 60, *cíð ar-not-geib* (*nút*-, Stokes) 35 1693, *frinā-gaib* 2414, *co n-gaib* 618, *con-gaib* 6506 (rel.), 7139 (rel.), 7215, **7882**, *cotib-gaib* **7834**, *cota-gaib* 87, 515, 521, 2963, 5199, 6695, *cota-s-gaib* 7924, *cota-s-geib* 1649, *cot-gaib* 2275, 2279, *cot-ñ-gaib* 47, *cot-ñ-gaib* 621, *cota-n-geib* 429, *cota-n-gaib* 3223, *fo-geib* 6455, 40 *as-tor-gaib* 2677 (= *asa torgaib*), *feib tar-ñ-gir* 3359, *for-con-gair* 3749, *ar-gair* **7935**, *thim-gair* 3045 (rel.), *atchi* **7892**, *con-ic* 321 (rel.), 2538 (rel.), 3222 (rel.), 4182 (rel.), 5254 (rel.), 7514 (rel.), *ní chum-aing* 3123, *tic* 1685, 2026 (*feib*), 2586, 7707 (rel.), 7901 45 (*can*), 8117, *thair-ic* 4699, *thar-ic* 6741 (rel., *taircim* 'effect'), *no-s-airbrig* 271, *no-d-[f]ossaig* 2079, *ní-m-lēic* 4795, *nād-lēic* 1428, *ní-n-len* 3839, *no-s-lui* 166, *at-naig* 3546, *tūairce* **7901** (rel.), *at-raig* 739 (rel.), 2077, 2911, 2949, 4469, **8249**, *forsa-said* 617, *ro-saig* 50 2552, *ro-soich* 435, *nād-róig* 512, *do-gnī* **7914**, **7919**, *dos-gnī* **7951**, *dia-fo-gnai* 7277, *fo-gnī* 7423, 'mi-foilngi **7933**, *com-mairní* 7712, *árlūaisi* 2539, *ní the-rna* 4023, 5070, *no-do-sāi* 3863, *im-sōi* 284, 2077 (*insoe*, MS.), *do-thai-tui* 183, 240, 249. Deponent *nach foichlidar* **8050**. 55

Relative — *caras* 943, 3706 (*feib*), *chomētas* 1194, *criathras* 41, **7937**, *drubas* 914, *feras* 246, *glanas* 6506, *labras* 6225, *lethas* **7932**, *sásas* 485, *scaras* 6505, *techtas* 768, *trōethas* 5067, *cinnes* 6126, *cuires* (l. *guires*) 7241, *drichnes* 883, *fōides* 1017, *guires* 153, 243, 2735, **8354**, 60 *reilhes* 260, *rethess* 228, 316, *ruithes* 154, 7242, *siles* 1006, *sillas* 1012, *sires* 1005, *slaides* 5177, *sniges* 2467, *suiges* 913. In compounds *dirges* 1008.

<sup>1</sup> Rather *tadbain* to rhyme with *talmain*.

- pl. 1 (a). *her-almít* 2175, *guidmít* 3597.  
 65 (b). *fort-gellam* 3581, 3611, *cosa-tiagam* 7968, *ní chuingsam* 1219, 1728.
- pl. 2 (a). *ta[eh]lhi* 5530.  
 (b). *con-dnaigid* 3473, *do-fucaid* 7984.
- pl. 3 (a). *carait* 609 (rel.), 7945 (rel.), *coorait* 3131, *derbait* 1101,  
 70 *icait* 7280, *linait* 7279, *marbait* 7280, *sásait* 7279, *seirgait* 7279, *seornait* 552, 5186, 8134 (rel.), *snáit* 7260 (rel.), *trebait* 7907, *triallait* 747, *canait* 587, 599, 610 (rel.), 623, *canait* 7912, 7946 (rel.), *shír-canait* 703 (rel.), *ō recait* 3141, *rethait* 259, 7922,  
 75 *rind-rethait* 131, *tiagait* 746, 748 (rel.), 754 (rel.), 764 (rel.), 770, 772, 4899, 8351, *bethaigait* (sic)<sup>1</sup> 7280, *fillit* 7909, *fóidit* 4652, 4777, 4816, 5449, 5565, *loiltit* 3483 (rel.), *ráidit* 50, *rádait*<sup>2</sup> 2970, *sluinnit* 6638, *snigit* 524 (rel.). With affixed pronoun *bertait* 2981, *céstit* 953, *segtait* 459. In compound forms *tim-chellait* 422 (rel.), *dí-allait* 8128, *taid-brit*<sup>3</sup> 7731, *fúcbait* 7655, *feib tecait* 3488, 8285, *hēirgit* 8246.  
 80 (b). *im-thim-chellat* 346 (rel.), *ad-cocrat* 6045, *frisn-dālat* 8314, *frisn-dālat* 7161, *ní sechm-alat* 926, *ad-fiadat* 862, 8389, *tin-ōlat* 8253, *im-rát* 7894, 7941 (rel.), *im-riadat* 8126, 8391, *ní im-scarat* 8035, *tin-scanat* 8033,<sup>4</sup> *ar-trebat* 8350, *tad-bat* 4201, *do-aíd-bel* 750, *do-thad-bat* 238, *co m-berat* 8124, *for-berat* 7275, *taid-bret* 749, *co canat* 1019, *cid canat* 7897, *con-canat* 2165, 90 *fo-ghanat* 706, *immo-canat* 495, *noco-dlegat* 4914, *no-sfreccrat* 709, *do-gníat* 3849, *fo gniat* 1450, 7443, *as-tecat* (= *asa-tecat*) 995, *tūarcat* 903, *do-sōat* 1013, *im-sōat* 1013, *co n-hetigat* 710, *co m-brūet* 8123, *co com-raicet* 390, *for-da-midet* 108, *do-midet* 99, *clichet* (?) 95 4238, *dia-felhet* 2646.

The 3 pl. relative is regularly expressed by (a) in simple verbs, by (b) in compounds. There is no certain instance of a separate relative form. In 2363 *segtai* may = *segaít-é* 'speak of him,' cf.

<sup>1</sup> On account of the neighbouring verbs *icait*, *marbait*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *ā* forms appear already in the Old Irish Glosses: cf. Ascoli, Gloss. pal. hib. clxxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> But in l. 749 *taidbret*.

<sup>4</sup> The MS. has *tinscanait*, but the rhyme requires *tinscanat*, which Stokes has restored.

*ngait* above; so *segdai* 4253 and *réltai* 865=*rélait-é*. In 6787 *derbdai rainn* may mean 'staves confirm it'=*derbait-é*. But it may be passive: cf. *derbtha tréith* 6917, *derbtha bi* 4861, *báigthi tréith* 2499, *nóithi máil* 2585, 6681, *táirethi ruin* 4353. In 4015 *regtai* is obscure. Perhaps it stands for *regait-é* 'stretch them out'; *beirthi* 3670 perhaps=*beirti*=*berit-i*.

## PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

sg. 1 (a). With active ending (the ending is the same in all 105 classes):—*acht dober* 1277, *ní dén* 1539, *nā dern* 1583, *cia osiao* 1273, *co ro-marb* 5828, *co ruc-sa* 1595, *co tuo* 5827, *con-os-tuo* 1665.

(b). With deponent ending:—*co ro-bádur* 1667, *arná hér-balur* 1260, *acht co torchror-sa* 1533, *con-as-rucur* 1666. 110 In l. 844 *-ber* has apparently become *-biur* under the influence of the dep. ending, *dia n-am-thairbiur*, which rhymes with *airniul* in the preceding line.

sg. 2. *ce no-m-búala* 4793, *cia ro-n-dāira-ne* 3599, *co ro-marba* 5856, *cia bera* 1274, *diam-bera* 3319, 3341, *meni ta-bra* 2087, *co ra-gba* 1311, *dēna* (as ipv.) 1577, 1581, 1598, 1931, 6880, 7691, *dēni* 1183, 1617, 4800, 5680, *cuirí* 1561, *nī-t-glúase* 1620, *nī-s-fáilgai-si* 8239, *manis-tar-laice* 3833, *roinne* 3348,<sup>1</sup> *nī-t-chum-saige* 1620 (rhymes with *coglē*). 120

subj. sg. 3 (a). *ma firaid* 3355, *cia marbaid* 1966.

(b). *co ro-her-ala-se*<sup>2</sup> 1159, *ro-t-chná* 6975, *nī tharda* 2727, *ciphé no-d-marba* 1993, *ro-m-sāera* 655, 2815, 7417, 8175, *ro-n-sāera* 8100, 8146, 8363, *co ro-n-sāera* 8224, *nach-for-fuca* 1459, *ro-n-fūema* 8223, *con-dar-cuirí* 7827, *nī-bar-tórbas*<sup>3</sup> 2625, *nā tibri* 1659, *nā dernai* 1547, *ciphé ar-dos-cé* 4165, *nach-as-tathigi* 4381, *co ro-r-cōem-chinni* 1619, *manid-clōs* 7442, *nī fail ro-áirme* 788, *arná-ro-n-fūapra* 6425.

Deponent—*cibhí fris-aiccidar (ad-clu)* 4173. 130

Relative<sup>4</sup>—*ciphé gabas* 809, (*nī fail . . . nech*) *thucas*

<sup>1</sup> With transition from the *ā* conjugation. *roinne* rhymes with *doimne* in the preceding line.

<sup>2</sup> Usually a verb of the third class, as *aurailēm* 1157.

<sup>3</sup> 'There will not happen to you': cf. *dofórbaiat*, Ml. 27<sup>a</sup> 10, and Thurneysen, KZ. xxi, 85.

<sup>4</sup> These forms have been put as subjunctive for syntactic reasons. They are found in constructions where the subjunctive is the regular mood. Cf. e.g. *ní fail rimess* 311 with *ní fail roairne* 788.

- 335, (*nī fail . . . nach*) *tuccas* 2384, (*madhi . . .*  
*chiingges* 6125, (*riasiu*) *gaires* 7724, (*nī fail*) *rimeu*  
 pl. 1. *adram*<sup>1</sup> 1585, *ad-ait-trebam* **8385**, *triallam*<sup>1</sup> 3627,  
 135 *caitechennam* **8387**, *beram*<sup>1</sup> 2744, *turbam*<sup>1</sup> 27  
*tiagum*<sup>1</sup> 1697, *tiagamm*<sup>1</sup> 3628, *tiagam*<sup>1</sup> 3971, *con-*  
*tucam* 3979, *dēnam*<sup>1</sup> 2742, 1150, 1573, *lēcomm*<sup>1</sup> 397.  
*aur-alem*<sup>1</sup> 1157, *frith-alem*<sup>1</sup> 2725, *cluinem*<sup>1</sup> 331  
*guidem*<sup>1</sup> 805, **8309**, *ad-roillem* **8385**, *tui-rmem*<sup>1</sup> 789  
 140 *aitchem*<sup>1</sup> 1613.  
 pl. 2 (a). *hicēin at-chithi* 2627.  
 (b). *mani chuirid* 5485, *ara-toi-mlid* 1085.  
 pl. 3 (a). *acht ma rannait* 4735.  
 (b). *cachān-dēnat* 4167, *co-r-guidet* 1615.

## IMPERATIVE.

- 145 sg. 2. *an* 6111, *nāch-ar-lēn* 1726, *beir* 1593, 2201, 6126 (*ber*),  
*ab-bair* 1213, 2049, 3898, *for-beir* 2731, *nā him-beir*  
 6971, *nāch-a[t]tair-bir* 1148, *tabair* 819, 837, 1153,  
 1945, 2042, 3182 (*nā*), 3337, 3547, 5836 (*tábar*),  
 5956 (*ná*), 6110 (*nā*), **7799**, **7823**, *gaib* 1149, 6009,  
 150 *geib* 1326, 1331, *tōcaib* 2113, 2117, *túar-gaib* 6881,  
*hith* 2907, *to-mail* 2905, *é-rig* 2061, 2097, *ēi-rg* 1253,  
 1587, 2062, 2482, 2926, 3801, 5010, *at-taig* 1618,  
 2073, 3252, *ná tēig* 1152, 5953, *tuc* 1262, 2881,  
*frith-aíl* 5011, *deneid* 3313, *nā báid* 6011, *nā bris*  
 155 6010, 6029, *nā cathaig* 2877, *cluín* 2441, *cōraig* 1597,  
 2103, *daim* 2114, *dam* 2882, *innis* 3295, *coiste* 1151,  
*dī-lig* **7791**, **7794**, **7811**, **7816**, **7819**, *dī-laig* **7804**, *nā*  
*hēlthraig* 6018, *iar-faig* 6976, *fōid* 2063, *nā gnāthaig*  
 6031, *gni* (?) 2327, *guid* 1607, 4555, 5500, *im-tháire*  
 160 4314, *innis* 3295, *lēic* 3844, *tēilgc* 6979, *os-laic* 1270,  
 3199, *lessaig* 3843, *nāch-am-lúaid* 3186, *ráid* 6847,  
*raind* 1332, *tairinn* 6019, *ro-do-sāmaig* 2200, *ná ídraig*  
 6020, 6021, 6025, 6027, 6032, *suidig* 1605, 2115,  
 2203, 5013. In petrified phrase *aig*, *thaig* 2631, 3241,  
 165 3477, 6305, 6539, 7087; cf. Windisch, Wb. 798.  
 Deponent—*cluinte* 1842, 2441, 3334.  
 sg. 3. *nach-am-taidled* 2053, *orthad* 6159, *ferad* **8073**, *nā finnad*  
 1961, *ta-brad* 3884, *táet* 2067, 3911, 5991, 6159,  
*gaibed* 4397, *gníad* 2743, *toi-mled* 4487, *nā cinged*  
 170 4383, *léced* 6160, *nā cum-scaiged* 1965, **7981**.

<sup>1</sup> In ipv. sense 'let us . . .'

- pl. 2. *anaid* 1422, *ná bágaí* 7989, *cométaid* 4853, 4860, 7981, *derbaid* 4332, *fégaí* 3113, *línaid* 2612, *tin-ólaid* 1373, 2624, *seirnaid* 4409, *na* (=no-) *bar-silaid* 2611, *taircaid* 2624, *berid* 6235, *fúapraí* 3641, *ta-braí* 1823, 3613, *gabaid* 2729, *to-mí* 2624, 4739, *éi-rgí* 1369, 1445, 175 3589, 3642, 4829, *tucaid* 3499, 3585, *dénaid* 3114 (*nd*), 4162, 4301, 4843 (*nā*), 7841, *frith-alí* 1457, 3905, *cluini* 1822, 4841, 4872, *curí* 1415, *táircaid* 2624, *nā dermaí* 4869, *faílsigí* 3615, *léicí* 1229, 2057, *léicí* 3590, *rúid*[*id*] 3471, *tuirmí* 7961, *tuirí* 180 7963, *tairinní* 7985.<sup>1</sup>
- pl. 3. *tiagat* 4389, *toirnet* 4394, *rēlat* 7829.

## SECONDARY PRESENT.

The so-called secondary present comprehends two distinct forms—(a) a past tense of the indicative denoting customary or repeated action, (b) a past tense of the subjunctive, cf. Thurneysen, KZ. xxxii, 68. The two sets of forms have fallen together to a great extent, but they can clearly be distinguished in *do-gníu*, sg. 3 *do-gníth*, and *do-gnéth*, and very largely in verbs of the first class, cf. *atbered* with *conerbarad*, but here syncope often produces confusion, e.g. *conépred* for *conaitbherad*.

sg. 1 (b). *for-fémdinn* 1338, *in-thēgind* 1337, *co m-blāssind* 1423.

sg. 3 (a). *dlomad*<sup>2</sup> 7035, *no-marbad* 5808, *no-sernad* 2957, *aisneided* 4609, 4613, *fēimdeth*<sup>3</sup> 3255, *at-bered* 5903, *fúaprad*<sup>3</sup> 185 3857, *no-dechrad* 6287, *tan turebad* 5085, *for-con-grad* 4597, 4620, *glēad* 2830, *táircēd* 4605, *ticed* 4577, 4581, *do-ticed* 1116, *lingged* 6682, *no-maidsēd* 5087, *at-raiged* 4601, *tan tēged* 4502, *no-chinned* 4019, *ro-cluined* 4501, *ro-chluined* 4540, *feib no-gnāthaiged* 190 6151, *noco-laimed* 4877, *na-lūaided* (=no-) 6645, *no-oisce*[*d*] 2844, *doss-lēced* 5092, *no-s-ordaiged* 1112 (rhymes with *conchad*), *no-dos-ordaiged* 1504, *no-ráded* 4980, *sáided* 4514, *do-thāircēd* 4521.

<sup>1</sup> A peculiar form *nach-as-creitíu* 4700 probably for *-creitibh*.

<sup>2</sup> The lacuna may be supplied *Iob trén* [*nd*] *dlomad cath*.

<sup>3</sup> These verbs have the form of the secondary present, but in both cases an historic present would suit the meaning better. Metrical reasons seem to have led to the use of the forms. Cf. *dos-femed* 8170 (rhymes with *tened*), where the sense is not clear.

- 195 (b). *meni-s-bennachad* 6829, *cia ro-n-crīnad* 3619, (*nī fil nī*)  
*no-m-scarad* 7719, *meni sōcrad* 3134, *co tarddad* 1636,  
 2836, *co ro-thogad* 4559, *co n-ēr-barad* 5642, *labrad*  
 (= *co labrad*) 6860, *ro-fōmad* 3133, (*nī frith . . .*)  
*gabād* 4760, *co far-gbad* 2835, (*nī fūair ail*) *forsatarrasad* 2552, 2572, *co-nā-tucad* 2763, (*nī frith nech*)  
 200 *do-s-fucad* 3228, 3233, *do-gnēth*<sup>1</sup> 1409 (rel.), **7852**  
 (*siu*), *co nā-r-choicled* 4141, *cia no-chīad* **8018**, (*nī frith*)  
*no-hētraiged* 2684, *co ro-léiced* 4127, (*nī fūar nech*)  
*no-s-fūas-laiced* 3311, *co tar-laiced* 3831, *co ro-sluiced*  
 205 4719, *co troiscēd* 1631.
- pl. 1 (b). *cor-glanmais* 1575, *ciachemme[i]s* (*ciat-cheimmeis*, Stokes)  
 2776, *cia do-gnēimmis* **8052**.
- pl. 3 (a). *erctais* 4409, *ferdais* 4981 (rel.), 7209 (rel.), *co marbdais*  
 3676, *mollais* 4497, *mōrdais* 5331 (rel.), *con-bendais*  
 210 3672, *for-bartais* 3680, *cantais* 4504, *fo-daimtis* 3674,  
*fo-geibitis* 4632, *tictis* 3427, 4575, 4596, *do-thictis* 1120,  
*thēigtis* 1113 (rel.), *do-fuctais* 4524, *gnītis* 4343, *no-*  
*bruindis* 4347, *cirtis* 4767, *saigtis* 2277, 7037, 7057,  
*im-sāitis* 1125, *no-suildis*<sup>2</sup> 4348.
- 215 (b). *ara-comaltis* 1991, *co ro-fēgdais* 4657, *cia no-līndais* 5033,  
*co nā-ro-marbtais* 1992, *co ro-marbtais* 3252, *con-nā-*  
*gabdais* 4783, *feib so-gabtais* 3251, *do-meldais* 1084,  
*co-no-luctais* 3702, *con-derndtais* 4187, *co-r-airgtis* 6776,  
*co-r-guiditis* 1645.

#### CONSUEITUDINAL PRESENT.<sup>3</sup>

- 220 Of this the following instances occur:—*nī thad-bann* 303, *adrann*  
 3308, *con innisenn* 4607.

#### s FUTURE AND SUBJUNCTIVE.

On the distinction between the *s* future and the *s* subjunctive cf. Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 72 sq. In the following the forms have been divided, as well as I could, according to usage.

<sup>1</sup> In 5564 *donech* seems to stand for *do-gnēth*. Cf. *doneth*, *donemis*, Atkinson s.v. *do-gniu*. In Modern Munster Irish the 3 sg. pres. sec. ends regularly in the spirant *χ*.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Stokes very probably considers *nosuildis* as used for *nosildis* for the sake of the rhyme with *nobruindis*.

<sup>3</sup> On the formation generally, cf. Thurneysen, *Idg. Forsch.* I, 329 sq. Of the above examples *tadbann* is clearly present in meaning. *Adrann* has rather the force of a past. For *dia n-adrann* 3308 LBr. 115<sup>b</sup> has the sec. pres. *dia n-adrad*. For *innisenn* LBr. 122<sup>a</sup> has again the sec. pres., cf. Stokes, KSB. vii, 5.

## FUTURE.

- sg. 1. *ad-fiasa* 1785.  
 sg. 2. *nī-n-anais* 5999, *nī anais* 6036.  
 sg. 3. *fo-chicher* 8205, *noco-ria* 4729, *memais* 4705, *mebais* 8320,  
*at-rē* 8269, *do-for-fūa* 5483, 5487, *do-t-rūa* 6177, *nī-r-* 225  
*tora* 2747 (= *nī arn-*). By extension *nach-arn-dīlsī*  
 1551, *seiss*<sup>1</sup> 8267, 8273.  
 pl. 1. *ro-fessamar* 1265.  
 pl. 3. *fo-chichret* 8060, 8088, *ni-s-fōelsat* 8163, 8291, *do-fōethsat*  
 8289, *tōethsat* 8161, *at-ressat* 8238, *at-reisset* 8242. 230

## SUBJUNCTIVE.

- sg. 1. *con-iarfus* 7837, *an-condn-lis* 1874, (*airet*) *rossō* 6123,  
*acht co ros* 1271. Deponent—*co fessur* 2883.  
 sg. 2. *meni adair*<sup>2</sup> 5955, *nī do-chais* 5951, *tāir* (as ipv.) 1261,  
 1681, 3197, 3201, *frisan-ēirreis* 1172 (= *ess-ro-r-*), *tēis*  
 1273. Deponent—*co fesser* 1327, 6113. 235  
 sg. 3. *mani-m-thāir* 1280, (*nī fail-nech*) *conni* 652, (*co nachfīl nī*)  
*coni* 3808, *co rias* 1600, *co rī* 2096, *co tī* 2074, 2076,  
*con-om-thī* 2092, *co-n-os-tī* 1452, *dīa tī* 3502, *meni thī*  
 2075, *co rōa* 1368, 8108, *nā rōa* 6371, *co tora* 1263,  
*tēis* 1660 (rel.). 240  
 pl. 1. *co n-de-chsam* 1155, 1217, *nā de-chsam* 1549, *acht rissam*  
 2745. Deponent—*acht con-d-essamar* 1266.  
 pl. 2. *co n-de-chsaid* 1375, *tan tissaid* 3501, *dīa n-d-essabair*  
 1232, *co fessabair* 1089, 2022.  
 pl. 3. *co n-de-chsat* 1161, *co roiset* 4281, *cīa thiasat* 1845, 245  
*co n-hēirset* 8232.  
 With transition to *b* future *fors-maidfid* 6492.

## SECONDARY.

The usage is that of a secondary subjunctive.

- sg. 1. *co tissainn* 1814.  
 sg. 2. *mani thorasta* 6321.

<sup>1</sup> It is by no means certain that this is a future. *seiss* generally has the meaning of 'sits,' and it may have so here, cf. Thurneysen, *KZ.* xxxi, 98.

<sup>2</sup> An obscure word, but probably an *s* subj.



- 250 sg. 3. *no-s-ainsed* (rel.) 5568, (*connāch bēth*) *di-gsed* 4616, *co n-di-gsed* 5623, *co n-de-chsad* 5643, *ro-fessad* 7928, (*nī faīl nech*) *ro-das-fessad* 562, *co fessad* 3847, *co rissad* 2700, *tissad* 6003 (rel.), (*nī bai*) *no-thissad* 1510, *co tissad* 1796, 5451, *tissad* 1816 (rel.), *mani tissad* 1864, *ar tessad* 6423, *cia no-m-thoirsed* 3115, (*nī bac*) *cota-coimsed* 5387, (*nī frith*) *fo-lilsad* 5776.
- 255 pl. 3. *co tistais* 1807, *nī chōemsaitis* 519, *nī chōemstais* 932, *nā tiastais* 3407.
- 260 With transition to the *b* formation *no-maidfed* 5036, in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, cf. in a similar position *rema nomaissed* 7 *nī fair nordinfithé*, LL. 61<sup>b</sup> 14.

## REDUPLICATED FUTURE.

## PRIMARY.

- 265 sg. 1 (a). *bērat-sa* (rel.) 3321, *mannērat* 1877, *regat*<sup>1</sup>-*sa* 5860, 5825.  
(b). *nochon-epér* 1309, *nī himmēr* 1541, *dobér* 1173, 1272, 2885 (*gia*), *do-s-bér* 2431, *nī thibér* 842 (rhymes with *nī chél*), *nī chél* 841, 2886, *do-gén* 854, 1876 (rel.), 3510, 3824 (rel.), *do-géin* (*cid*) 2050, *din-gēb-sa* 5835, *do-reg* 1279, *nī rag-sa* 1847, *rag-sa* 1663, 1588.
- 270 sg. 2. *bēra* 3805, *toi-rchi* (*to-reg-*) 6128.
- sg. 3 (a). *gēbaid* 8283, *digēlaid* 6257. In compound verb *fo-gēbaid*<sup>2</sup> 1131.  
(b). *atbēra* 8133, *cum-gēba* 8091, 8107, *turegēba* 8105, 8089, *con-gēra* 8229, *dūs in-fagba* 2551, *dogēna* 4060, *ná digni* 6146, *do-t-rega* 3343, *nī raga* 6427.
- 275 Relative—*bēras* 3345, *ibas* 1963. Contaminated with *b* future *rirfes* 1073.
- pl. 1 (b). *at-bēlam* 1556, *nach hepēlam* 2749.
- pl. 3 (b). *at-bélat* 8183, *nī hepélat* 4168, *nī chélat* 8181, *nī gébat* 4835, 5015, *do-génat* 1407.

<sup>1</sup> These forms have been put here in accordance with custom, not that there is any reduplication in them. Formally *reg*, *rega*, etc., are probably subjunctives used in a future sense.

<sup>2</sup> After an historical tense the secondary future *fogēbad* would be more usual, but the primary future seems to be used to get a slender final consonant to go with *conair*. In 2551 the future follows an historic present, and is followed by the secondary form *foratavraand*. There one is tempted to read *dusin-fagbad*, but it is not certain that a change is necessary.

## SECONDARY.

The secondary reduplicated future and the secondary *b* future have in our text the double usage that Thurneysen has pointed out, KZ. xxxi, 68, serving both to express an imperfect of the future, particularly to replace the fut. ind. in oratio obliqua, and to express an unreal condition. As the examples are few and clear, it would serve no purpose to keep the two uses separate. These tenses are not in our text used to denote purpose.

- sg. 2. *cia do-bërtha* 6033, *dus in-fo-gèbtha* 1563. 280  
 sg. 3. *at-bèlad* 4644, *no-bèrad* 2806, 6396, *do-bèrad* 3192  
     (*cinnae*), 5819, *nā tibred* 3846, *nī gébed* 3389, *na gèbad*  
     3387, *da-fìn-gèbad* 5796,<sup>1</sup> 5820, *nā fàicbed* 4132, *dus*  
     *in-fa-gbad* 2567, 2583, *gigned* 7524, (*nī fìtir cid*)  
     *do-gènad* 2924, *nī foirbsi no-taiscèrad* 3116, *co nā* 285  
     *ragad* 3132, *cid no-tharged* 2764.  
 pl. 1. *do-mèlmais* 1564 (rel.).  
 pl. 3. *for-bèrtais* 2807, *dus in-foigèbtais* 5563, *dus in-fo-*  
     *gèbdais* 5567, *no-ragdais* 4724, *no-ragtais* 6774, *nā*  
     *targtais* 6775. 290

*b* FUTURE.

## PRIMARY.

- sg. 1 (a). (a) *sloinnfi* 1212 (rhymes with *doirchi*).  
     (β) *rannfat* 1264, *fóidfet* 3835, *muirfet-sa* 5857. From  
     compound verbs *'mo-dilfat* 3836, *dī-legfat* 2429.  
     (b). *nī fellub* 3188, *fo-churiub* 6121, *do-lècub* 2428.  
 sg. 2. *no-m-diultfa* 7723, *nī blasfi* 1433, *nicho-m-cräidfe* 1210. 295  
 sg. 3 (a). *lethfaid* 8028, *línfaid* 8032, 8095, *croithfaid* 8104,  
     *crithnaigfid* 8056, *fírfid* 8203, *lessaigfid* 2059. From  
     compound verb *timm-airgfid* 8080.  
     (b). *no-b-säerfa* 2732, *no-t-säerfa* 3806, *tiefa* 8025, 8029,  
     *tiefe* 8103, *do-t-icfa* 2442, *to-tiefa* 6855, *con-glúaisfi* 300  
     8297, *ar-túaisfi* 8299.  
     Relative—*dälfas* 3318, *úraigfes* 4486. From com-  
     pound verb *túais-laicfes* 3284 (rhymes with *chess*).  
 pl. 1 (a). *anfamit* 1425.  
     (b). *nī léicfem* 3978. 305

<sup>1</sup> i.e. *doingèbadh* from *di-in-gabaim*. See Windisch, Wb. s.v. *dingbaim*, and cf. *dingèbae* above.

- pl. 3 (a). *crethfait* 8083, *ferfait* 8315, *legfait* 8081, *linfait* 8160, 8288, *sorgfait* 8209, *beccaichfit* 8059, *lúadfit* 8207, *sétaigfit* 8057, *sinfit* 8208, *sósefit* 8219. From compound verb *tiefait* 1164, 8129, 8227.
- 310 (b). *com-línfat* 8027, *co-olósefet* 8217, *tiefat* 8037, 8038, 8039, 8040, *tiefet* 8151. By extension *com-bensfat* 8070, *fo-m-gnífet* 852.

## SECONDARY.

- sg. 1. *ní aisneidfínd* 827, 956.
- sg. 3. *ní-n-báidfed* 1506, *no-m-bífad*<sup>1</sup> 5812, *n'innisfed* 6440,
- 315 *ní-n-loisced* 1505, *dús in-rathaigfed* 6152, *no-maidsfed* 5036.

## PERFECT.

In the past tenses the forms are divided into (a) simple verbs without *ro-*, (b) simple verbs with *ro-* prefixed, (c) compound verbs without *ro-*, (d) compound verbs with *ro-* infixed, (e) compound verbs with *ro-* prefixed. After particles like *ní com-*, the same advancement of the particle is found in O.Ir., but in our text *ro-* is also found at the beginning of compounds without any such reason.

- sg. 1 (a). *co cúala* 3333, *ní fúar*<sup>2</sup> 3312; with transition to the *s* pret. *na fúarus* ('what I got') 1758, 1762, 1766, 1770, 1774, 1778. Deponent—*húair ná fetar* 1335,
- 320 *húair nāch fetar* 1579.
- (c). *co facca*<sup>3</sup> 1336, *do-de-cad* 1817, *do-deo-chad* 3097, *atat-gēn (aith-gninim)* 2887, *tánac* 1684, *glē-thánac* 1695, *atethach (atsoch)* 817. Deponent—*co tarrasar* 1819.
- 325 (d). *do-rōe-ga-sa* 8173.
- sg. 2 (b). *can do-de-chad* 3094; with transition to *s* pret. *fo-fúarais* 1751. Deponent—*forcoemnacar* 1544 (rel.), *húair nāch atamar (=ad-dam-)* 1406, *rofetar* 3799, *tarrasar-su* 1861.

<sup>1</sup> O.Ir. *fris-hia*, *dúfóhe*, cf. KZ. xxxi, 85. With *bífad* cf. *bífed*, LL. 60. 28.

<sup>2</sup> On this verb see Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-93, p. 292.

<sup>3</sup> *acca* from \**ad-cecha*, cf. *frisracacha-sa* 'speravi,' Ml. 47<sup>a</sup> 8.

- eg. 3 (a). *cái* ('went') 7185 (*ó shunn*), *uair nā cūala* 2109, *co* 330 *cūala* 1365, 5805, *mar't-chūala* 5969, cf. 1717, *fúair* 1136 (rel.), 1567 (*nī*), 2107 (*co*), 2553 (*ō*), 2572 (*nī*), 2871, 2933 (*con-das-*), 3037 (*hūair nā*), 3394 (*na* 'what'), 3523 (*feib*), 3697 (*conā-*), 3737 (*co*), 5654 (rel.), 6197 (rel.), 6435, 6447 (*co*), *gāid* 1322, 335 1421, 3249, *luid*<sup>1</sup> 1134, 2157, 2310 (*co*), 2614, 2799, 2947, 3023, 3053, 3129, 3140, 3205, 3439, 4005, 4009, 4277 (*co*), 5692 (*dia-*), 5861, 6165, 6201, 6237, 6352, 6407, 6445, 7066, 7147, 7153 (*dia-*), 7176, 7335 (*dia-*), 7395 (*dial-*), 7658 (*intan*), *luidis* 2929, *luid*<sup>2</sup> 340 5880 (rel.), *memaid* 4765, *mebaid* 6457, *sephain* 2159, 6063.
- (b). *ro-d-bi*<sup>3</sup> 3049, *ro-chachain* 4043, *ro-cechlaid* 2234 (rel.), *ro-dos-dedaig* 6550, *ro-s-dedlaig* **7958**, *ro-fāid* 1340, 1884 (= *dochōid*, LBr.), *ro-gāid* 1629, 2833, 4125 (*go*), 345 4557, 5502, 5561, 6857 (*co*), 7189, *ro-giul*<sup>4</sup> 6916, *co ro-n-giul* 6957, *nocho-s-rala* 4110, *dia-r-luid* 7145, *ro-memaid* 5097, 6589, *ro-mebaid* 5901 (*ō shunn*), 5928 (*ō shunn*), 6913 (*ūa[r]*), 6953, *co rōemid* 5891, *ro-reraig* 2573, 7237, *co ro-rāith* (*rethim*) 5717, *ro-do[s]-selaig* 350 6549, *ro-sephain* 4042, 5061, *ro-thāig* **7903**.
- (c). *atas-com-aing* 5320, *ata-com-ong* 6920,<sup>4</sup> *dian-ebairt* 7639, 7703, *con-facca* 1067, 1304, 2123, 2127, 2129, 2133, *mar ro-chūala* 1661, *at-chūaid* 3281, 3297, 3365, 6141 (*ad-*), 6195, *co n-hécaid* 3875, *do-chóid* 1529 (rel.), 355 6072, 6417, 7737 (rel.), 7753, 7757, *do-chūaid* 2101, 2592 (rel.), 3685, 3711, 3877, (*amal*) 3981, 4001, 4745, 4776, 5333, 5625, 6040, 6129, 6143, 6149, 6169, 6219, 6381, 6433, 6453, 6469, 7709, *de-chaid* 1720 (*nā*), 4617 (*con-*), 7315 (*dian-*), *deo-chaid* 2797 (*lasin-*), 360

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zimmer, KZ. xxx, 215 sq. If the word be a perfect the weak form of the stem might perhaps be most easily explained by equating *luid* with a middle *\*pludai*. Another possible explanation is to take *luid* as an aorist = *\*pludet*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 89. The form also occurs in a poem by Fland Mainistrech, LL. 132<sup>b</sup> 34.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps we should read *rogiul*, as there seems no particular metrical reason for the anomalous *rogiul*. The form *rodingul* is also found in a poem ascribed to Fland Mainistrech, LL. 133<sup>a</sup>, but it must be changed to *-giul* to rhyme with *ciuin* in the following line, cf. LL. 132<sup>a</sup> 31.

<sup>4</sup> The inflection is neglected for the sake of the assonance with *chródonn* in the preceding line. For the verb, cf. Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-93, p. 295.

- do-de-chaid* 1302, 1397, 2105, 3105, 3873, 4093 (rel.),  
 5697, 5824 (rel.), 5961 (rel.), 6377 (*dodécaid*), *do-deo-*  
*chaid* 1179 (rel.), 3733 (rhymes with *teched*), 4170  
 (rel.), 4749, 5442, 5653, 5801, 6222 (*in trāth*),  
 365 6877, *mar it-con-naire*<sup>1</sup> 2589, *mar at-ehon-naire* 3021,  
*do-fuaid* ('ate') 1287, *dūa*[i]d 1293 (*ōshunn*), *do-dūad*  
 1440 (*ōshunn*, rhymes with *eath*), *do-das-fuaid* 3860,  
*dia tar-aill*<sup>2</sup> 7643, *tarail* 6675, *o fo-fuair* 1177,  
*fo-fuair* 3091, 3809, 3812, 5151, 6349, 6470, *at-geoin*<sup>3</sup>  
 370 3463 (*amal*), 3721 (*ō shunn*), *co farnaic* 3736, *r-ānio*  
 2801 (rel.), *cotr-ānic* 3717, 3752 (rel.), *cond-r-ānic*  
 7649, *do-s-fānic* 1687, *tānic* 1711 (*thānic* rel.), 2025,  
 2153 (*co nōeb-th-*), 2265 (*tan*), 2306 (*co*), 2345 (*tan*),  
 2556 (*nī*), 2867 (*moch-th-*), 3013 (*tan*), 4107 (*thānic*  
 375 rel.), 4972 (*ondúair th-*), 6315, 6419, 6937 (*dia-*), 6996  
 (*dia-*), 7172 (*ōshunn*), 7384 (*dia-*), 7493 (*dia-*), 7509  
 (*thānic* rel.), 7517 (*thānic* rel.), 7525 (*dia*), *tar-blaing*  
 7761, *dollig* 1389, *do-luid* 1377, 1669, 2162, 2616, 2843,  
 3017, 4781, 4785, 5569 (*dolluid*), 5577, 5873, 5957,  
 380 6248, 6341, 6385 (*dolluid*), 6400 (rel.), 6964, *tarraid*  
 (= *to-ar-ráith*) 864 (*conos-*), 3019 (*con-das-*), 3217, 3519  
 (*do-s-farraid*), 4157 (*do-tharraid*), 4184 (*dia*), 4666  
 (*nocho-s-*), 5715 (*do-farraid*), 5720 (*co*), 6535, *nī*  
*thūaraid*<sup>4</sup> 5071, *ind-roith* 1078 (rhymes with *croich*),  
 385 *des-sid* (= *di-ess-s-*) 1381, 1387, 2156 (*con-*), 3745,  
 4447, 6131 (*con-*), 6959 (*con-*), 7549, 7567 (*forēn-*),  
 7783, *con-at-taig* 7637 (*cuintgim*).  
 (d). *do-ār-faid* 326, *tār-baid* 3271, *tār-faid* 1243 (*ūair nū*),  
 7659 (*dia-*), *frisín-ērbairt* 7689, *do-ro-chair* 1296, 1353  
 390 (*hūair*), 2005 (*hūair*), 4079, 5414, 6484, 6931 (*hūair*),  
*tor-chair* 5401 (*dia-*), 5895 (*dia-*), 6398 (*co*), 6560 (*i-*),  
*do-s-rōega* 1070, *da-rōega* 7299, *do-rōega* 3073, 5681,  
*dorāegai* 3436 (rhymes with *blái*), *do-rūiga* 2785,  
 3377, 4561, 7501, 7581, *do-s-rūiga* 7505, 7528 (rel.),

<sup>1</sup> From \**dedaire*.

<sup>2</sup> Whether these forms are really perfect is doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> In 1689 *aithgén* seems to be used for the 3 sg., *aith-geoin*, unless, indeed, we are to translate 'thou didst not know, Eve.'

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *-tarfuairaid* 7627, *doruaraid* 4985, *nī deruaraid*, Ml. 31<sup>a</sup> 6, cf. Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 74. In *tuaraid*, *-tarfuairaid* we seem to have a confusion of the particles *di-* and *to-*, due to the fact that when pretonic they both become *do-*.

*do-r-ānic* 5339, *at-ru-la* 5317, *it-ru-lai* 6209, *at rullai* 395  
3213, *dian-ērlai* (= *ess-ro-lai*) 5349, *con-rúala* 5970,  
*do-rala*<sup>1</sup> (*ō*) 6013, *do-n-rala* (*feib*) 1214, *do-m-rala*  
6188, *im-ru-laid* 6270, 7605, 7678, 7735, *at-rōebaid*<sup>2</sup>  
3997, *do-rūa-raid* 4985 (rel.), *co-tarfūaraid* 7627,  
*con-r-olaig*<sup>3</sup> 5275 (rel.). 400

(e). *ru-thānic* 7609, *co ro-thafind* (*to-sennim*) 6405, *ro-thēpi*  
29, *ro-thēpi* 7869 (= *-to-aith-bi*), *amal ro-dēccai* 1069.

Deponent *—fitir* 2924 (*nī*), 3207 (*nī*), 4018 (*nī*), 6491  
(*arnacon-*), **7967** (*in*), *génair* 5329, 7436, 2234 (*con-*), *nī*  
*chōem-nacair* 1514, *for-cōemnacair* 3288 (rel.), *conānanacair* 405  
2798, *con-am-modair* (rel., *ad-midair*) 6761, *tarrasair* 1633,  
2237, 2601, 2632 (*fors-*), 4788 (*hi-*), 5109, 5436 (*co-*), 7565,  
*dū-thracair* 5941, *ro-fitir* 563 (*ma*), 2029, 3725, *ro-dāmair*  
7749, *rogénair* 2245 (*noco-*), 2693, 2736 (*dīa-*), 3693, 3716  
(*i-*), 5392, 5638 (rel.), 5703, 7522 (rel.), 7529, 7572, *ro-* 410  
*midair* (*an-*) 3121, *conid-n-ār-lassair* 3791, *conid ārlasáir*  
4791, *do-rōe-maidir* 2709, *do-rōe-madair* **7955**. By extension  
*targlamair* 1637.

pl. 1 (a). *fūaramar* 3888 (*nī*), 4681, 4701, *gādamar* 1699.

(c). *nīmanfacamar* 1346, 1858, *cond-rāncamar* 1348 (rel.), 415  
*do-de-chamar* **7965**.

pl. 2 (a). *in cūalabar-si* 1393.

(c). *do-chūabair* 1443, *can tancabair* 3472.

(d). *do-ro-chrobair* 3608.

pl. 3 (a). *fūaratar* 3541, *gādatar* 1649, 5525, 5526, 5550, *gēnatar* 420  
2495, 2823, *lotar* 1417, 3647 (*dīa-*), 3549 (rel.), 5040,  
5419, 5597, 6666, 6718, *lotair* 3457.

(b). *ro-gādatar* 1641, 2171, *ro-mēbdatar* 2522.

(c). *at-chūadatar* 5813, 6338, *do-chúatar* 816, 1478, 1701,  
2425 (*hūair*), 3513, 3537, 4665 (*ō shunn*), 5400, 425  
*do-chótar* 2419, 3947, 5068, *co n-deo-chatar* 2407, *do-deo-*  
*chatar* 5453, 5495, 5524, 5609, 5640, 6616, *dūatar*  
(‘ate up’) 3328, 3332, *r-āncatar* 3517, 3649 (*ō sunn*),

<sup>1</sup> In 3668 *nī tharla* seems to have been replaced by *nī tharlaid* for the sake of the rhyme with *amlaid*, cf. *cīd ar do-t-ralaíd* 1307. In 2189 for *fjordoraluid* Mr. Stokes suggests *fo-da-r-álaig*.

<sup>2</sup> A word of which the meaning is obscure. Formally it might stand for *at-ro-memaid*.

<sup>3</sup> Probably from *conutgim* ‘build up, erect,’ cf. *conutastar* i. *turcēbthar*, L.L. 188<sup>b</sup> 17, *adrotaiḡ* g. ‘adstrueret,’ Ml. 35<sup>b</sup> 13.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Trans. Phil. Soc. 1891-94, pp. 525-6.



- 4052 (*ō shunn*), *t-anoatar* 4671, 5585 (*dia*), *tār-naclar* 6939.  
 430 (*d*). *do-ro-chratar* 4769, 5912, *con-ērlatar* (= *ess-ro-l*) 4471.  
 But *im-ru-lat* 3441.

In the following forms the *s* preterite has taken the place of the perfect:—*dia m-ben* 2002, *ro-ben* 5871, *nī ro-chan* 4804, *fo-can* 2695, *ro-dēc* 6685, *ro-s-rig* 191, *ro-scīng* 545, *co ro-slig* 5655, *ro-theich* 6912 (if we should not read *rothāich*), *fos-ror-dingsetar* 5297, *do-ru-mensat* 3689, *ro-rigset* 5249, *diur'maid* 5582 and *ro-ēirn* 7225, 7253, 7272 for older *asrīr*.

#### *t* PRETERITE.

- sg. 1 (*d*). *am-ru-bart* 1869 (i.e. *imrubart*).  
 440 sg. 3 (*a*). *nī-s-nacht* 5635 (= *nī-s-anacht*), *ō shunn bāth* 5265, 5385, *ort* 5305, 6203, 6227, 6228, 6781, 7121, *slecht* 4189.  
 (*b*). *ro-alt* 7939, *ro-m-m-alt* (rel.) 2887, *feib ro-sn-alt* 3527, *ro das-alt* 7725, *nīr-n-anacht* (*nī-sn*-, Stokes) 3135, *dia r-anacht* 5671, *ro-don-anacht* 6037, *ro-dn-anacht* (rel.) 6101, *ro-gart* 1181, 1909, 4097, 4969 (*ro-n-gart*), 5981, *ro-mert*<sup>1</sup> 3029, *ro-da-mert* (rel.) 2779, *ro-t-mert* (rel.) 1712, *ro-art* (*orgim*) 6729, *ro-sn-art* 3454, *ro-sn-ort* 4473, 5315, 6205, 6865, 6892 (rel.), *co-r-ort* 6420, *dia ro-hort* 7233, *dia r-ort* 6843, *dia r-hort* 7544, *ō r-ort* 5921, *dos-r-ort* 3398.  
 450 (*c*). *at-bāth* 2681 (*ondūair*) 3661 (*ō shunn*) 3692, *inid-apad* 5307, *at-bert* 1405, *as-bert* 2805, 2925, 3845, 3881, 3977, 4130, 6925, *co for-bart* 5721, *do-bert* 2000,<sup>2</sup> *im-for-bart* 3212, *iar-facht* 5529, *co n-ācart* 2559, *fō-cart* (= *fo-od-gart*) 6777, *con-gart* 5199, *for-con-gart* 3878, 4797, *co forn-gart* 3701, *feib tharñ-gert* 6359, *ro-šiacht* 2099, 2528, 3089 (*ō*), 4649 (*ō shunn*), 4676 (*ō*), *ro-šiach* 5673 (rhymes with *amaliach*), *ō r-šiacht* 5409, *co rīacht* 2760, 6408, *do-t-rīacht* 2100, *co ro-acht* 6446, 455 *co r-ocht* 3106, 5872, 6043, 6945.  
 460 (*d*). *im-r-acht* 2641, 2825, *imm-us-r-acht* 5506, *dia n-ēr-bailt* 5344, *nahī nā hēr-balt* 5417, *at-ru-bairt* 1325, *con-ērbairt*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ro-t-mera* 1710, *nummeratsa* 'produnt me,' *MI.* 140<sup>c</sup> 1; *conumerad*, *MI.* 24<sup>c</sup> 20; *rodmert*, *LU.* 84<sup>a</sup> 8. But *ro-mertsam* 3623.

<sup>2</sup> The pret. of *do-biur* is usually as in earlier texts *dorat*; *do-bert* is found, however, as early as the *Milan Glosses*, 23<sup>b</sup> 7, cf. *Tur.* 135.

1399, 6495, 6879, *ad-ro-part* 2617, 5501, *fo-s-rö-part* 6778, *ar-rö-et* 7597, cf. 2439, *for-for-con-gart*<sup>1</sup> 1413, *fris-ro-gart* 3565, *for-füacart* 3729,<sup>2</sup> *do-r-im-gart* 2019, 3176, *do-r-ar-* 465 *n-gert* 289, 1071, 3081, 3164 (*feib*), 7523, *to-ro-gart* 2242 (rel.?), *do-ru-malt* 2909, 3683, 3783, 4953, 6989, *co to-r-malt* 6171, *dia to-r-mailt* 2804, 7069, *do-r-id-nacht* 124, 1469, 2020 (rel.), 2672 (rel.), 4101, 6191, 6504, *do-s-r-ind-nacht* 6747, *do-r-imm-art* 860, 2501, *do-n-r-* 470 *imm-art* 3485, *do-s-r-imm-art* 6551, *at-raracht* 3765, 6077, 6081, 6373, 7171, *as-raracht* 1065, 2855, *dia n-ërracht* (= *ess-raracht*) 7360, *fo-rui-recht* 6040 (*fo-rigim*), *do-ró-sat* (= *\*to-ro-vo-semto*) 3, 657, 2437 (rel.), 2534 (rel.), 4454, 7513 (rel.), *do-rö-sait* 291, **8098**, 475 *do-ró-sat* 7787, *do-n-rö-sat* 7518, *do-s-ró-sat* 258, 786, 7278, *do-s-rö-sat* 1222, 1502, *do-dos-rö-sat* 564 (rel.), 1110, *do-rúa-sat* 832, 1037, 1981, 2174 (rel.), 6785 (rel.), **7871**, **7977**, *do-dos-rúa-sat* 676, *do-n-rúa-sat* **7972**, *do-ró-sait* **8278**, *do-ro-acht* 5512 (*ō shunn*), 6364, 480 *do-rú-acht* 5473 (*ō shunn*), *do-s-rocht* 3397, *to-racht* 2230 (*co*), 2571 (*co*), 2597 (*húair nāch*), 3159 (*co*), 5700 (*co*), 6816 (*co*), *nī tho-racht* 6139,<sup>3</sup> *do-ro-tacht*<sup>4</sup> 5200.

- (e). *ro-id-part* 1803, *ro-iar-facht* 3093, 3293, 3469, 5809, 485 6133, 6174, *r-iar-facht* 6175, *ro-for-con-gart* 2605, 3793, *ro-th-ar-n-gert* 3057, *ro-th-air-n-ger[t]* 2780, *ro-füacart* 1230, *co r-id-nacht* 6083, *ro-th-id-nacht* 1977, 2793, *ro-t-id nacht* 2633, 2657, *ro-as-lacht* (*ad-sligim*) 1404. With *ro* both at the beginning and in 490 the interior *ro-d-r-ósat* 2281.

pl. 1 (d). *rem-it-ru-bar-mar* 7420 (rel.).

pl. 3 (b). *ro-gartatar* 3769.

- (c). *oo fōpartatar* 5601, *at-rachtatar* 5881, 5900, *at-rachtár* 4461, *as-rachtatar* 7762, *co rüachtatar* 4667, *co rüactar* 495

<sup>1</sup> For *for*- cf. Stokes, Tripartite Life of Patrick, I, lxxi.

<sup>2</sup> In 3514 *fo-s-rudcar* for *fo-s-rüacart* to rhyme with *dochúatar*.

<sup>3</sup> *tarecacht* 7213 may be an analogical formation from *táireim* 'make.'

<sup>4</sup> This may, perhaps, be a *t* preterite, but I have no other example of the compound, unless we may compare *tothocht*, Windisch, Wb. 843. Is it connected with *conutgim*, of which we had the perfect above? In 4639 occurs a form *doromnat* (which ought to rhyme with *formait* in the following line). If the word be not corrupt, it can hardly be parsed except as 3 pl. pres. ind. of *dormoinim* (older *dormoiniur*) 'much of evil they forget her fame.'

3540, *co to-rachtatar* 6483, *ro-siachtatar* (*ō ihunn*) 4033. Here may be mentioned the obscure *tlúachtar* 3539 (according to Stokes for *trúachtar* = *dorúachtar*).

The *t* pret. appears for the older perfect in *diar-rochét* 7533 500 (*canim*), *ro-dét* 6873 (*damim*), *enegdatar* 2521 (*snigim*).

In the following forms we have transition from the *t* inflexion: —*ro-thacrus* 1865, *ro-dosn-airg*<sup>1</sup> 5415, *ro-s-tair-bir* 1391, *do-r-im-gair* 4930 (rel., rhymes with *dúgnaið*), *do-s-r-im-gair* 6555 (rhymes with *inbaid*), (*nī sinn*) *ro-th-im-gair* 1731 (rhymes with 505 *dindgnaið*), (*hé*) *ro-s-t-im-gair* 2066, *ro-th-im-gair* 2477 (rhymes with *finaið*), 2717 (*feib*), *ro-th-air-n-gair* (*feib*) 3287 (rhymes with *samlaid*).

#### s PRETERITE.

sg. 1 (*b*). *nach dot-ro-marbus* 1908, *ro-scarusa* 2031, *ro-gabus-sa* 1333; *an-ro-rádius* 823, *ma ro-sárugus* 1403. In 3103 510 *ro-do-scar* seems anomalous for *ro-dos-scarus*.

(*c*). *do-ratus*<sup>2</sup> 1866.

(*d*). *con-ab-tor-lus* (= *to-ro-lus* from *to-lā* 'I drove you') 1872, *am-ror-fus*,<sup>3</sup> 1871.

sg. 2 (*b*). *ro-t-marbais* 1680, *ro-n-slátas* 1755; *ro-m-báithigeis* 515 1320, *ro-n-báithaigeis* 1724, *ro-n-gáiláigeis* 1723, *ro-t-mudaigeis* 1680, *feib rorádis* 7803.

(*c*). *do-n-rátas* 1756, *do-r-ra-laid* (*do-lldaim*, metri causa).

(*e*). *ō r-ad-rai*<sup>4</sup> 1801, *ro-chöem-cláis* 1678.

sg. 3 (*a*). *dia m-būs* 4470, *dia m-bennach* 7149, 7165, *for* 5303 520 (*dia*-), 7741 (*ris* 'with whom'), *ó gab* 3383, *huandúair thall* 2557, *torraim* 6828,<sup>5</sup> *cinn* 7883, *connách-as-clái* 5259, *cruthaig* 7879, *dia sái* 2810, *dia-n-cúrsaig* 7063, *nī-s-glúais* 5107, *dia ráid* 7495, *suidig* 6661.

<sup>1</sup> Probably on account of *dorochair* and *argabail*.

<sup>2</sup> Though this verb is in its origin probably a reduplicated perfect containing the particle *ro*, it is already in the Glosses inflected as an *s* preterite, e.g. *doratus*, Ml. 103<sup>a</sup> 6, *doratis*, Ml. 56<sup>a</sup> 13, 80<sup>b</sup> 2.

<sup>3</sup> Seems a 1 sg. formed to the old perfect of *imm-for-fen*-, cf. *for-fen*-, Thurneysen, KZ. xxi, 85.

<sup>4</sup> In Old Irish *adruim*, borrowed from Lat. *adoro*, is treated as though it were a native compound verb, *adrodar*, Ml. 14<sup>b</sup> 4, *atror*, 69<sup>a</sup> 3, *adnorfa*, 81<sup>d</sup> 6.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *\*toromaim*, Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies*. 931. The verb seems a denominative from *torruma* 'attendance,' l. 628. Here the meaning seems to be 'has watched over' (Stokes).

Absolute forms:—*delbais* 5459, *ferais* 2951, 3033, 6089, 6093, 6317, *gabais* 3545, 3861, 6461, *seccais* 525 7067, *clichis* (?) 277, *fóidís* 1917, 1957, 2565, 3085, 3461, 6565, *sréais* 6073.

- (ð). *ro-dén* 7573, *ní r-ds* 4809, *ro-t-ro-báeth* 3119, *ro-n-bás* 4059, *ro-bennach* 965, 6333, 7601, 7625, 7632, 7653, 7701, *ro-m-bennach* 3429, *ro-s-bennach* 7192, *ro-dm-* 530 *berb* 2846, *ro-s-biath* 3409, 4621, 4817, *ro-chacht* 4675, 7075, **7980**, *ro-s-cacht* 4695, 5786, 6807, *ro-char* 2781, 7585, 7589, 7593, *ro-ro-char* 2816 (rel.), *ro-s-car* 5047, 7473, *ro-das-car* 2991, *ro-da-car* 3173, 3705, *ro-chart* 3829, *ro-chēs* 7359, 7769, *ro-das-crín* 535 3399, *ro-das-dáer* 5289, *ro-delb* 21, 25, 37, 53, 67, 186, 281, 570, 806, 1029, 1035, 1102, 1614, 2637, 4812, **7875**, **7959**, *ro-t-delb* 1055, *ro-n-delb* **7970**, *ro-s-delb* 148, **7864**, *ro-s-derb* 26, 54, *dia ro-diult* 7747, *ro-dlong* 3555, *o ro-hēt* 1058, 540 *ro-fer* 3774, 4330, 6190, 6941, 6945, *ro-gáel* 6167, *ro-n-gáel* 1341, *ro-gáil* 1291 (rhymes with *fáil* 'wolf'), 3234 (co), *ro-gell* 5795, *ro-glan* 7669, *ro-iaid* 5580, 5967, *ro-hic* 7641, 7645, *ro-s-hice* 7681, *ro-das-hice* 7636, *dia r-hice* 7607, *dia r-hice* 7619, 545 *ro-lā* 1565, 4715, *rollā* 7651, *co ra-lā* 7226, *ro-m-lā* 1849, *ro-t-lā* 1745, *dia r-las* 3815, *ro-leth* 6161, **7913**, *ro-lín* 3880, 4747 (co), 5789, **7873**, *ro-l-lín* 1708, 6796, *ro-d-lín* 6479, *r-an-lín* 1911, *ro-n-lín* 4059, *ro-s-lín* 1354, 1439, 3400, 3425, 3445, *ro-das-lín* 5049, 5547, 550 *ro-das-lān-lín* 5076, *ro-marb* 1984 (co), 2845 (go), 3724, 5627 (co), 6592, 6596, 6714, 6740, 6804 (*dia*), *ro-mol* 7557, *intan ro-m-mol* 4030, *ro-rann* 205, but *ro-raind* 5121, *ra-roinn* 2650 (rhymes with *doimn*), *ro-róen* 7425, 7444, *ro-sáer* 2809, 6103, 7297, 7301, 7305, 555 7309, 7313, 7317, 7321, 7325, 7329, 7333, 7337, 7341, 7349, 7353, 7357, 7361, 7365, 7369, 7373, 7377, 7381, 7385, 7389, 7393, 7397, 7401, 7405, 7409, 7413, 7424, 7465, 7484, *ro-sáer* 6099, *ro-da[s]-sáer* 5257, 5299, 7345, 7392, 7419 (*feib*), 7477, *ro-sūs* 560 7621, *ro-do[s]-sás* 2541, 4065, *ro-scar* 3216, 7059, 7221, **8156**, *ro-t-scar* 1735, 1743, *ro-irscart*<sup>1</sup> 7669,

<sup>1</sup> The word must mean 'cleansed'; it refers to the purification of the Temple, **Matt. xxi, 12**, cf. *urscartadh* 'a cleansing,' O'Reilly. The verb appears also in *diuscartaim* 'entferne,' and *W. ysgarthu, dygarthu* 'purify.'

- 7696, *ro-selb* 2638, *feib ro-fern* 2987, *ro-sil* 317, *ro-slecht* 6995 (at 3467 read *ro-slechtsat*), *ro-smacht* 565 6891, 7214, **7979**, *ro-da-smacht* 7155, *ro-s-tacht* 3453, *ro-thacht* 2503, 2919, 2536 (*in-*), *ro-triall* 4693, 6947, *ro-thriall* 7767, 2848 (*co*), 3011 (*co*), *ro-da-triall* 7197, *feib ro-s-triall* 3525, *ro-thräith* 1289, *ro-thræth* 6793, *ro-das-træth* 4995, 6553 (rhymes with *ros-glæd*), 570 *ro-das-træth* 4993, *ro-gab* 1313 (*o*), 1729, 1733, 1744, 2545, 3372, 4007 (*co*), 5545 (*o ihunn*), 5789, 5865, 5949, 6024, 6512, 6557, 6570, 6612, 6621, 6653 (*tan*), 6919, 6929, 6997, 7028, 7056, 7093, 7108, *ra-gab* 5605 (*o*), 6636 (*co*), 6927, 575 *o r-gab* 3438, *ro-m-gab* **7811**, *ro-s-gab* 1299, 1639, 3445, 4641, 4753, 5783, *ro-n-gab* 1707, *ro-n-gab* 6229, *ra-n-gab* 6087, *ro-das-gab* 2688, *ra-gaib* 2016 (*co*), 2181 (*co*), *ra-gaib* (*co*) 6202, *ro-ainmnig* 2651, *ro-s-ainmnig* 272, *ro-báid* 2594, 4755, 580 *ro-t-báithig* 1320, *ro-bidge* 6076, *eo ro-t-brathaig* 1317, *ro-blais* **8184**, *ro-bris* 5261, 5606, 6737, *ro-briss* 5533, *ro-do-bris* 5573, *dia r-bris* 7355, *co ro-dm-brös*<sup>1</sup> 5469, *ro-chait* 6196, *ro-chathaig* 6085, *ro-chichlaig*<sup>2</sup> 7765, *ro-chind* 1343, 5675, 7739 (*dia*), 585 *co ro-chinn* 2411, *ro-das-cinn* 4231, *ro-chlóí* 6087, *ro-chlái* 3027, *ro-s-clói* 2111, *ro-d-clái* 5470, *ro-s-cnái* 5787, *ro-s-cōraig* 221, 5127, *ro-choimsig* 677, *ro-choisc* 6374, *dia r-choisc* 7615, *ro-chrithnaig* 7766, *ro-chruthaig* 33, *ro-s-cuibdig* 87, 4713 (*cia*), *cor-das-cuibdig* **7882**, *ro-s-cuibrig* 88, 4714, *ro-chuimnig* **7861**, *ro-chuimrig* 7773, *ro-t-chuir* 1730, *ro-chúrsaig* 6689, *ro-dail* 2813, 2912, 3991, 7157 (*dia-*), *ro-s-dechraig* 1925, **7877**, *ro-dechraig* 2773, *ro-digail* 4465, *ro-s-dilsig* 5325, *ro-dluig*<sup>3</sup> 4045, *ro-fáid* 2177, 595 *ro-m-fáid* 1683, *ro-n-fáid* 1855, *dia r-fáid* 1797, 1809, *dia r-fóed* 1805, *ro-fúed* 7071, 7229, 7617, *ro-fich* 7053, *ro-fig* 6831, *ro-foilsig* 713, *ro-s-faillsig* 7281 (rhymes

<sup>1</sup> From *brúim*, cf. *corobrúis*, I.L. 73<sup>b</sup> 12. It rhymes with *-clái*.

<sup>2</sup> A verb of which I have no further example. Stokes takes it as a reduplicated perfect, but we should then have expected \**cechlaig*. O'R. gives *ciochlaigim* 'I change, I weaken.'

<sup>3</sup> A new formation for *dedlaig*, which we had above, 'he cleft the back of it [the Red Sea].' With the pl. *drumne* from *druim* (cf. Stokes, Féilire of rús, cvii, 20), cf. *vōra θαλάσσης*. With *ro-dluig* cf. *diarfodluig*, 7764.

- with *taidbsin*), *nī ro-s-foillsig* 7895, *ro-s-fossaisg* 429, 549, *co r-fóthaig* 6660, *ro-fúaisg* 2849, *ro-fúathaig* 146, *ro-s-glaid* 1290, *conā ro-glúais* 7563, *ro-gnī* 277, 600 329, 625, 3943, 6147, 6895, **7872, 7973**, *ro-da-gnī* 163, *ro-s-gnī* **7878**, *ro-das-gnī* 7269, *ro-gnīd* (rhymes with *David*) 647, *ro-lúthair* 2853, *ro-léic* 1288, 1300 (*co*), *nacha-roi-lio* 4787, *-ro-lio* 2761 (*nād-*), 4054 (*nachan-*), 6429 (*nī*), 6465 (*nī*), 6724 (*nī-s-*), 605 6965 (*go*), 7115 (*nī*), *ro-s-lessaisg* 2603, *co r-leitair* 6379, *ro-s-loisc* 4467, *ro-loisc* 6420 (*co*), 7123, 7127, *ro-m-loisc* 3310, *nī ro-s-lúaid* 5112, *ro-s-mathig* 6663, *ro-n-mill* 1344, *ro-miscnig* 2478, 6213, *ro-oentaig* 5701, *ro-or-daig* 45, 585, 593, 605, 993, *ro-s-or-daig* 65, 4229, 610 *ro-sn-or-daig* 3789, 4921, 5433, *ro-rúid* 1104, 1401, 1468, 1525, 1673, 1813, 1825, 1837, 2030, 2440, 2480, 2610, 2941, 3111, 3177, 3509, 3757, 3797, 3870, 3897, 4061, 4409, 4429, 4456, 4825, 5009, 5621 (*co*), 5641, 5668, 5677, 5983, 5985, 6145, 6185, 615 6233 (*co*), 6827, 6845, 6853, 6977, 7727, *ra-rúid* 4428, *ro-rathaig* 2547, *ro-t-rathaig* 1318, *ro-réidig* 5037, *ro-rim* 114, *ro-ruithnig* 7537, *ro-sainig* 6347, *ro-sáraig* 1523, *ro-t-sáraig* 1308, 5661, *ō r-sáraig* 6542, *dia r-sáraig* 5672, *ro-scúil* 5098, *ro-da-sidaig* 5203, *ro-* 620 *sluind* 7491, *ro-snái* 2292, *ro-sóe* 7379, *ro-sói* 4641, *ro-[s]-sluic* 4468, *ro-srethaig* 269, 577, 6701, *ro-suidig* 101, 162, 2187 (*ō*), 5975, 7438, 7439, 7779, *ro-suidig* 323, *ro-throisc* 7573, *feib ro-thúir* 7611, *ro-t-úaslaig* 2479. With *do-* for *ro-*, *do-das-sáer* 4818, *do-da[s]-* 625 *sáer* 3985, *do-dilsig* 1225=*ishé rodilsig*, *do-gait* 5556 (*gataim* 'steal'). Deponent — *ro-s-biathastar* 3413, *ro-ennastar* 2767, *ro-smachlastar* 1121, *ro-oirdnistar* 5005, 5048, 5541, 7129.
- (e). *do-sn-arm-chell* 6552, *díall* 4328, *ro-huc* 2639, 7040, *ro-fuc* 630 7164, 7685, *ro-s-fuc* (*dia-*) 7339, *ruc* 1897, 2920 (*intan*), 3269, 3285 (*rel.*), 4971 (*con-*), 5262, 6199, 6312, 6391, 6451, 6508, 7141, 7241, 7542, 7771, *co ruc* 1934, 2236, 2839, 5716, 6082, 6387, *con-ot-ruc* 1799, *do-fuc* 1285, 3658 (*sic leg.*), 7777, *do-fuc* 4068, *da-fuc* 635 3645, 6707, *da-fuc* 6571, *cíð do-t-fuc* 1714, *do-thuc* 2235, *feib do-s-fuc* 3529 (*feib*), 3988, 4426, 5073, 5197, 5689, *das-fuc* 3961, *do-n-fuc* 4055, *do-for-fuc*



- 4679, *tuc* 1323, 2965, 3016, 3151, 3990 (*triasa*),  
 640 4029, 4048, 5339, 5663, 5664, 5917, 6329, 6725,  
*eo tuc* 1811, 2185, 2575, 5291, 5335, 5723, 5875,  
 6727, *dia tuc* 6803, 6844, 7227, 7311, 7367, 7371,  
*dian-tuc* 7646, *thuc* 2868 (*mise*), 4625, 5505, 7273,  
*fúcaib* 6168, *fo-facaib* 1201, *do-for-gaib* 531, *do-s-for-*  
 645 *gaib* 4230, *do-s-ro-gaib* 503, *tor-gaib* 46, *feib thor-gaib*  
 5847, *do-fúar-gaib* 1883, *do-s-fúar-gaib* 4773, *do-s-*  
*fúar-gaib* 5201 (rel.), 5258, 6677, 7464, 7469, *das-*  
*fúar-gaib* 5389, *do-sn-uar-gaib* 7445, *túar-gaib* 2698,  
 650 2911, 4805, 5581, 6764, 6901, 7559 (*dia*-), *túar-egab*  
 7438, *thúar-gaib* 1973, *do-s-fuit* 1719, *for-failtig*  
 3715, *att-ib* 6326, *tharaic* 6367, *for-femid*<sup>1</sup> 2140,  
 3209 (*húair*), *coln-ar-laic* 3659, *con-ar-laic* 3035,  
*tar-laic* 2540 (rel.), 4021, 7217, *thar-laic* 2513, 7252,  
 7577, *tarm-laic* 3259, *as-os-laic* 4801, *do-n-fúas-laic*  
 655 7519, *fo-n-rathaig* 3489, *ad-chosain* 1718, *con-at-tail*  
 7613, *co for-maig*<sup>2</sup> 4095, *do-rat* 210, 949, 1031,  
 1518 (rel.), 1997, 2009, 2653, 2817, 2821, 2921  
 (*húair*), 2765, 3025, 3080, 3172, 3652, 3704 (*úair*),  
 3780, 3813, 3821, 3840, 3879, 3927, 3929, 3941,  
 660 3944, 3963, 3974, 4449, 4553, 4821, 4837, 5017,  
 5381, 5508, 5509, 5554, 5629, 5684, 5889, 5933,  
 6177, 6250, 6409, 6507, 6533, 6609 (*dorát*), 6710,  
 7046, 7061, 7076, 7143, 7429, 7433, 7555, 7561,  
 665 **7849**, *do-t-rat* 1737, 1750, *do-n-rat* 1319, 1342 (rel.),  
 4053 (rel.), *do-s-rat* 93, 2535, 3528 (*feib*), 4425, 5022,  
 5280, 5281, 5785, 5797, 6739, 6788, 6794, 6808,  
 7201, **7940**, *do-dos-rat* 5867, *co tarat* 2193, 2856,  
 3767, 6691, 7772, *dia tarat* 1789, 2661, *nī tharat*  
 6218, *co tart* 1921, *dia tard* 2811.  
 670 (d). *ad-r-ann* 2919, 7921, 3303 (?), *do-r-air-chel* 6797,  
*do-r-hell* 2619, *fo-t-r-oir-gell*<sup>3</sup> 3385, *do-rúacell*<sup>4</sup> 3148,  
*fo-t-ro-chess*<sup>5</sup> 1746 (rel.), *ad-r-ell* (*ad-ellaim*) 7631,

<sup>1</sup> If it be not for *fo-ro-femid*.

<sup>2</sup> 'So that he increased,' if it be not rather an historic present, cf. *formagar* i. *tormaighther*, O'Donovan, Supplement.

<sup>3</sup> From *for-gellim*, *for-cellim*, cf. *forrorbris* from *forbrissim*, Ml. 34<sup>b</sup> 16, 67<sup>b</sup> 24.

<sup>4</sup> In 3174 written *dorucel* for the sake of the metre. Cf. *darucellaat*, Ml. 126<sup>d</sup>, *dorúagell*, Irish Charters in the Book of Kells, iii, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ascoli, *Suppl. Period. Archiv. Glott. Ital.*, ii, 129.

- ad-r-eth* (*ad-ethaim*) 5877, *do-r-in-ól* 6485, 6897, *do-r-inn-scan* 6885, 7498, *cétna-da-r-inn-scan* 2244, *do-ro-bern* 5030, *do-s-r-im-thos*<sup>1</sup> 6331, *do-r-im-thas* 5973, *co* 675 *für-gaib* 6991, *do-rúar-gaib* 7109, 7140, *do-s-f-er-gaib* 7293, *fo-t-ra-glúais* 1741, *fo-n-r-álaig* 3579, *fo-s-r-álaig*<sup>2</sup> 6541, *do-raraic* (*taireim*) 7193, 7216, *feib do-s-r-im-thaire* 5406, 5430, *dia-n-fars-laic* 7319, *dia-n-fors-laic* 7399, *co nās-tors-laic* 5287, *do-ro-diúsaig* 680 6893, 6936, *feib im-ro-ráid* 1915, 7231, *feib do-s-ro-rann* (*-rainn*, Stokes) 4422, *do-ro-rainn* 4213, *do-s-ro-rainn* 152, *do-rigni* 285, 293, 305, 337, 573, 869, 960, 961, 1394 (rel.), 1653, 1953, 2065 (rel.), 2071 (rel.), 2724, 2769, 2869 (rel.), 3015, 3853, 5113 685 (*an-*), 5164, 5274, 5354, 5411, 6105, 6164 (rhymes with *li*), 6397, 6800, 6817, 6869, 7173, 7245 (*an-*), 7732 (rhymes with *bí*), *do-rigni* 1080 (rhymes with *rofigli*), *do-m-rigni* 2060 (rel.), *do-s-rigni* 7286, *an-do-rinni* 1428 (rhymes with *linni*), *do-rigne* 13, 17, 301, 690 313, 2386 (rel.), 5608, 7697, *do-rōni* 1530 (rel.), *do-rōne* 656, *do-s-rōna* 295 (rhymes with *cōra*), *-derna* 1982 (*noco-*), 3190 (*nā*), 5977 (*con-*), 7604 (*dian-*), 7683 (*dian-*), **8005** (*nā*), *co n-dernai* 6968.<sup>3</sup>
- (e). *dia ro-s-tarm-chell* 7387, *ra-dī-all* 428, *ro-to-gäeth* 3120, 695 *ro-s-tair-mesc* 2762, *ro-thair-mesc* 2770 (rel.), *ro thin-ól* 5971, 6906, 6951, *ro-tascair* 858, *ro-thai-selb* 1929, *ro-ait-treb* 6241, 6561, *ro-chai-treb*<sup>4</sup> 6562, *ro-ait-treib* 6413, *co ro-n-erail* 3707, *dia r-erail* 7327, *co ro-s-ath-in* 2196, cf. 6245, *ro-imm-chomaire* 7553, *ō ro-air-chis* 700 1913, *ro-s-con-gaib* 547 (rel.), *ro-fäcaib* 1315, *ro-him-clóe* 4697, 4716 (rhymes with *toi*), *ro cläem-clai* 1295, *ro-chläem-chlai* 5412, *ro-chäim-chlai* 7657, *ro-dī-lig* 1657, *dia r-fo-dluig* 7764, *cia-ro-n-táraig* 1524 (*táircim*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *timnthasta*, Wind., *tim-tasta*, Atkinson.

<sup>2</sup> From *fo-álgim*, cf. Ascoli, *Gloss. Pal. hib. clix*. In 7203 Stokes reads *foarálaig*.

<sup>3</sup> Here may be mentioned, though the analysis of the word is not clear, *tarmart* 4123 (*co*), 4744, 6900 (*co*), *tarmairt* 1688 (*co*), 4717, 6444, 6923 (*co*), *tarmairt* 3260. The word may in its origin have been a *t* pret., but the passive *tarmairtad* shows that *t* was no longer felt to be a termination.

<sup>4</sup> According to Stokes = *ro-choitreb* from *co-trebaim*. The LBr. version gives no help. It has simply *gabais tra David rigi for treb Iuda aaithe catha Gilus* i. e. sé mis 7 secht m-bliadna dó amlaid sin 7 in-Ebron ro-aittreb is eirre sin.

- 705 to rhyme with *-sdraig*), *ro-os-laic* 1281, *co r-os-laic* 2151, *o ro-fúas-laic* 7324, *ro-fē-mið* 6308, *ro-s-aisneid* 5337, *ro-im-ráid* 6221, *ro-lairinn* 859, *co ro-n-dúsaig* 6690 (rhymes with *rochúrsaig*), *ro-tho-díus-aig* 7673, *ro-das-der-saig* 4423, *cor-thin-coisc* 1923, *feib ro-thúir* 7611, *ro-at-tlaig* 2593, 3521, 3532 (rel.).
- 710 Forms ending in *i* (*e*). From *i* verbs:—*ro-s-bāde* 1437, *ro-das-bate*<sup>1</sup> 5279, *mar ro-dēirce* 'looked' 1705, *ro-dāili* (*ro-ddil*, MS.) 5359, *ro-héige* 3215, *ro-s-héti* (rhymes with *li*) 4840, *ro-s-héitte* 4817, *ro-s-indre*<sup>2</sup> 5607, *ro-s-plāge* 1438, *ro-fáidi* 2600, 3166, 3825, *ro-figli* 1079, *ro-figle* 7599, *ro-s-lēice* **7870**, *ro-ráidi* 845, 849, 1989, 2481, 3566, 3795, 3928 (rhymes with *crī*), 4161, 4441, 5662 (*anī*), 5833, 6109, 7705, 7713, 7721, *ro-rádi* 1441, 1821, 2389, 2416 (rel., rhymes with *lii*), 2621, 3181, 3817, 6981, *ro-ráide* 834, 2417, 2512 (rel., rhymes with *glé*), 3868 (rel., rhymes with *glé*), 4185, 5537, *ro-rāde* 1081, 1841, *ro-rīmi* 105, *do-aitne* 5105, *do-rui-rmi* 830 (rel.), *do-r-aittni* 7531, *ro-thaitni* 4492, *ro-thaitne* (*in trāth*) 6509. From<sup>3</sup> other verbs: *ni-s-derbai* **8006**, *semai* 5965, *ro-das-biathdi* (rhymes with *li*) 4636, *ro-fallnai* 2630, *feib léir ro-d-gellai* (rhymes with *cenni*) 5816, *ro-gellai* 5817, 5837, *co ro-lēgai* 5063, *ro-samlai* 1178 (rhymes with *adbai*), *ro-da[s]-sāssai* (rhymes with *li*) 2564, *ro-scrūtai* 3189, 3193, *ro-da[s]-sāeri* 5276 (rhymes with *crī*), *connd ro-thallai* 7168, *do-r-im-nai* 4153, *do-rucai* **7983**.<sup>4</sup>
- 720 Present with *ro* in a preterite sense<sup>5</sup>:—*nīr-ath-rucha* 7754 (rhymes with *crucha*), *ro-d-asta* 7527 (rhymes with *doerūiga*), *ro-delba* 331, *ro-s-delba* 363 (rhymes
- 735

<sup>1</sup> Read probably *ro-das-bāde*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ratindriem*, LL. 100<sup>b</sup> 7.

<sup>3</sup> Here may be mentioned the forms *tarcai*, *targai*. In l. 5 *targca*[i] seems = 'made' pret. of *tāircim* 'efficio': similarly *targ[ca]* 654, 866, 363; perhaps *targai* 4498 (cf. 7193). In 7002 *targca* seems to mean 'surpassed,' so *tarcai* 7163, and perhaps *targca* 161, *tarcai* 8174. In 6679, where it is followed by *os*, the meaning is obscure.

<sup>4</sup> In 3777 *rofastai* may have a suffixed pronoun *ro-fast-ē*.

<sup>5</sup> If they are not preterites formed after the analogy of verbs of the third class, e.g. *ro-asta*: *-asta* = *ro-lēici*: *lēici*. In verbs like *semai* we seem certainly to have an extension of *i* from the third class; the *a* before *i* indicates that the preceding consonant preserved its original timbre.

with *remra*), *ro-gaba* (? *ro-gabai*) 6383, *nī ro-s-liuna* 6531, *ro-t-mera* 1710, *ró-riagla* 6699 (rhymes with *blīadna*). With the ending of the simple verb *ro-s-dōer-aid* 5557 (to rhyme with *dubrōenaib*).<sup>1</sup>

pl. 1 (b). *ro-recsam* 3624, *ō ro-chrūdsam* 1486 (rhymes with 740 *forfūcsam*), *ro-chrūdsam* 1537, *hūair ro-sāraigsem* 1517. Deponent — *ro-n-bāidsemmar* 3621, *ro-crāidsemmar* 3622.

(c). *tucsam* 6319.

(d). *for-fūcsam* 1485, *nā dernsam* 1853.

745

pl. 2 (b). *ro-recsabair* 3636.

(d). *do-rinnsid* 3616.

pl. 3 (a). *fersat* 2945, *marbsat* 6598, *scarsat* 3953, *sīlsat* 2011 (rel.), *trīallsat* 3253, 4478, *co n-dos-sāersat* 5295, *gabsat* 3459 (con-), 4677, 5743 (con-), 5829, *snīset* 3639, *gnīset* 750 4197, *gnīset* 5081. Deponent—*cansatar* 4039, *liunsatar* 5267.

Absolute forms:—*dolbsait* 3852, *fillsit* 3466, *gnīsit* 4077, 6513, *sīnsit* 5741, *snīsit* 6514, *tīnsit* 3465.

(b). *ro-fersat* 1643, 1881 (ō), 3047, 5725, 6909, *dia r-lēgsat* 755 7347, *ro-lethsat* 5244, *ro-liunsat* 2686, *ro-marbsat* 3068, *ro-rēlsat* 3609, *ro-scarsat* 5277 (ō *shunn*), 5312 (ō *sun*), *ro-sernsat* 2143, 5053, *ro-slēchtsat* 3610, *ro-dos-slēchtsat* 5491, *ro-thechtsat* 3403, *ro-gabsat* 3003, 4696, 5242, *feib ro-delnaisset* 174, *ō* 760 *ro-līset* 4081, *ro-dos-terbaisset*<sup>2</sup> 4653, *ro-chdīnsat* 7760, *ro-chīnsat* 5937, *co r-chīnsat* 6047, *ro-chīnsat* 3640, *ro-chummaiscset* 2421, *ro-das-fūidset* 4655, *ro-lēicset* 3945, *ro-s-lēicset* 4028, *ro-loiscset* 2147, *ro-do[s]-smachtaigset* 3637, *ro-miscnigset* 5551, *ro-óentaigset* 2406, *ro-ráidset* 765 3969, 6253, 6357, *ro-sáilset* 7759, *ro-m-sāraigset* 2423, *ro-séidset* 7768, *ro-sīnsat* 5176, *co ro-sīrsat* 5051, *ro-suidigset* 5095, *ro-gnīset* 5175. Deponent—*ro-dos-dāirsatar* 3665, *ro-das-dāirsatar* 5293, *ro-diultsatar* 5268, *hūair ro-fēgsatar* 4669, *co rālsatar* 5603, *ō ro-* 770 *scarsatar* 1725, *nīr-lēicsetar* 6421, *ro-miscnigsetar* 2409,

<sup>1</sup> In 216 read probably *ro-s-derbaid*. *ro-thairgid* 2953 belongs to *tarcaid*, Wind., cf. *tairgid*, LU. 83<sup>b</sup> 37, *tarcid*, LL. 93<sup>a</sup> 2, and may be perfect in form, cf. Stokes, *Trip. Life of Patrick*, ii, 647.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Atkinson, s.v. *terbaim*, *rotherba*, BB. 15<sup>a</sup> 46.

- ro-m-miscnigsetar* 3127, *ro-āintadaigsetar* 2401, *ro-rāidsetar* 5497, *ro-suidigsetar* 4084.
- 775 (c). *tin-ōlsat* 3109, 4761, 5077, 5120, 6613, 6632 (rel.), 6765, 6792, *con-gabsat* 2145, *ro-fucsat* 3515, *rucsat* 5637, 6600, *do-fucsat* 5041, *tucsat* 1360, 5457 (co), 5749, *thuesat* 5780 (rel.), *do-s-ratsat* 3664, 5489, 6617. Deponent—*tin-ōlsatar* 5617, *dia rucsatar* 5405, *dia tucsatar* 7539, *do-ratsatar* 3401, 3405, 3508.
- 780 (d). *do-s-r-im-chelsat* 5059, *for-ro-gellsat* 6773, *do-r-in-ōlsat* 5479, *do-s-r-in-ōlsat* 5439, *co fārgsat* 6459, *do-ru-r-gabsat* 7133, *do-rigset* 3533, 3660 (anī), 3957, 4073, 5126, 5746, *do-rónsat* 5093, *fo-s-ru-gēnsat* 3690. Deponent—*do-rin-ōlsatar* 2757, *do-ri-gēnsatar* 5929, 785 *fo-s-ru-gēnsatar* 5251. With transition *do-ri-géntar* 6052, cf. *ro-slēchtatar* 2169.
- (e). *ro-for-gellsat* 1839, *ro-thin-ōlsat* 5729, 5748, *ro-diultsat* 2685, *ro-chom-ar-leicset* 2780 (rel.), *co ro-thuismiset* 2403, *ro-at-tlaigset* 3638, 4034. Deponent—*ro-thin-ōlsatar* 5476, *ro-chom-ar-leicsetar* 2737.
- 790

## PASSIVE VOICE.

## PRESENT INDICATIVE.

- sg. 3 (a). *dlegair* 262, *derbdair* (rhymes with *serntair*) 4235. From compound verbs *for-mūchthair* 8164, *feib immur-churthir* 2119, *for-tuigthir* 8192.
- 795 (b). *ad-fiadar* 1987, 2014, 2511 (rhymes with *briathar*), *canar* (rel.?, rhymes with *calad*) 1028, *nád-chelar* 6295, *nacha-lecar* 1250, *dlomthar* 8329, *do-rimther* 236, *do-guithir* 1580, *ní derntar* 8, *toimsideir*<sup>1</sup> (rel., rhymes with *beir*) 172.
- pl. 3 (a). *serntair* 4236, *suidigdir* 4297.
- 800 (b). *ainmnigter* 216 (rel.), *gránaigter* 8307, *sáraigter* 8305.

## PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

- sg. 3 (b). *co r-faillsigder* 3349.

<sup>1</sup> From *toimsim*, a denominative from *tomus*, cf. *Merugud Uilix*, ed. K. Meyer, 125. The same verb may be found in 1901 *fristoimsidir* (rhymes with *soillsidir*), but the meaning of the line is not quite clear to me.

## IMPERATIVE.

- sg. 3. *canar* 673, **7833**, *tur-gabar* 4163, *at-nagar* 2223,  
*dēntar* 2443, 3899, 4401, *gaibther* 6369, *seinter* 1367.  
 pl. 3. *ta-bartar* 2219, *ē-cortar* 2222, *tuctar* 3357, *suidigter*  
 4317, *dī-lgiler* **7808**. 805

## SECONDARY PRESENT.

- sg. 3 (a). *eretha* 5513.  
 (b). *co ná-tuctha* 5645, *co tuctha* 6567.  
 pl. 3 (a). *for-diñgtis* 3679.  
 (b). *có ná-tuctais* 5651, *co m-bruissitis* 3968, *siu do-gnētis*  
**7853**. 810

## s FUTURE.

- pl. 3. *fo-chichritar* **8324**.

## s SUBJUNCTIVE.

- sg. 3. *co tistar* 2055.  
 pl. 3. *co n-éiscitar (ad-cluaid)* 3771.

## SECONDARY.

- sg. 3. *dia festa* **7840**.

## REDUPLICATED FUTURE.

- (a). *cobérthair (cobrain)* 1949. 815  
 (b). *dobérthar* 1463, 1996, **8179**, *nī gébthar* 1995, 6980,  
*do-géntar* 1535, 3504 (*intan*), *con-scérthar* 2529.  
 pl. 3 (a). *bértair* 444, **8325**, *scérdair* 443, *scértair* **8327**, *con-*  
*gérdair* 453.  
 (b). *con-gérdar* **8367**, *co-scērairtar* 8084, *con-scērairter* 8140, 820  
*con-s-cértar* 8152.

## b FUTURE.

- sg. 3 (a). *tróethfaidir* **8317**, *cinnfidir* **8143**, *fillfidir* **8141**, *rigfidir*  
 4727, *scailfidir* 7715.  
 (b). *no-t-noëbfaidir* 3803, *no-t-söerfaidir* 3804, *no t-mairfider*  
 6496, *co m-brüifider* **8144**, *croithfider* **8091** (rel.). 825  
 pl. 3 (a). *clóifitir* **8215**, *fillfitir* **8262**, *menmaigfitir* **8216**, *roinnfitir*  
**8213**, *lúaidfiter* **8054**, *dechraigfiter* **8328**. From com-  
 pound verb *os-laicfitir* **8189**.

## SECONDARY.

- pl. 3. *do-dī-lgfitis* 1411.



## PERFECT.

- 830 sg. 3 (a). *intan breth* 2263, *ní frith* 1361, 2683, 3227, 3229, 4759, 5367, 5775, 6999, 7008, *frith* 3592, *goét* 7756 (rel.), *in-fess* 7865, *connach fess* 8115, *dia-cess*<sup>1</sup> 7866, *dia n-mert* 5361, *cota-mert* 3071.
- (b). *ro-alt* 707, 3491, 3709 (*ō ihunn*), *co r-alt* 7547, *ro-clos* 795, 813, 973, 1079, 1189, 1221 (*feib*), 1321 (*feib*), 1489, 1723, 1969, 2385, 2715, 3027, 3135, 3469, 7055, 7221, 7675 (*feib*), *ro-chlos* 455, 1375, 2098, 2141, 3940, 6289, *ro-chlús* 769 (rhymes with *exercitus*), *feib ro-d-dēt* 1627, *feib ro-dlecht* 1301, *ro-ellacht* 3551, 840 *ō ihunn ro-hort* 7546, *ro-rith* 3153 (*intan*), 3169, *ro-slas* 6889, *ro-chalcad* 395, *ro-chertad* 196, *ro-clannad* 2239, *ro-chomallad* 3272, *ro-chomolnad* 6360, *ro-crochad* 4172, *ro-chummad* 5767, *ro-damnad* 2679, 6731, *ro-domnad* 2675 (rhymes with *fognam*), *ro-delbad* 1050, 1060 (*co*), 845 1792, *ro-delgnad* 1791, *feib ro-diglad* 2719, *ro-fīrad* 3164, 6899 (*feib*), *ro-hiccad* 5665, 7375 (*dia-*), 7612, 7648 (*dia-*), *ro-lād* 3695, 6988, *co ra-lād* 5100, *ro-lāad* 7181, *ro-n-lad* 1483, 1859, *feib ō ro-līnad* 2509, *ro-marbad* 1988 (*co*), 6432 (*dia-*), 6516, 6921 (*ō ihunn*), 850 *ro-rannad* 173, 5150, *ro-riaglad* 6640, *ro-scarad* 4973 (*ō ihunn*), 6501, *ro-sernad* 1385, *ro-gnid* 384, 529, 6471, *ro-ainmniged* 1053 (*co*), 2756 (*ō*), *ro-bāided* 4013, *co ro-clōad* 7579, *ro-cōraiged* 81, *ō r-fāided* 6809, *ro-fāided* 6836, *dia ro-t-chruthaiged* 1793, *ro-oirdned* 4493, 855 *ro-sīned* 2149, *ro-suidiged* 6345, *ro-thuistiged* 1146 (rhymes with *cath*), *ro-dat-tuistigad* 1780 (rhymes with *cath*).
- (c). *feidb tad-bas* 976, *do-breth* 3995, 6449, *ō ihunn at-ches* 3125, *at-chúas* 3728, 5493 (*ō ihunn*), *do-chúas* 6301, 860 *co forcon-grad* 6215, *ad-fēt* 6823, *cetna-air-necht* 2705, *rucad* 2857 (*tan*), 6573 (*co*), 7743 (*cos- = cosan-*), 7744, *rofucad* 7745, *tucad* 3289, 7358 (*dia-*), 7545, 7687 (*dia-*), *tar-gbad* (rhymes with *tardad*), 2915, 7307 (*dia-*), *tarc-bad* 7751 (rhymes with *tardad*), 865 *tor-gbad* 5103, *túar-gabad* 2759, 3039, 4037, 4171, 5425, 6657, *do fúar-gabad* 6696, *co tarmartad* 6735, *co tun-scanad* 6232.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *rocessa* inveci sunt, Ml. 114\* 16, *arrochess* gl. expansum est 39° 19, and Ascoli, *Supplementi Periodici dell' Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, ii, 127 sq.

- (d). *im-r-acht* 2847 (?), 2913, 4209, *do-är-fas* 3225, 3265, 3376, 4089, 4108, *do-thär-fas* 1941, *cinnas do-tär-fas* 3316, *an-do-mm-är-fas* 3317, *tär-fas* 3309, 3325, 5301 870 (*dia*), *do-r-ar-brad* 6922, *dia n-ér-brad* 1795, *ar-rancas*<sup>1</sup> 1249, *for-feimdes* 4808, *feib do-ru-mat*<sup>2</sup> 4243, *do-n-ra-lad* 1787, *co tardad* 2916, *tardad* 5397 (*dia*), 6251 (*dia*), 7308 (*dia*), 7752 (*fors*-), 7755 (*dia*), *do-róined* (?) 234, *do-rónad* 82, 782, *do-rigned* 3727 (*feib* 875 *léir*), 4111, 6985, *do-r-airned* 4495. In 6801 Stokes would change *róined* to *ro-dirmed* (*ad-rimim*). The ending *-ed* has spread to radical verbs in *do-rairbered* 6362, *ro-air-bered* 4496, *do-r-airn-gered* 4828, *an do-r-arn-gered* 6361, *feib ro-tharn-gered* 4712. 880 Cf. *dorairngerad*, Ml. 113<sup>d</sup> 5.
- (e). *co ro-ad-nacht* 2228, *co r-had-nacht* 5271, *ro-thin-ölad* 3393, *ro-turobad* 4266, 7044 (rel.), *ro-thurcbad* 7029 (rel.), *co ro-th-imm-art* 3071, *co ro-chum-scaiged* 6231, *ro-ind-led* 5735 (rel.). 885
- pl. 3 (a). *bretha* 1969, 5313, 6604, 6760, *scribtha* 603, *cuibdigthe* 5430, *saichthe* (?) 185.
- (b). *ro-berrtha* 6720, *ro-gerrtha* 6719, *co ro-marbtha* 5101, *ro-s-delbtha* 418, *co ro-scartha* 7048, *ro-íochta* 2135, *co ro-cláithe* 5083, *ro-cruthaigthe* 204 (rhymes with *glē*), 890 *ro-chumrigthe* 5429.
- (c). *rucetha* 7206, *fo-fuctha* 3263, *tuctha* 3559, 3561, 7633 (*cos*-), 7668 (*cos*-), *do-ratta* 6745.
- (d). *targlamtha* 2714.

In the following cases the old perfect has been replaced by the passive participle, cf. Zimmer, KZ. xxviii, 363 sq.

sg. 3. *ro-ainmnigthe* 3052 (rel., rhymes with *aibbligthe*), *clúithi* 895 (? *elðim*) 3685, *ro-do[s]-suidigthe* 5158.

pl. 3. *gníthi* 4283 (rhymes with *sithbi*), *ro-chrochdai* 6752, *ruethai* 5328 (rhymes with *cuchtai*), *feib ro-láthi* 2716, *ro-cro[i]chligthe* 3558 (rhymes with *foichligthe*), *ō for-facaiðthi* 1358, *ro-hir-gaibthi* 3261, *ro-dirgnaithe* 3262. 900

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zimmer, KZ. xxviii, 348 sq., and for *forfeimdes* 350. *corodabādes* 2182 seems to be used *metri causa* for *co ro-da-bāid*.

<sup>2</sup> Stokes takes this as passive of *do-mídiur*, and this would suit the sense excellently. But the form causes a difficulty, for the perf. pass. of *do-mídim* would rather be \**do-ru-mass* cf. *mese* g. *examinatum*, Ml. 31<sup>a</sup> 28. If *dorumat* is to be explained in this way, it would seem to be a momentary formation to rhyme with *cubat*. But does it come from *do-moinim*?

## PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.

- is *bennachta* 2167, *nem-desctha* 4352, *dlomtha* 903, *omnaide* 7144, *so-gabtha* 64, *lobtha* 1347, *mesctha* 3579, *ní sechnada* 2307; *foirbthi* 4857, *fir-fuirbthe* 1938, *nad-chliithe* 451, 5771 (MS. *clithi*), 6875 (MS. *clithi*), *tad-chrethi* 3250, *aur-gairthe* 1324, *aur-gairthi* 1158, *élnide* 1612, *foi-mti* 840, *a[t] timm-arta* **8131**, cf. **8154**, *cum-rechtai* (rhymes with *rostechtai*), 3562, *snassi* 491, *bat hei[s]-sreite* 4887, *aidbligthe* 3051, *boltnaigthi* (leg. *boltnaigthe*, rhymes with *glē*) 488, 910 *cinte* 33 (MS. *cinti*, rhymes with *firmiminte*), 698 (rhymes with *gnē*), *cinti* (rhymes with *inti*) 6351, *cuibdigthe* 5430, *cumnigthe* (rhymes with *glē*) 6156, *deligthi* (leg. *deligthe*) 4112, *nem-dascaigthe* (rhymes with *glē*) 3914, *doilbth[e]* 4331, *nibtar foichligthi* 3557, 915 *isligthe* (rhymes with *se*) 3482, *nem-lochtaigthe* (rhymes with *glē*) 592, *for-loiscthe* (rhymes with *gnē*) 4312, *messraigthe* 156, 158, 160 (rhymes with *de*), *orddnide* 4130, *sainigthe* 4583 (MS. *sainigthi*), 5846, *scáille* (rhymes with *glē*) 4316, *scailti* (leg. *scáille*) 1601, 920 *tessaigthe* 159. In *cinnt* 133, *gaibt* 3491 we may have abbreviated forms. Some of the chevilles cited, p. 13, may be referred to this heading; cf. also *derbtha sloig* 4275. These participles have, for the most part, the force of adjectives. I have noted no 925 examples of the participle of necessity.

## THE INFINITIVE.

The infinitive in Irish is simply a verbal noun, inflected like any other noun, and governing the genitive case where the case follows. Thus the discussion of it belongs rather to nominal than to verbal inflexion. But as certain of these verbal nouns attach themselves to certain verbs, performing the part that the infinitive performs in other languages, a brief enumeration of these verbals may not be out of place here. The details of their inflexion will be found under the noun. Except in the case of the rarer forms, no attempt has been made to give all the occurrences of each form.

- (a). *díl* 6304, *innarba* (*ind-ar-benim*) 6907, 7101, *ad-chosain* 1718, *tair-chel* (rhymes with *sel*, *tair-chellaim*) 5798,

- cocairt* 4567, *cor* 3219, cf. 1551, 1763, 1810, *dial* (rhymes with *bìad*, *dì-ellaim*) 1559, *fagail* (=fo gail) 1753, *im-guin* 3046, *dul* 2095, 4116, 6903, *dula* 1395, 930 2393, 2791, 3505, 3871, 3998, 6088, *im-for-dol* 2458, *tin-fed* 606, 1789, *im-luad* 126, 268, 306, 594, 2130, 3054, *fèmiud* 6448, 6456, *òol* 1893, 1944, *com-rac* 5758, *rād* 3333, *fui-roch* 1815, *ruth* (*rethim*) 3107 (rhymes with *biud*), with different inflexion *indred*, *ind-red* 935 5736, 5351, 6772, 7086, *tind-riud* 7085, *com-ait-treib* 1168, *iòr-mach* 3124, *àrim* (*ad-rìimim*) 6810, *tuirim* (*do-rìimim*) 512, 932, *cosc* 4126, 5830, *tincosc* 4104, *triall* 1960 (*trial*, rhymes with *ciar*), 2841, *torroma* 686, 1626. 940
- (b). *aithni* (*ath-onim*) 2216, *in-gaire* 2968, *fuine* 3903, *hitho* 1914, 3907, 3910, 3917, 4119, *nigi* 2936, *com-éirge* 6952, *slaide* 5358, 5365, 6097, 6473.
- (c). *for-cetal* 1627, *tidnacul* 4105, *techel* 6219, *frestal* 2154, *gabàil* 3568, *air-gabàil* 5416, *con-gbàil* 4258, *dì-gbàil* 945 3124, 5788, *fres-gabàil* 7801, *com-thòc-bàil* 854, 858, 1749, 2742, *tar-gabàil* (rhymes with *lár*) 3620, *tor-gbàil* 4272, 6702, *tur-obàil* 2432, 2631.
- (d). *iarair* 680, 3096, 3100, 3112, 7551.
- (e). *acallaim* 1184, 1185, 1609, *ternam* 2620, 4035, 4050, 950 *ascnam* (*ad-scannaim*) 5038, *sessam* 3917, *tairisem* 1276, *frith-alim* 1187, 1200, 1202, 5058, *cosnom* 2840, *gnim* 2758, *dēnam* 694, 3921, *fognam* 1940, *tindrem* 5230, 5999, 6280, *foglaim* 4134, *seinm* 6060.
- (f). *imressain* 1408, *argain* 5644, 5376, *imsergain* (=imm- 955 *ess-org-*) 894, 3718, *tes-argain* 4170, 7512, *frith-orgain* 1334, *timmm-arcain* 1338, 3754, 4128, 4549, 7096, *im-thuargain* 5884, *imm-din* (*imm-agim*) 3739, *im-ditin* 1356, 5564, *richtain* 3082, *tichtu* 1123, 1322, *tichtain* 1323, 3500, 3531, 3808, 5988, *im-rüachtain* 5883, 960 *scarthain* (*scaraim*) 1350, *àigsin* (*águr*) 5960, *taid-bsiu* 2207, 2578, 2584, 3818, *for-aicsin* (so Stokes) 5624, *doiscin* 2118, 2122, 2137, 3197, *im-casin* 2115, 2140, 2578, 5440, *tin-fissin* (*do-ind-fethim*) 2108, *scieichsin* (*scuchim*) 2904, *tairsin* 2903, 5959, *tuistin* 965 2818, *tuicsin* 8012, *dì-lgenn* 1548 (*dilgen*, rhymes with *ben*), 2514, 2724 (*dilgen*, rhymes with *sen*), 5737, *scribunn* 7220.

- (g). *breith* 2215, 3455, *tair-bert* 4123, *id-pairt* 3900, 3906, *coim-pert* 7520, *ta-bairt* 4484, 4743, 6184, *com-gleith* 7224, *to-r-mailt* 1248, *techt*<sup>1</sup> 2040, 2740, 3195, 6120, 6904, *im-thecht* 3092, 3748, *cōem-thecht* (=com-imm-) 1716, 2068, 2124, 2772, *tarm-thecht* 864, 1530, *tuidecht* 2607, 2609, 3798, *tuttacht* 2330, 4415, *tauttacht* 4420, *titacht* 7793, 7805, *frith-tuidecht* 1302, 1851, *fri-tuttacht* (=frith-) 6894, *airchisnecht* (*tair*-, MS.) 1684, *cloistecht*<sup>2</sup> 2837, *coistecht* 4593, 6068, *etsecht* 4977, *folloimnacht* 696, *tim-thirecht* 3422, *imthus* (= \*imme-to-ved-tu-) 2095, 4964, *to-gāes* (*do-gáithim*) 1246, 2896, *imarbos* (= \*imme-ro-med-tu-) 814, *fuined* 2432, 2678, *oirnded* 5680, *teched* 1398, 2926, 3734, 7542, *tuilled* 6430, *innlat* 3699.
- (h). *adrad* 1834, 1836, 2083, *tēclammad* 5054, *anad* 5098, 5673, *annad* 4535, *bennachad* 1128, *borrad* 5362, 5985, *biathad* 6840, *brecad* 4680, *bualad* 4789, 6485, *celebrad* 4442, *clochad* 7360, *comollad* 3360, *crochad* 4511, *orlnad* 6770, 7284, *crochad* 2815, 3572, 3576, *cruthad* 2046, *damnad* 927, 1932, 4025, *derbod* 7327, *dūltud* 4117, *dlomad* 1418, *dlúthad* 187, *dolbad* (rhymes with *ollblad*) 3324, *dalbad* (to rhyme with *adrad*) 1835, *domnad* 1932, 5426, *dt-dnad*<sup>3</sup> 481, 7283, *fegad* 2619, 2962, 6503, *fīgrad* 1048, *fromad* 1254, *im-gabuā* 1066, *glanad* 2093, 2220, *gnássad* 2907, *labrad* 2084, 5832, *lámachtad* 2882, *lamnad* 3028, *lassad* 4369, 7785, *letrad* 6376, *lommrad* 2932, 6302, *mallachad* 4784, *mandrad* 1144, 7100, *marbad* 1531, 5292, 6844, *molad* 2212, 5905, *nertad* 5032, *com-nertad* 6450, *planad* 908, *relad* 3475, *ath-rigad* 6960, *sásad* 499, 1000, 1493, *scarad* 1454, 2094, *taiscelad* 3476, 4652, *sechnad* 642, 674, 1000, *sellad* 4164, *serggad* 7394, *sētd* 651, *silad* 2818, 5159, *slúagad* 5729, 6486, *sōerad* 2595, 6858, *srethad* 2443, 4512, 4544, 5031, *trebad* 1928, 4633, *tróethad* 2627, 5779, 6808, 7086.
- (i). *aimsigud* 7580, *anmnigud* 1176, *air-fitiud* 684, 1492, 1005, 6058, *airmilnigud* 1846, *bádud* 877, 1042, 3629, 3696, 7394 (rhymes with *cruth*), *bádad* (to rhyme with *rath*)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *techt* 3072, *tocht* BB. 479<sup>a</sup> 44, LL. 279<sup>a</sup> 22, 23, from *to-sochim*.

<sup>2</sup> Seemingly an analogical formation after *coistecht*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *donad* 1127 = *danad* 1922.

7326, *dí-bdud* 1648, 5588, *air-dí-bdad* (rhymes with *didnad*) 4372, *bánugud* 6255, *thath-beogud* (= *ath-beogud*) 7120, *in-beogud* 1044, *breud* 887, *brissiud* 3904, *for-brissiud* 5348, *brúithi* (*brúim*, n. sg. *bruud*, *ML*. 34<sup>a</sup> 27) 1010 2690, *búiriud* 877, *cáiniud* 3604, *der-chainiud* 3400, *cairigud* 5830, *cathugud* 3975, 5758, *cathugod* (to rhyme with *cloth*) 4916, *cennsagud* 5986, *certugud* 5042, *cinniud* 967, *ciunniud* 4824, *comclaidbed* 5888, *clissiud* 5347, *clód* 5638, *clóem-chlod* 2037, *im-clóem-clod* 1015 2397, *corgud* 5042, *cuibdigud* 4547, *dálgud* 6259, *dúscud* 6098, *étiud* 6840, *ficud* 8204, *firugud* 5844, *fledugud* 8257, *failsigud* 736, *gleod* 7839, *star-gleod* 4563, *air-liud* 1464, *largud* 880, *leod* 880, *im-thalgud* 5420, 6352, *fúas-lucud* 3356, *túas-lucud* 3924, 4490, 1020 *dí-lgud* 1608, 1647, 1662, *éi-lniud* 598, *liud* 4647, *loscud* 880, 3920, 4262, *tath-lúgud* 8117, *meorugud* 44, *ad-milliud* 1170, *mudugud* 6984, *mudugod* (to rhyme with *col*) 6712, *ath-núgud* 6723, 8119, *óentogud* 1052, 3210, *ordnigod* (to rhyme with *col*) 1142, *ordugud* 2056, 1025 4430, 4545, 7268, *im-rádud* 5832, 6858, *plágud* 879, 907, *rogud* 619, *saigid* 2379, 6439, *sámugud* 6095, *sárugud* 6088, 6096, *sárgud* 3764, 6256, *ath-sárgud* 1546, *scáiliud* 6050, *cum-scugud* 126, 1668, 2058, *sidugud* 1982, *síniud* 4274, 5172, *síriud* 3036, *smach-* 1030 *tugud* 700, *orethugud* 8259, *suidigud* 425, *taidbeigud* 735, *tathigeid* 4420 (rhymes with *leith*), (cf. *athigid* 4416), *toebthugud* 1051, *trágud* 880, *im-thrágud* 2548, *fo-thrucud* 1598, *tírmugud* 1686, *treorud* 1043, *tuistigud* 1848, 2424, *úrugud* 7284. 1035

THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB.<sup>1</sup>

The substantive verb falls into two great divisions—the copula, which is unaccented, and the verb predicating existence, which is accented like any other verb. For the division cf. Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies*, s.v. *táim*. This distinction is still strictly observed in the spoken language, though there may have been certain shiftings of boundary.<sup>2</sup> In the following lists in the present

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stokes, *The Old-Irish Verb Substantive*, KZ. xxviii, 55 sq.

<sup>2</sup> An Irish-speaking friend, who read through the Würzburg Glosses with me, very often found difficulties, from the modern standpoint, in the usage of the substantive verb there.

indicative the copula forms are put first, and are followed by the verbs of the other class; in the other parts of the verb the two sets of forms are in each person given side by side.

## PRESENT INDICATIVE.

## 1. THE COPULA.

This consists of forms from the Idg. *\*esmi*, supplemented by certain others.

sg. 1 (a). *úair am aithrech 7724*, *am seith 3099*, *ciam tōebnocht 1540*, *am triamain 3099*, *ar im sinu 842*, *húair im<sup>1</sup> sinu 1848*, *nīm dana 2069*, *am fer ecráite 3800*.

(b). *orsam<sup>1</sup> eólach 1786*, *isam aithrech 7789*.

1040 (c). *nīdam snimach 2382*.

sg. 2. *at bennachta 7692*, *at gliccu 1147*, *orat noisechu 1145*, *a[t] saindil (corr. Stokes) 1147*, *it foimsid 6969*, *ar it<sup>2</sup> fīadu 7800*.

sg. 3. *is annsu 171*, *is derbdo 159*, *is mōr ind rān 3335*, *is cōem a li 2563*, similarly 242, 1211, 1916, 2043, 2045, 2167, 2748, 2895 (*bess is glé*), 3643, 5531, 6363, 7139, 7248, with plural subject *archangeil is nessam 536*, cf. 538, 540, 542; *is ferr dún an-deligud 2988*, *is ferr duit dul 3796*, *is díles dúib 1088*, *is réil foirn 1050 . . . condrancamar 1347*, *is derb lat 2051*, *is trūag linn 1427*, *is derb is lam<sup>3</sup> choimdid 4811*; *is<sup>3</sup> chīan clú 255*, *is réid drēimm 470*; *is mōrbūaid 158*, *is fossud 8257*, *is adaig imlān 20*, *is cúairt<sup>3</sup> chóir 198*, similarly 19, 4835, 7786; *is tū int engach Iacob 2876*, *is hīsin ind Olimp 125*, *is hé sain intaeac 109*, similarly 117, 1055 135, 287, 558, 744, 752, 756, 781, 4840; *is mē Issau*

<sup>1</sup> = *orisam*. Here we seem to have an impersonal use of the 3 sg. with an infixed pronoun, an explanation which Stokes, KZ. xxviii, 105, applies to *nīdam snimach* and to *darslāna*, *nīdarglāin*, *nīdarnīdāin*, p. 43. Cf. also *nī-for-gliccu*, *nī-for-intliuchtach nī-bar-trōig*, p. 44, from which negative forms the positive *ar-trōig* seems to have developed itself; further, *nīp-for-cēlludaig*, *nī-burn-ecraigid*, *nar-bar-dúrcridig*, p. 47, *nābdat* (= *nābad-at*) *dolam*, p. 47, *bīd-for-coscraig*, p. 49. Stokes, *l.c.*, has pointed out some beginnings of this usage in Old Irish. I have not as yet sufficient collections of material to trace its development, but I hope on another occasion to deal at length with the substantive verb in the Old Irish Glosses.

<sup>2</sup> These are simply varieties of spelling, such as may easily arise in a proclitic; cf. the variation between *it* and *at* in the 3 pl.

<sup>3</sup> Read *cīan* and *cōir*. I have shown, *Bezz. Beitr.* xv, 114, that *is* does not affect a following consonant.



2879, *is mē Oengus* 8009, *bess is hé Issau* 2893, *hissi mēit fīl* 298, *is hē arn-armdas* 1030, similarly 2531, 2599, 3838, 4427, 4953, 4985, 6415, 6431, 7796; *is mē chomētas* 1194, cf. 1529, 1530, 2869, 2896, *is tū* 1060 *rommalt* 2887, *is hē rośuidig* 323, *is hé rotmert* 1712, *issed robao inaes* 2262, similarly 195, 1523, 1986, 2267, 3151, 5203, 7708, 7977; *is messe rorecsabair* 3636, *is mōr n-īrenn roechlaid* 2234, *is mōr dognī* 1694, *issed tiagait* 748, 754, 764, 766, 774; *is fīr forstā* 1065 1840, *is maith robāi* 1905; *is frit dogēn* 1876, *is domechorp forcōemnacar* 1544, cf. 4156, 7029, 7044, 7192; *is fōil dodeochaid* 1179, cf. 1871, *is heire nachalecar* 1250, *isamlaid atāid* 1243, *issann téit* 232, 246. In a relative sense<sup>1</sup> with *tan*:—*tan is d'oencrann maid* 1070 *is uile*<sup>2</sup> 1247, *tan is tūssu rognī* 6147; with *ūair*:—*ūair is glandil* 1207, *ūair is mac diles* 1964, *hūair is leis . . . fritk* 3591; further, *ca lūag is mō* 1173, *atā nī is messu* 1349, *issé is diliu* 3595, *cia de is mō* 7925, *cia de is lethiu* 7929. 1075

Relative—*as nessu* 662, *as dech* 3973, *nī as sia* 6031, *as mād* 7998, 8004, *intan as traig* 7904, *assa* 'whose is' 4485.<sup>3</sup>

*conid cuicfēr* 742, *conid hed canthus* ('chant') 711, cf. 7152, 7431, *conid foidreich* 8270, *conid crannchor* 1080 *rosōraig* 5127, *conid hūad silsat* 2011, cf. 3075, *conid ann fuair* 1136, cf. 6592; *dianid ainm* 110, 119, 128, 2148, 2206, 5438, 6410, *dianid comainm* 872, 1061, 2944, 3588, 7774, in same sense *dianainm* 6112, *dian-comainm* 6694; *manid gau* 2866. 1085

*masofīr* 3497, *maso maith la tūaith* 3872, *massa thū ind Eua* 1189.

pl. 1. *ar-trōig* 1482, *dar-slāna* 3612, *nī-dar-glain* 1609, *nī-darn-idain* 3626.

pl. 2 (a). *atib trōig* 7986. 1090

<sup>1</sup> The confusion between *is* and *as* has already begun in the Old Irish Glosses. Cf. *amal as* Ml. 17<sup>b</sup> 2, 22<sup>d</sup> 13, 26<sup>b</sup> 10, 31<sup>a</sup> 12, 31<sup>d</sup> 7, 33<sup>b</sup> 5, 40<sup>b</sup> 9 with *amal is* 27<sup>a</sup> 13, 33<sup>b</sup> 2, 38<sup>a</sup> 5, 38<sup>d</sup> 15, *huare as* 21<sup>c</sup> 3, 31<sup>b</sup> 24, 48<sup>c</sup> 18 with *huare is* 17<sup>c</sup> 17, 37<sup>a</sup> 10, 50<sup>d</sup> 7, 55<sup>c</sup> 23. Note also 17<sup>b</sup> 8 *is do doinacht maie is nomen locuz*, 35<sup>d</sup> 26 *issamīd is inseo fīrinne*, similarly 44<sup>a</sup> 11, 49<sup>a</sup> 27, etc.

<sup>2</sup> 'Since from one tree is good and evil'; for *uile* by *olc* cf. *rislūate uile*, LL. 205<sup>b</sup> 46, and cf. *maith* and *math* 'good.'

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, i, 8.

- (b). *nī-for-gliccu* 1235, *nī-forn-intliuchtach* 1238, *nī-bar-tröig* 3641 (subj. ?).
- pl. 3 (a). *it cosmaile* 7277, *hit imildin* 194, *cid at ēcsamla* 7277, *cid at mōra* 446, *at mōra* 3625, *at direorai* 5116, *at febda* 696, *at liu* 7291, *ciat serba* 4071, *at sōer* 8195, 1095 *at timmartia* 8131, *itē tri grāid* 666, cf. 257, 692, *atē batar ann* 2937. In 364, 4368, 4396, 5428, *itē*, *atē* have the sense of 'and they,' e.g. *rī rosdolba* . . ., *itē remra*, lit. 'the king formed them, and they thick.'
- 1100 (b). *nīdat soirchi* 64, cf. 1571, 1611, 7976, 8055, *condat cōra* 296, cf. 8154, *indat glain* 'are they pure?' 6176.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. ATĀU.

- sg. 1. *itū io frithalim* 1187.
- sg. 2. *nocon-alaind mar atūi* 1305, *as in baile atāi* 4799, *cia for-atāi iarair* 3096, *mased hitāi 'con iarair* 3102, 1105 *cid tāi diar fagail* 1753, *is cian atāi i sruth* 1676, *cid 'moatāi diar lenamuin* 1722.
- sg. 3. *atā sunn* 5995, *atā nī is messu* 1349, *feib atā mēit* 1174, *nī-m-thā samail* 391, cf. 2663 (?), 3481, 7290, 7825, 8000, 8012, 8016, *nocho-m-thā labra* 2088, *nī-p-tā* 1444, 1110 *nī-s-tā* 4734, *nocho-s-tā* 1451; *atā fo chorbekhi* 2007, *atā . . . for cach senisteir* 184, *atā for oen rith* 203, *atā dīdu (digu, Stokes) for riaguil* 1224, *atā a comdāl fri Moisi* 4180, *im thrī nīmi atā centair* 193, *atā sin charcair* 3283, *atā hi tarngaire* 3305, *matā nech icon cloich* 6157, 1115 *atā Diā ic for togāes* 1246, *atā ic triall* 1960, cf. 3764, 3975, 4680. In relative sentences *cia lūag no-m-thā* 1165, *cia dath atā for cach gāeth* 7948, *ishē atā for*

<sup>1</sup> Even after Ascoli's interesting discussion, *Supplementi Periodici dell' Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, ii, 113 sq., the most probable explanation of these forms seems to be that they are simply forms of *tāim* weakened by the proclisis of the copula. For the sinking of *tenuis* to *media* in proclisis cf. *dar* by *tar*, *gach* by *cach*, etc. The process of degradation goes on before our eyes in the Glosses, cf. *nītaat cosmuli* Wb. 9<sup>b</sup> 7, with *nītat cosmuli* 34<sup>d</sup>, *nīdat chummai* Ml. 115<sup>b</sup> 3; for further examples cf. *Gramm. Celt.* 489 sq., KZ. xxviii, 105, *Bezz. Beitr.* xv, 116, 120. As to the survival of *t* forms by *d* forms, that is no more wonderful than *tar* by *dar*, *cach* by *gach* in Irish texts; historic spelling must always be reckoned with. As to *oldās*, etc., where the sinking takes place in an accented syllable, Zimmer's explanation from *\*olntās* seems to me still the most convincing. As to the forms *indās*, etc., on which Ascoli lays so much weight, they are found first in the Milan Glosses, where they mostly replace *oldās* of the earlier Glosses, and afterwards they become the usual forms. May not *indās*, etc., be new formations for *oldās*, etc., with substitution of *in-* for *ol-*? Cf. *im-bōi* Ml. 63<sup>d</sup> 6 by *olimbōi* Wb. 9<sup>c</sup> 10, *olimbatar* Ml. 123<sup>c</sup> 8.

*drochais* 7708, *atā* *ōs bith* 8014, *ciaso baile atā in crann* 7931, *cia 'catā ind árim* 7885, cf. 7845, *cia 'coata árim* 7887, cf. 7953, *is fir forstā Lucifer* 1840, *imad* 1120 *n-óngalar fortā* 1453. Here may be mentioned *indā* 'than' 1236, 2248, 5772, 5904, 6984, 8136, *indás* 3892, *cenmotha* 140, 785, 3425, 4017, 7622, *ōtha* 2284, 2297, 2313, 2317, etc.<sup>1</sup>

- pl. 1. *bráthir sinn huile martám* 3493, *itām hī cacht* 1727. 1125  
With adj. *foib atām nocht* 1347.
- pl. 2. *isamlaid atāid* 1240, *atāid i n-imgábud* 3630.
- pl. 3. *atāt fo néim* 467, cf. 3925, *atāt fo crithfeidm* 7775, *alat im-thāebaib* 3104, *atāt frinn hī cotarsnai* 1520. In relative sentences *co n-gili cinnas atāt* 7949, *rī fotāt* 1130 *huile na sloig* 3837, *airm itāt* 7893, cf. 7941. Here may be mentioned *nāt=indāt* 'than' 935, *cenmothāt* 521, 3417, 3421, *cenmthāt* 399.

## 3. BIV.

(a) denotes the orthotonic, (b) the enclitic forms.

- eg. 2 (b). *nach bī-siu fri cets* 2035.
- eg. 3 (a). *bīd grian in Capricornú* 256, *dā chubāt—bīd il-lethet* 1135 *cechōen chldár* 4240.
- (b). *com-bī 'na chrīchaib* 8120, *intan nad-bī Adam hīfos* 1193, cf. 1199.
- Relative—*amal bīs rothmol for lūth* 199, cf. 2602, *bīs fo grāda ecailse* 264, *mairg bīs fō crithfeidm* 958, 1140 *amal bīs a blōesc imm og* 165, *amal iasc bīs hī trethain* 8196, *bīs o chathraig do chat[h]raig* 3478. With adj. *nī chuingem flaith bīs mō fus* 1219.
- pl. 3 (a). *do biastaib bīt* (leg. *bīit*) *cen blaid* 7259 (rel.).
- Relative—*amal bīte 'na comsreilē* 4898. 1145

## 4. FIL.

- eg. 3 (a). Positive—*fail ann cathir* 353, *fail ann rig* 937, *fail ann nī sásas* 485, similarly 373, 481, 491, 500, 504, 505, 513, 645; *fail sunn sére* 2861; *fail soilsi* 482, *fail bethu būan* 648, *fail mór do sostaib* 489, similarly 490, 492, 638, 641, 3184; *da-dot-fail fodēin toimdig* 1747, 1150

<sup>1</sup> In 7791 occurs the form *romthe*. Is it a momentary formation to rhyme with *treoscire*? But it might be explained as coming from *tiagam, dilig dam each sin ro-m-thē* 'forgive me every sin that may come to me.'

- at-ar-fail . . . i n-earlén* 3761, *con-dat-fail fo deilb diabuil* 1739; *rossad . . . fil for lár* 526, *fail mor do muirib 'moa múr* 905, *fail int . . . sēt* 355, *fail crois d'ór incach dorus* 361, *fail i n-nim do fochraicaib* 522, similarly 510, 777, 3336, *fail leis secht ním* 629, cf. 628, 637, 639, 640.
- 1155 (b). Interrogative—in *fail tall mac n-lesé* 5984, in *fail áaib rofessad* 7926.
- (c). Negative—*ní fail . . . nech thucas* 333, *ní fail roáirme* 788, similarly 311, 562, 652, 2383, 7720; *ní-m-fail bith* 2562, 1160 *ních-ar-fail* 1560; *ní fail maith fo ar n-dálaib* 1553, *conach fil ní . . . fo nim* 3807, *ní fail nach nach rí for talmain* 332, *ní fail crích for a sēgul* 2388.
- (d). Relative—*fail* 9, *don mét fail cach airfortuig* 392, *cia airm sunn fil mac Bathuail* 2942, *nem hi fail Fíadu* 636, cf. 1834, 6135, 6137, *fail dara rath* 7947, *fil for slúag* 7886, *bess is mé fil for togāes* 2896, in *lith fail frinn* 273, *hissí méit fil i n-ēscu* 298, cf. 7952, *issed fil o thalmain . . . co sudomnaib* 143. With relative *las-fail trēt* 591, *a fail do maith lár n-Dia* 649, *nan fail do maith i Pardus* 1220, *na fail d'ingnuid lam' rigse* 336, 1170 *mad nofail d'ilphianaib ann* 933.
- pl. 1 (c). *ní failmet dar th'airmitoin* 6320.
- pl. 3 (a). *faillet ann tri mūr* 345, cf. 477, 493, 497, 501, *faillet foraid* 502, *faillet i n-iffurn* 927.
- 1175 (d). *faillet imon prímchathraig* 400.

SUBJUNCTIVE.<sup>1</sup>

- sg. 1 (a). (a) *ciabed i n-gortai (ciam tōebnocht)* 1540, *cēin beō-sa coa dindūasad* 1844.
- (b). (β) *inhed bam beō* 3187.
- (b). (β) *nārbam crimnach* 3202.
- 1180 sg. 2 (a). (a) *cia bé hi toss* 1607.
- (b). (β) *ní ba dicheoil* 2197, *nír-ba tráag* 3295.
- sg. 3 (a). (a) *cia béith slóg mór fōib* 1237, *cia béith do lám dar drochmac* 5997.
- (b). (a) *mani-m-bé sēt* 2086, *is garit cia bé cin brath rē robda* 1183 *eter ar cruthad* 2045, *monibē istig* 3909, *cona-raib accaib*

<sup>1</sup> (a) denotes orthotonic forms, (β) denotes enclitic forms of the verb of existence and corresponding forms of the copula. (a) denotes forms of the verb of existence, (β) forms of the copula.

*d'intliucht* 1252, *nā-raib form esbaid* 1584, *arnā-raib digal for slóig* 1743, *co rob linni būaid* 5499, *dia for-raib* 'if there remains over' 3919.

(β) *nība huathad* 1374, *duit rop sásad* 2908, *acht corb dall* 2900, *menip cian* 6127, *menip cel* 5987, *ciphé gnīm* 1190 1172, *cib hē gabas* 809, cf. 1209, 1993, 4165.

pl. 1 (a). (a) *nī ruibem cen rig* 5540.

pl. 2 (a). (a) *cia bēthi commeit for m-bla* 1233, *inhed bēthi sin dithrub* 4062, *céin bēthi for druing* 2400.

(b). (β) *nīp-for-célludaig* 4872, *nī-burn-ecnaigid* 4871, *nar-* 1195 *bar-dúrcridig* 4842.

pl. 3 (a). (a) *hed bēit mole fo gris* 1435, *cia bēit fri brīg* 2669.

(a) *nábiat attreba* (?) 8219.

(b). (β) *nī bat luamnaig* 4395, *diamat glain* 1461, *ciambat ilardai na slúaig*, *ciamtar imdai ind rig rorúaid* 4833, 1200 4834.<sup>1</sup>

#### IMPERATIVE.

sg. 2 (a). *bīi impu* 5014, *bī hi tost* 1603; *nā bī for snim* 3282, *nā bī isteruth* 1682, *nā bī ic hildálaib* 1698, *nā bī ic imrigi* 2873.

(β). *nābdat dolam* 1253.

1205

sg. 3 (a). *nābīd for n-aittreib . . . eterchrann caingil is gréin* 4417, *bīd amne* 4421.

(β). *hed bad fot* (MS. *bae*) 2464.

pl. 2 (a). *nā bīd for báis nō fri brīg* 7988, *na bīd fri báisi* 3890.

(β). *nā bīd uamnsig* 4830.

1210

*nadib leis* 7843.

#### SECONDARY PRESENT AND SUBJUNCTIVE.

(a) denotes indicative, (b) subjunctive forms, cf. p. 16.

sg. 3 (a). (a) *ba hé lín bīd na cōemthecht* 4588, *inslóg biid ifus fri feis* 4537.

(β) In one or two instances *ba* is found parallel to secondary presents *ba sainigthi* 4583, *ba cēim comlān* 1215 4603, *tan ba scith leis* 5089, *ba firrōen* 5092.

<sup>1</sup> The sense seems to require the subjunctive here, though I have nothing parallel to the use of *ciamtar* as a subjunctive.

- (b). (a)<sup>1</sup> *riasíu no-béth bith* 7851, *cia no-béth cét míl fer* 929, *cia ro-m-bét* (l. *béth*) *cét tengad* 955, *connach béth* ... *digsed* 4615, *foram-béth duilirath* 1364, *nā béth dó* 1220 *din* 3731, *arnā beth fo chloeth* 1999, *nā béth for crich* 6216, 6908, *cia no[m]-béth cét tengad* ... *fri sírlabra* 825, *amal no-béth fri idnú*, *amal mnāi béth ic lamnad* 3028.
- (β) *arnā bad essel* 1328, *bad glan* 1567, *bad chōimiu* 1225 *2247*, *bád adamrú* 6628, *ciam-bad londbrass* 3617, *lasmad becht* 4795, *ro-pad ferr dun* 2739, *cia bad mó nert* 3847, cf. 6001, *lasmad buide* 3184, *mar-bad gemen* 190, *nī bad chin* 1144, *bad airniul* 843, *com-bad bēim forais* 6468, cf. 6896, *diam-bad athirge dognéth* 1409, 1230 *mani bed Moisi* 'but for Moses' 4129, so *menbad* 4643, 4741, *manbad* 1472, 4181, 6393, *cia bad hē do dūis* 1857, *com-bad mē toisech tissad* 1816. The form *ba* seems to be used in the same way in *ba sonmech duit* ... *mani tissad* 1863, *ba comadas* 3618, *ba cōir* ... *cia nochíad* 1235 **8017**, cf. **8052**, *ba lór d'hūathaib* 4183, so *nīrbo chóir* 3629.<sup>2</sup>
- pl. 3 (a). (a) *com-bitis ardreich* 1124, *foram-bitis secht sutralla* 4347, *bitis fri gartglóir* 4527.
- (b). (a) *siu no-bētis mōini arbēs* 7855, *coná bētis cen óenrig* 1240 *5528*, cf. 4628, 5549, *arnā bētis for imlūd* 4182.
- (β) *cia-btis cosmaili* 2892, *comtis léir* 2808.

## FUTURE.

(a), (b), etc. are used as on p. 46.

- sg. 1 (a). (a) *biam tigerna* 855.
- (β) *bam rī* 851.
- sg. 2 (a). (a) *amal bias* 1599.
- 1245 (β) *ba bāeth* 5955, *ba tuicse* 1599.

<sup>1</sup> With *amal*, *bíd* is used in the sense of *tamquam esset*, *amal bíd míle* 3554, *amal bíd beō* 7184. Cf. *ML*. 20<sup>b</sup> 18 *amal bíd nech immechomairced*, 24<sup>c</sup> 15 *amal bíd hī frendaire nobeth*, 25<sup>a</sup> 12 *amal bíd annumothaiged*, cf. 34<sup>b</sup> 11, 36<sup>c</sup> 21, 44<sup>b</sup> 8, 46<sup>a</sup> 23, 49<sup>a</sup> 11. But what *bíd* is here formally it is hard to say. Except in this formula I have no example of *bíd* as an imperfect subjunctive. On the other hand, apart from syntactical considerations, it can hardly be a present indicative or subjunctive, for *amal* is followed by the relative form, cf. *ML*. 37<sup>a</sup> 12, 31<sup>b</sup> 25, etc., and *bíd* in the indicative is not the copula, which with *amal* is *as*, cf. p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *ba immaíroide eíd fosodin nogabad*, *ML*. 35<sup>a</sup> 9. Perhaps we have an idiom of the same kind as *Lat. longum est* 'it were tedious.'

- (b). (a) *nī bīa fo griis* 2047, *noco-bīa . . . sunn i péin* 2043.
- sg. 3 (a). (a) *bīaid fogur* 8021, *bīaid in bith fo crithur* 8202, *bīaid nech imbánugud Dé* 6255, *bīad* (l. *bīaid*) *araili . . . i n-grádaib* 3275, *bīaid mo brīg bág forassa* 5859, *bīaid cech óen úain dí' ógréir* 1076, *bīaid cach dib* 1250 *inna thegdais* 1952.
- (β)<sup>1</sup> *bid cach slúag dib fo leith . . . 'nan airfortach* 437, *bid ann . . . co aimsir na heiseirge* 2207, *bid for comdal in-Galail* 7728, *bid bann būada for arn-dáil* 3633, *bid lib huili* 4707, *bid do grēs arn-anmnigud* 1255 1176, *bid amarsech* 2900, *bid brónach, bid brainechda* 8185, *bid lán* 3307, 3339, *bid marb* 3603, *bid teg* 7672, *bid óenbreo* 8093, *bid sodamna* 6118, *bid tressai* 3892, *bidhē int sōsar* 1843, *bidhī an-árim* 51, *bi* (l. *bid*) *hé cōra ar cardine* 5858. 1260
- (b). (a) *ro-m-bīa mac* 1967, (*dechair eter ole is maith*) *ro-t-bīa* 1256, *ro-t-bīa limm airmiteiu intslóig, ro-t-bīa grād,* *ro-t-bīa onóir* 3353-4, *ro-t-bīa lim greim Dē* 3361, *ro-t-bīa m'ordan* 3362, *nī-t-bīa . . . rigdomna* 6007, *noco-t-bīa armitiu* 847, *nocho-for-bīa airchra* 4064, 1265 *ram-bīa nem* 4175, *ro-dm-bīa nem* 811, *nī-s-bīa grād la Dīa* 1163, *nī-bīa fuirech fort* 1275, *nī bīa díl for th' airmitein* 3320, *nī bīa rī úasum* 856, *for-bīa lóg* 1448, *for-bīa for n-eitteire* 3503, *incech hūair form-būa for n-dáil úaimm dūib* 3511. 1270
- Relative—*rī bīas* 5045.
- (β) *nī ba doirchi* 1211, *nī ba glōrach* 8187, *nī ba grádaich* 3274, *nī ba cēim sōer* 8283, *duit . . . nī ba céle* 6016, *diam-ba comainm* 1968.<sup>2</sup>
- Relative—*bas hūasal* 1843, *bas maith* 6859, *nī bas* 1275 *écoir* 3114, *bas dech* 7823.
- pl. 2 (a). (a) *bēthi . . . irrichtain lessa* 3083, *bēthi mairb* 1232.
- (β) *bid-for-coscraig*<sup>3</sup> 4706.
- pl. 3 (a). (a) *bīait fót* 835, *bīait foimti frit' airitein* 840, *bētīt ind angeil fo-m-trāig* 853, *bētīt adhūatha*<sup>4</sup> 8150, *bēti* 1280 (leg. *bētīt*) *dorchai* 8157.

<sup>1</sup> These first instances, though they have been put here on account of the form, belong in meaning rather to the verb of existence than to the copula.

<sup>2</sup> In 6375 *baddechrad* probably stands for *baddechrad*, though a fut. *ba* might be defended on the supposition that the sentence is in *oratio recta*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 42 note.

<sup>4</sup> As a substantive, 'there will be horrors.'

- (β) *biat* (*bit* ?) *slāna* 4167.  
 (b). (a) *ró-t-biat lim anige int slúais* 5845, *nī biat i n-ōentaig* 1951.  
 1285 (β) *iatsom nī-pdat duthaine* 8355.

## SECONDARY FUTURE.

- sg. 3 (a). *ram-biād tīr* 2792, *no-biād cen anmain* 6324.  
 (β). *com-bad iainīerc sochaide* ('he promised that she should be'), *combad tadcrethe* (?) 3250, *deithbir bad chosc* 4997.

## PRETERITE.

(a) denotes forms of the verb of existence, (β) forms of the copula; (α), (b), etc. indicate subdivisions of these classes.

- sg. 1 (β). *nī raba cen chith* 1779, *nī maith ro-m-ba* 1400.  
 1290 sg. 2 (β). *rosat glēchert* 3574, *nārbsat firgāeth* 1318.<sup>1</sup>  
 sg. 3 (a). (α) *bai Adam tritrath cen tess* 1041, similarly *bói* 6734, *bós* 6265, *bái* 1473, 1885, 7114, *com-bái* 2577, 7223, *bai* 2017, 2272, 2274, 3009, 3069, *bai in bangloō* 3038, *issed bái in āes* 2267, 2918, *bái elind a gae . . . secht*  
 1295 *cét unga do iurn* 5761; *nī-sm-boe sāere* 3662, *nī-m-bai sūide* 6399, *nī-m-bai samái la Sephé* 6384; *nī bái dōere bad teinné* 3675, similarly 6628, *nī bai* 1509, *nī bae* 4975; 'coam-bai in *cél* 3090, *diam-bai in mass* 7868, *im-boe David* 6104, similarly *im-bai* 6336: *bai crú garb dar corp* 5893, *bai dóib* 7085, *tricha dó derb bai* 2023, *com-bai dó* 3171; *do rēir Dé céin boe David* 6472, *bai eter Eua is Adam* 1480; *bái . . . eter* 7081, 7082, *bái . . . fecht fiad in rīg* 6053; *bái a thoirm fo secht nimib* 2160, *diam-bai fo thonnaib* 2544, *bai . . . fo dōere*  
 1305 5309, similarly *com-boe* 3168, *bái* 6802, *bai* 2327, *diam-bai* 7312, *bae* 3277; *bai indarc for eclaigi . . . oca tabairt* 6673, *bái for talmain* 1930, *bae for tōeb in conaire* 7608, *céin bae David for Iuda* 6601, *com-bái for longais* 6715, *bai a m-bennacht for* 3552, *bái toirsi for deichtreib* 7089, *diam-bai for a iarair* 7552, similarly *com-bós* 5876, *bái* 7089, *com-bái* 6150, *diam-bái* 7396, *nī-bái* 7288, *bai* 1686, 6577, *diam-bai* 5304, *bae* 6545, *com-bae* 7372; *inn étach bai im Saul* 6380; *bae . . . i n-Egept*

<sup>1</sup> A new formation, cf. *nīrsat*, LL. 54<sup>a</sup> 11. Cf. *nīrsa colach*, LL. 70<sup>b</sup> 7, with present meaning.



3993, *bai ifus* 6464, *bái 'sin chath* 6963, *bái coicer inna comgnáis* 7640, *diam-bai i trōga* 7390, similarly *diam-boe* 1315 7603, *bái* 1639, 2004, 2192, 2270, 3158, 4011, 5945, 6354, 6481, 7167, 7541, *bāe* 1692, 3789, *bai* 1525, *com-bai* 2576, 3208, 3292, *diam-bai* 5357, 7366, 7492, *anhed bai* 5260, *bāe* 5019, 6961, *cēin bāe* (in repetition *bái*) 6401, *diam-bui* 7740, *bai ferg aili la Dia* 6841; 1320 *diam-bai icon glanaltóir* 7558, *bái . . . oc na sethraib* 2973, *bāe ic Ionodán* 6706, *intan bái ic deicsin* 2137, similarly *com-bái* 6344, *diam-bái* 5922, 7065, *inhed bái* 2841, *bai* 2837, 2865, 3046, 5714, *diam-bai* 5355, 7342, *intan bai* 2125; *com-bai Ioseph ós Egeipt* 3380, 1325 *diam-bai in teduar os coch maig* 7543. In this usage the form *ba diam-ba imbrair* 3151, *intan ba óenmíle . . . oc Saul* 5909, *etir fir 7 mnái ba col* 6711, *inna n-adbaib . . . ba slúag mór* 2506, *úair nárbo leis* 6839.

- (b). *rí robai* 9, *rí robai ria m-betha bann* 5273, *ón chétina duine* 1330 *robúi* 7789, *robāe ré riana aingleib* 2438, *cia mét ree . . . robui in rí* 7848, *robāe ann secht mis* 5423, *robai ann fo thromthur* 2229, *robái longas* 2378, *ind inbaid robāe in dígal* 6556, *ised robāe in aēs Nōe* 2262; *cia robai do anble a rād* 821; *ro-m-bái mór dom' gāes* 1907, 1335 *ro-n-bāe biad ro-n-bai tlacht* 1557, *Pardus ro-n-bai* 1487, *ro-sm-bái cennach* 3544, *cosin ro-sm-bái* 4028, *ro-sm-bai inna tass* 5107; *robái in dígal for inluad* 2510, *robai smm for Saúl* 6490; *robái . . . friaiducht* 2027, *is maith robái Dia rind* 1903; *robai i n-nim* 1340 814, *anhed robai Moisi is'tslēib* 4109, cf. 4136, *do nech robai i m-bethaid* 2533, *robāe inna comthrumma* 6760, similarly *robái* 6181, *robai* 1100, 3653, 4109, 5467, *ro-m-bai* 7210, *robāe* 6389, 7515; *robai ic fognam* 1939, *robāe . . . coa fortacht* 3678, similarly *robui* 7704, 1345 *robá* 4640; *robāe tria medón* 6080.

*nir-m-bai bin (nism-, Stokes)* 3279, *nocho-r-rubai forlaith lain (forflaith lán? Stokes)* 1241, *nad robāe 'na muinteras* 7748, *óna-rabi ifus* 3194, *ifors-rabi Rachial* 3030, *irabi tallann* 6728. With adj. *corāe* 1350 *lomnocht* 1316.

- (β). (a) *bo*:—*combo frith* 3144, *nābu cert* 3673, *nīpu héirge morais* 3776, *nībo chlethaib robatar* 6528 (*nīb o chlethaib?*).

- 1355 (b). *ba*: + adj. *ba formtech diabul* 1105, *ba lainn in mod* 1129, *ba feochair féig . . . in bēist* 1129, *ba mór in gūassacht* 1141, similarly 1292, 1707, 1935, 2211, 2601, 2759, 2931, 3233, 3268, 3280, 3331, 3563, 3669, 3709 (*comba*), 3743, 3749, 3819, 3820, 3869, 3896 (*anhd ba*), 4039, 4113, 4118, 4121, 4159, 4268, 4457, 4480, 4513, 4541, 4572, 4620 (*hūair ba*), 4803 (*ūair ba*), 4930 (*hūair ba*), 5334 (*hūair ba*), 5444, 5446, 5471, 5472, 5669, 5688, 5772, 5907, 5927, 6092, 6328, 6474, 6595, 6656, 6676, 6688, 6833, 7125, 7170, 7398, 7412, 7557, 7570, 8006, with plural *ba dimdaig* 5519, *ba hūamnaig* 5619, *ba cuin intsluaig* 3959; *ba buidech d'Abial* 1979, cf. 1980, 5393, *an ba dech do cech threib* 3651, *feib ba gnáth dóib* 6511, *feib ba derb lais* 147, *ba maith leó* 4631, similarly 2860, 3374, 3543, 5089, 5924, 6065, *ba dubbreoc dath* 2955, *ba amra dúis* 4333, *ba trúag scél* 6809, similarly 3143, 4133, 4703, 6593, 7455: + substantive *ba ingnad a bith imnoch* 1298, *ba lāech liach* 2255, *ba būaid* 2821, *ba slíucht n-gle* 3055, *ba briathar rig rorāide* 2512, *issé ba erri* 3150, *ba maidm torainn for cech maig* 3931, *ba leor plág* 4814, *ba óg im gnīm cert* 6833, similarly 2367, 2831, 2832, 2947, 3078, 3146, 3163, 3169, 3211, 3385, 3439, 3492, 3522, 3653, 3811, 3856 (*comba*), 3895, 3999 (*ūair ba*), 4450, 4816 (*hūair ba*), 4837, 4910, 4977, 5007, 5043, 5133, 5243, 5366, 5377, 5378, 5379, 5384, 5391, 5648, 5706, 5708, 5711, 5752, 5780, 5979 (*feib ba*), 6062, 6064, 6078, 6098, 6346, 6391, 6403, 6457, 6861, 6923, 6943, 7003, 7024, 7037, 7057, 7070, 7169, 7230, 7254, 7323 (*comba*), 7394, 7490, 7661 (*tan ba*), 7684 (*comba*); *comba forba dó* 2795, *don banscail . . . báhire* 1691, *dond eclais nōib* *ba masse* 4531, *ba gnīm trūng d'aes i aith* 5319, cf. 7159, 6834, *ba mac don Otha* 2366, cf. 3302, 3247, *leó ba ceist* 3455: + preposition *ar ba d'Egept a athair* 3256, cf. 3490, 3720, *dar lia ba dia airchisecht* 1674, *ba in slūag do lúndailli* 7180, *ba de bai a n-dith* 5363; + pronoun *ba hē rigsuide* 1381, *comba hé dóib ba primfaith* 7132, *ba hē in grādgemm* 2254, similarly 3370, 3723, 4588, 5464, 5575, 5735, 5822, 6276, 7132, 7594, 7738.
- 1395 (c). *nī Dia robo lochtach rind* 1521, *issé ropo slán d'Abial*

1986, *robo trén for iltuathaib* 2696, *ropo hergnaid ilgráda* 2704, *robo serccach la Issac* 2826, *ropo inmain lid máthair* 2828, *rabo liach* 6195, *ropo mílid* 2701, *dia bráithrib robo gábud a labrad* 5833, *lasin slóg robo mórcheist* 3864, *rop foglainntid rop felsam* 2702. 1400

- (d). *ciarbo glé do chruth* 1677, 3677, 3695, 6185, *ciarbo deoda doss* 6799, *ciarbo bin* 5791, *corbo thldáith* 7615, *nirbu mall* 1283, cf. 1287, 5899, *nirbo dimdach* 1471, cf. 2021, 6943, 6958, 7654, *nochorbo choimsech* 6091, *nárbo trén* 3721, cf. 6407, 6451; *gorbo mdl* 3431, 1405 *nirbo drechrothail* 4226, *diarbo chomainm* 1936, cf. 2820, 5704, *ciarbo airfithiud la cách* 6069, *ciarbo chrad ria menmanrad* 6854, *nirbu dinnim la Dia* 4207, *nirbo bés leó* 3031, *nárbo mac d'ingin Foraind* 3712, *orba mac slán* 5683, *oiarb focus* 7374, *ciarb ole leis* 6571, *nirb* 1410 *dimmain* 1137, cf. 3206, 5702, 5779, 6230, 6937, *do Achimsech nirb folith* 6189, cf. 6903, *nirb hanad díb* 5099, *diarb gnáth* 4469, *nir firda* 6903, *nár imgann* 3038, *ciarb immargú* 2852, *nirb fer saairc* 5751, *nir firda* 6903, *nir bunad* 3304, cf. 4111, 1415 *diarb ainm* 5750, *darb bai* 6353, *nirb fri síd* 6951, *corb hé ba hádrí* 5007, *corab i in rianfeth* 7616.

pl. 1 (a). *cēin bamar cen tarimthecht* 1558, *cēin bamar fo recht* 3286, *bámar i cumriuch* 3286.

pl. 3 (a). (a) *até batar ann* 2937, cf. 5437, *com-batar lānaib lergaib* 1420 6779, *com-batar fīad inn airrig* 3564, *batar fo chircbolg-gaib* 7415, *batar fout* 1734, *tan batar ar in maig* 3553, *batar . . . for na dū thir* 2369, *com-batar huili im Adam* 1640, *isléib S'ina . . . batar* 4088, *batar . . . na chardeas* 3245, similarly 3161, 5480, 5620, *batar ic Nōs* 2490, 1425 *batar ic adrad* 2788, similarly 3237, 5888, 6517.

(b) *robatar sind amsir sin* 2348, *robatar ann* 3753, *feib robatar* 3788, *in lín robatar* 3081, *nibo chlethaib robatar* 6528, *ir-robatar* 1499, *robatar i n-h-Ericho* 6724, *robatar . . . i comlepaíd* 2977, *húair ro-m-batar i m-bochtaí* 1430 1477, *robatar la Iufeth* 2666, *héd robatar ic Solmain* 7010.

(β). (a) *batar dobthaig* 6264, *batar daingne* 1928, *batar fīdrúine* 2163, *batar toirsech in tuath* 3885, *dōibseom batar somhlassa* 4072, *batar buidig do Dia* 4049, *uair* 1435 *batar mogaid* 7427, *gia-batar ilardai* 5781, *cia-batar nemi*

- 1440 4070, *co-mtar adō sechtmogat* 2768, *co-mtar mairb* 51  
cf. 7652, *cia-btar glain* 2421, *cia-mtar amrai* 5800, *in*  
*ilerda* 4659, cf. 4660, 4661, 4662, 4663, 4664, *nī-?*  
*amra* 6540, cf. 6544, 6337, *nī-bdar dimdaig* 3550,  
3557, 5322.  
(b) *bat heireithe* 4887, *bat hómnaig* 7763, *nībat olithe*  
5515.  
(c) *ro-plar snīmaig* 3449, *ro-bdar dimdaig* 4051.  
1445 (d) *rosat triūin* 3983, *ciapsat glain* 8007.

IMPERSONAL PASSIVE.<sup>1</sup>

*inhd ro-m-bās 'con bailtheis* 7564.

## INFINITIVE.

- 1447 *bith* 1107, 1137, 1336, 2562, 4306, 5943, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zimmer, KZ. xxviii, 349.

## INDEX.

A bare number refers to the line in the preceding lists; a number preceded by l. refers to the line of the Saltair.

*adair* 233, *ba bāeth meni adair rún, ná tabair tōeb fri Saul* 'you will be foolish if you do not suspect (?) treachery, put no trust in Saul.' The construction requires a subjunctive, and *adair* could be a subjunctive only of the *s* aorist. Perhaps it may come from *ad-air-icim* in the sense of 'find out, scent out,' but I have no other example of this shade of meaning.

*ad-annaim, oia lín na rétlann adrann, cain adrann cachtucht rothecht, int Abram adrann o chéin* 670. The meaning of these passages is not very clear; the first may signify 'what number of stars he lighted.' I would suggest doubtfully connexion with *adannaim* 'light, kindle, excite,' cf. *annad* 984, Ascoli, *Gloss.* xxxix. Cf. *roand brónbrig intan rodall mórrig Mide*, LL. 184<sup>a</sup> 15, *baithis Patraicc prímda adrannadh i n-Ere .i. rotinnscanadh*, O'Davoren, s.v. *rann*=Fél. Oeng. Ap. 5. Another possibility would be *ad-rannaim* 'divide, portion out,' which may be found in *adba in rig ri adranna forndáille fin cofinne*, LL. 28<sup>b</sup> 17, but this, so far as I can judge, suits the context less than the other.

*ad-ethaim* 'attain,' *adreth* 673.

*ad-báth* 'died' 451, cf. *báth* 440. Pl. *atbáthatar*, LL. 251<sup>a</sup> 31, *con-apthatar*, LL. 19<sup>a</sup> 44, *conid-apthatar*, LL. 249<sup>a</sup> 25.

*ad-cocraim* 'conspire, agree' (?), *adcocrat* 83. Cf. *cocraim*.

*aidbligthe* 'wonderful' 908, formally pass. part. of a verb *aidbligim*, a denominative from *adbul*. Cf. *sens aidbligthe thechtas g.* *intentium*, Sg. 221<sup>b</sup> 3, *aidbligod* 216<sup>a</sup> 3.

*ad-fiadaim* 'relate,' *adfét* 16, *adfiad* 23, *adfiasa* 222. Cf. *adfes*, LL. 132<sup>b</sup> 7, *adfessam*, LL. 11<sup>b</sup> 48, 131<sup>b</sup> 34; pf. pass. *adfessa*, LU. 59<sup>a</sup> 7=*adfeta*, LL. 62<sup>a</sup> 21.

*ad-midiur, conammodair* 406. Cf. Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-4, pp. 467, 468, 492, 494, *adromadair a marbad*, Ir. Text, iii, 1, 190.

*ad-sligim* 'tempt,' *roaslacht* 489; with transition to *s* pret. *roaslaig*, LU. 51<sup>b</sup> 6.

*ad-looch* 'beg, entreat,' *aitchem* 140, *attaig* 152, *atethach* 323. Cf. pres. *adochoosa*, LU. 67<sup>a</sup> 12, *ateoch*, LU. 40<sup>a</sup> 14, 67<sup>a</sup> 13, perf. *conattaig*, LL. 20<sup>b</sup> 14, *conatchetar*, LL. 9<sup>a</sup> 11.

*airbrigim*, *nosairbrig* 47. The word may be a denominative from *airbre* 'host,' *feib nosairbrig* 'as he marshalled them,' cf. *arbharaim* 'I array,' O'R.

*águr* 'fear,' *áigsiu* 961.

*aig thaig* 164, used as a petrified phrase with prepositions in the sense of to and fro.

*air-chissim* 'have pity,' *roairchis* 700.

*air-clu* 'I see,' *ardoscē* 127. Cf. *aireiú*, LU. 77<sup>a</sup> 9, *nimair-cochasa*, LU. 74<sup>b</sup> 3, *ar cia follaitheir no cia arcastar* i. *uair cia follaitheir no cia firdéchar oec ioc fiach inraith*, O'Davoren, s.v. *arcastar*.

*air-icim* 'find,' *arrancas* 871, *ceitnaairnecht* 860. Cf. Wind. *Wb.* s.v. *airnecht*. In 370 *furnaic*, if *f* be not the prothetic *f* of Middle Irish, may be referred to *fo-air-icim*, cf. Ascoli, *Gloss.* xcvi.

*aith-cúaid* 'related' 353, *con-éicsitar* 813. Cf. *co n-éicem*, LL. 182<sup>a</sup> 24.

*aith-cuirim* 'arrange, put,' *écartar* 805. Cf. *écor*, Wind. *Wb.*, whence comes the denominative *éccraim*, see *do-éccraim*.

*aith-enim* 'commend,' *rosathin* 699.

*aith-gninim* 'know, recognize,' *atatgēn* 322, *atgebēn* 369. Cf. p. 22, note 3. In the last passage for *nī haithgēn Eua co glē Lucifer* LBr. 112<sup>b</sup> 28 has *niraichin Eua combad hē Lucifer* 'Eve did not know that it was Lucifer.'

*air-fo-emaim* 'take to myself,' *arrōet* 464. At l. 1058 is found *orphet Adam anmain = on uair arrōet Adam anmain*, LBr. 110<sup>a</sup>, similarly *diaroet chorp n-dóinachta* l. 7510, in which passages it is to be noted that *roet* is disyllabic, whereas in the other passages it is monosyllabic. Have we to do with corruption for *arrōet*? Cf., however, *roet* which glosses *adret*, *Fél. Oeng.* Prol. 120.

*angim* 'protect,' *anaia* 223, *nosainsed* 250, *nisanacht* 440, *rodnanacht*, etc., 444. Cf. *rommain*, LL. 32<sup>a</sup> 33, *nītain*, LL. 46<sup>a</sup> 37, 42, 43, 44, *nochonotain* 48, *ratain*, 39, 40, 45, 47, *rotaincfe* 51, *romanacht*, LL. 32<sup>a</sup> 32.

*arco fuin* 5, a traditional pious expression. Cf. Cormac's glossary, s.v., *canid pater arcofuin*, 23 N. 10, R.I.A. (corrupted into *arcech fuin* in the corresponding passage LBr. 262<sup>a</sup> 1), *arco fuin dom rig*, LU. 119<sup>b</sup> 24.

*ar-túaisim* 'am silent, listen, give heed to' (?), *artúasei cach m-brig cach m-brait* 'who listens (gives heed to?) everyone high and low' 53, *artúaisfi* 'it (the world) will listen' 301. Cf.

*intí ardatúassi* 'he who listens to it,' ML. 129<sup>b</sup> 2, *artúaisbet* 'they will be silent,' ML. 126<sup>b</sup> 12, *ardomtúaiissi* 'who listens to me,' Fál. Oeng. Ep. 374, *is écen aurthúasacht a bréthre ind fir sin* 'it is necessary to listen to the word of that man,' LU. 88<sup>b</sup> 26.

*ní-r-ás, nirds nach n-duine dalbda commus huili a aurlabra* 528 = *conid desin is follus nāch la duine fēn comus a erlabra acht la Dia*, LBr. 123<sup>a</sup>. The explanation of *nirds* is not clear. If it come from *ásaim* 'grow,' it involves a construction of which I have no further example. Mr. Stokes conjectures *nirfast*.

*as-renim, ērnim* 'give,' *roēirn* 437, cf. *roērnisat*, LL. 27<sup>b</sup> 15.

*at-bailim* 'die' 1, *atbēlam, nachepēlam*, etc., 277-8, *ērbailt* 461. The enclitic forms here point to composition with *aith-*, so *epil*, Wb. 30<sup>d</sup>, *epelltais*, ML. 99<sup>b</sup> 2. But *aith-* has become mixed with *ad-*, as is shown by *apail*, ML. 91<sup>d</sup> 2, *aipleat*, ML. 104<sup>b</sup> 1, *apaltu*, ML. 30<sup>d</sup> 14. The compound *ad-báth* of kindred meaning may have helped here.

*athigim* 'frequent,' *athigid* 1012. Cf. *in tipra tall ina thaig, cēben and coa athigid*, LL. 153<sup>a</sup> 21.

*athruchaim* 'change,' *asa thoil nīrathrucha* 'did not turn from his purpose,' 733. Cf. Ascoli, *Gloss. cci*, *athruigh, -ughadh* 'change, remove,' Coneys.

*atrōebaid, atrōebaid Gūidel oo m-búaid dula dó i n-degaid intluicig* 398 = *forēmdes uad dul inn-degaid mac n-Israel*, LBr. 118<sup>b</sup>, BB. 250<sup>b</sup> 54. If *uamon* be the subject, the meaning would naturally be 'the fear of the God of the children of Israel kept Goedel from going after the host.' I have no other instance of the word.

*bádim* 'dip, drown,' *báid* 154, *nimbáidfed* 314, *robáid* 579, *roebáde* 711, *robáided* 850, *corodabādes* p. 37 n., *bādud* 1005. Some forms belong rather to Class II, *robādur* 109, *bādad* 1006. Cf. *conubādaitis*, ML. 96<sup>c</sup> 14.

*báthaim* 'befool,' *rotróbāeth* 528.

*báethaigim* 'befool,' *rombāithigeis* 514, 515, *roibāithig* 580.

*bágaim, ná bágaid nūal* 171, 'utter proudly'; = 'promise' LU. 75<sup>a</sup> 25, *bágais Cúchulaind condigned samlaid*.

*bánaigim, biaid nech imbánugud Dé* 1008. Cf. *rasbásaig roebánaig* LL. 112<sup>a</sup> 13, *bánaighim* O'R.

*básaim* 'slay,' *bás* 519, *ronbás* 528.

*bēccaigim* 'roar,' *bēccaichfit* 307.

*benim* 'strike, slay,' *combensat* 311, cf. *nobenfad* LU. 58<sup>b</sup> 20, *nomōtfad* 314, *bhias* i. *gonfas* O'Clery; *rodbi* 343, cf. LL. 31<sup>b</sup> 3,

132<sup>a</sup> 10, 20, 132<sup>b</sup> 2, etc. With transition to *s* pret. *ben*, *roben* 434, cf. *comben* LL. 250<sup>b</sup> 12, *bensait* LU. 97<sup>a</sup> 17.

*bethaigim* 'quicken,' *bethaigait* 77, cf. *bethaigend* LL. 266<sup>b</sup> 35, *robethaig* LL. 132<sup>a</sup> 23.

*berbaim* 'boil,' *rodंबरb* 530. Cf. *beirbid in brocdan* BB. 236<sup>b</sup> 5.

*blóram* 'roar'? *blóraid* 12. Cf. *blórach* 'noisy' O'R., *blor* .i. *glor* O'Davoren, *blór* .i. *guth no glór* O'Clery.

*brathaigim* 'betray, deceive,' *rotbrathaig* 580. Cf. *sostrathaig*, LL. 162<sup>a</sup> 27.

*brécaim* 'deceive, beguile,' *brēcād* 985. Cf. *curasbréo dá páic pecda* 'she beguiled them with her sinful kiss,' LL. 151<sup>a</sup> 17, Mod. Ir. *breugaim* 'beguile, coax.'

*brúim* 'crush,' *combrúet* 93, *rodंबरōe* 583, *brúifider* 825. Cf. *brúifet* LL. 67<sup>a</sup> 3, *brúis* LL. 67<sup>a</sup> 12.

*bruindim* 'flow, spring,' *nobruindis* 213. Cf. K. Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, Index, *curach nobruinned dochum tire* LL. 108<sup>a</sup> 19, *brunnid fuil* LL. 100<sup>b</sup> 41, *dubruinn* g. influxerit Ml. 81<sup>c</sup> 14.

*bruissitis* 810 seems to belong to *brissim*.

*búalaim* 'strike,' *nombúala* 114, *búalad* 985, cf. *búalaid* LL. 207<sup>a</sup> 23, *imbualad* 19<sup>a</sup> 16. The modern form is *búailim* inf. *búaladh*, cf. Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies* s.v.

*cachtaim*, *roscacht* 532.

*odí* 'went' 330. Cf. *aracas* 'goes before,' O'Don. Suppl.

*calcaim*, *mūr do chriad chaim rochalcaid* 395. Cf. *calc*, *calcaigh* 'harden, fasten, drive, caulk, beat, ram,' Coneys.

*canim* 'sing,' *rochachain* 343, cf. *rochachain*, Ml. 43<sup>b</sup> 7, *rochan* 434, Cf. *focan* 434, *forrochan* for *forróichain*, Ml. 68<sup>b</sup> 8, *rochēt* 499, a form which I have not noted from the Glosses, but which must be old if it have any historical connexion with W. *cant*. To this verb Stokes would refer *cachnaith* in the somewhat obscure line 2694. But such absolute forms are not otherwise found in the Saltair, and I know of no instance in which a secondary future is used to express repeated action in past time.

*cartaim* 'send,' *rochart* 535, *uaib nocartaíd* 'send him from you' LL. 212<sup>b</sup> 4, *cartais Manannán mac lir techta uad dia ind-aigid* 'Manannán, son of the sea, sent messengers from himself to him' LL. 152<sup>b</sup> 19, where for *cartais* BB. 396<sup>a</sup> 34 has *faidís*, *atbert a chartud for cúl* LL. 153<sup>a</sup> 7, *cartsaider a Pardus immach iat* 'they shall be driven out of Paradise' LBr. 110<sup>b</sup>, *cartsaít clanna Iareoil dia cóille dia clár* LL. 147<sup>a</sup> 39, Mod. Ir. *cartaim* 'cleanse out (dung, etc.), cast out.' Cf. Meyer, *Mao Conglinne* s.v.



*cennaigim* 'placate,' *cennsagud* 1013.

*certain* 'adjust, settle,' *rochertad* 841. Cf. *certain* *dq* LU. 76<sup>a</sup> 2, *rochertus* for *Lagniu láneraic* LL. 147<sup>a</sup> 49.

*cess* 832: see *fotrochess*.

*ro-chichlaig* 584, 'every creature shook,' Stokes, *Lives of Saints*, s.v. *cuclaige*.

*cirrim* 'tear, mangle,' *cirtis* 213. Cf. *dabarró in cú cirres cach* *nom* 'there will come to you the Dog that tears every raw (flesh)' LL. 58<sup>b</sup> 18, *cirrfilír colla* 'bodies will be mangled' LL. 254<sup>b</sup> 24.

*ciunniud* 'completion'? 1014. Cf. *forcennim* Wind., ML. 69<sup>b</sup> 9, 94<sup>e</sup> 18, 132<sup>c</sup> 11.

*claidim* 'dig,' *rocechlaid* 343, cf. *cechlaid* LU. 64<sup>a</sup> 45, *cechlatár* LU. 65<sup>b</sup> 3.

*clannaim* 'plant,' *clannaid* 12, *roclannad* 841.

*clichim*, *trí eldir fichet in cach sliss clichet* 94, *rí rogní clichis cen* *meig iarna fithis firmimeint* 526. Both passages are of uncertain meaning. Stokes compares *clichidh* i. *tionóilidh* O'Clery, for which O'Davoren has *clith* i. *tinól*, *amail ata sochla triar ara clith*. There is a compound verb *airchligim*, *intan batir hēseom uile doibictis in poll arachliched som a óenur onátéged cid óen liathróit ind* 'when they all were throwing at the hole, he would ward them off himself, so that not a single ball should go into it' LU. 60<sup>b</sup> 8, *si chumcaitis in maic a ereclaige* LU. 60<sup>b</sup> 7, *araclichsom onachranca-tár hé* LU. 59<sup>a</sup> 33, *gilla araclich claideb* LU. 74<sup>b</sup> 28, *araclessid* i. *irehligis* g. in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguere Wb. 29<sup>d</sup> 18, *arclichside* (i. *cumdaighidh no eircillidh eside*) *eriocha*, *Audacht Mórain* R.I.A. 23 N. 27=*congbaidside a chricha* LL. 294<sup>a</sup> 45, *arelich arelechar* i. *eirchillidh 7 eirchilltear* ib.=*oelich oelechar* LL. 294<sup>b</sup> 1, *oelichfe in dam allaid forteu* LU. 63<sup>a</sup> 6, but these compounds give little help for the interpretation of the passages in the Saltair.

*clissim*, *clissiud* 1015. Cf. *clessim*, Wind., *clissis Cúchulaind* for *ind in bera* LU. 69<sup>b</sup> 13.

*clóim* 'overcome' *manidclóe* 128, *coclóefet* 310, *náchasclái* 495, *rochlói*, etc. 585–6, *clód* 1014.

*cnaim*, *rotehnd* 122, *roscnái* 586. Cf. *ced roscnái co cromchosrad* LL. 28<sup>a</sup> 16, and *enaoidhim* 'to consume or languish, also to gnaw or chew' O'Brien, *enaoc* 'consume, eat, swallow . . . waste, pine, languish, gnaw' Coneys. O'Brien is doubtless right in comparing Gr. *κραιώω*. In *enaoidhim dh* is purely orthographic. Further Stokes, *Trip. Life Index*, *Lives of Saints Index*.

*cocraim, cocrait* . . . a brath 'they conspire to betray him' 69 (*cocrait* 7 *cindit iarom a fostad* LBr. 115<sup>a</sup>), cf. *rococrad leō Ith do marbad* 'they conspired to slay Ith' LL. 12<sup>a</sup> 23, *rocograd Refulair* (? *le Refulair*) a c[h]iamain do marbad . . . 7 *rdinig a fis sin do Mac Bile* .i. a *chogar da c[h]iamain* 'Refulair plotted to slay his son-in-law . . . and Mac Bile learned that, to wit, that his father-in-law was plotting against him,' BB. 18<sup>b</sup> 43-45, *cogradh* 'whispering conspiracy' O'R., *issī comairli tuccsat assa cogur 7 asa comairli* BB. 237<sup>b</sup> 15.

*coiclim* 'spare,' *conārchoicled* 202.

*coimsigim, rī rochoimsig na grāda* 'arranged fittingly' ? 587. Cf. *comse* Windisch. Modern Irish dictionaries give *coimsighim* in the sense of 'perceive,' but that does not suit the context.

*coitchennaim, liar coimdid cocaitchennam* 'may we be together with our Lord' 135. Cf. *coitcensa fri cdch* g. communionem Ml. 37<sup>a</sup> 19, *i comlabrai 7 i cotchennas* LL. 122<sup>a</sup> 50.

*cométaim* 'watch, guard,' *comētas* 56, *cométaid* 171.

*commairnim* 'betray,' *commairni* 53. Cf. *mairnim* Wind.

*com-midim, catacoimsed* 'who could equal him' 255. Cf. Phil. Soc. Trans 1891-4, p. 510, n. 3.

*coniccim* 'I can,' *conic* 43, *condnīs* 231, *connī* 236, *nī chōemsailis* 257, *condnanacair* 404, cf. *canacuir* Ml. 119<sup>d</sup> 7.

*conrūala, mar'tchūala Michol in m-breis conrūala in slūag* 'mon tegdais 396 'when Michol heard the noise that the host raised (?) about the house.' The verb seems to be a compound of *ldaim* 'throw,' which is used of noises. Cf. Wind. 650<sup>a</sup>, *rolā a ulaig commaidmi* 'he raised his shout of victory' LL. 258<sup>a</sup> 15. In a different connexion LL. 101<sup>b</sup> 15 *cid odrūalaindsea mo charpat* 7 *En ara Conaill a charpat, 7 giarathīasmāis i n-dib carptib*.

*con-trebaim* 'dwell,' *rochaitrēb* 678.

*con-tuilim* 'sleep,' *conattail* 655.

*conutgim, conrotaig* 400.

*córaigim* 'arrange,' *roscōraig* 587, *rocōraiged* 853. Cf. *córaigmit* LU. 59<sup>b</sup> 34, *córaig* LL. 66<sup>a</sup> 49, *cōraigis* LL. 66<sup>b</sup> 3, *roscōraigset* LL. 152<sup>a</sup> 22.

*cráidim* 'torment,' *-crúidse* 295, *rochrádsam* 740, *rochráidsem* 751, *rochráidsemmar* 742.

*crethaim* 'tremble,' *crethfait* 306. Cf. *creathaim* O'R., O'Brien.

*criathraim* 'sift,' *rī criathras usco n-ān n-ūar* 57. Cf. *criathraigh* 'sift, filter,' Coneys. For the application of *criathraim* to rain, may be compared Aristoph. Nub. 373—καίτοι πρότερον τὸν Δι' ἀληθῶς ἔμην διὰ κοσκίνου οἰρεῖν.

*crinaim* 'wither,' *roncrinad* 195, *rodascrin* 535, *crinad* 987. Cf. *rochrin na tíatha* LL. 106<sup>a</sup> 15.

*crithnaigim* 'tremble,' *crithnaigfid* 297, *rochrithnaig* 588. Cf. *crithnaigset* LU. 79<sup>b</sup> 24, *rocrithnaigset* LU. 101<sup>b</sup> 2.

*crothim* 'shake,' *noscroith* 31, *croithfuid* 296, *croithfider* 825. Cf. *crothis* LU. 77<sup>b</sup> 32, *croith* inf. *crothadh* 'shake, sprinkle,' O'Brien, Cones, but *crath*, *crathadh* High. Soc. In the compound *fo-crothaim* *ā* forms are found in the Glosses *fucrothad* ML. 23<sup>b</sup> 14, *focrothaisiu* 64<sup>a</sup> 4, *focrothtae* 68<sup>a</sup> 5.

*croichligim*, *rocroichligthi* 899 = *rocrothlaigit* 7 *roglacait* 7 *roergabait* 7 *tuccait* for *cūla don chathraig* LBr. 116<sup>b</sup>, *rocroclaighid*, etc., BB. 238<sup>b</sup> 52. I have no other example of the word.

*cruthaigim* 'form,' *cruthaig* 522, *rochruthaig* 589, *rotechruthaiged* 854, *rochruthaigthe* 890. Cf. *cruthaigedar* ML. 140<sup>b</sup> 5, *rochruthaigetar* LU. 115<sup>a</sup> 16, *roncruthaig* LL. 133<sup>b</sup> 4.

*cuintgim* 'ask,' *conattaig* 387. The *t* preterite is the usual one, e.g. *conatechtat[ar]* ML. 49<sup>d</sup> 27, cf. 90<sup>b</sup> 16, *conatecht* LU. 97<sup>b</sup> 1. Fut. *cunnius* LL. 71<sup>a</sup> 45.

*cūrsaigim* 'blame, reprimand,' *cūrsaig* 496, *rochūrsaig* 591.

*cuibdigim* 'harmonize, fit,' *roscuibdig* 589, *cuibdigthe* 912, *cuibdigud* 1016. Cf. *ardochuibdig* LU. 46<sup>b</sup> 30.

*cuibrigim* = *cuiimrigim*, *roscuibrig* 590.

*cuiimrigim* 'bind,' *rochuiimrig* 591, *rochumrigthae* 891, *comrechtai* 906. In the two first instances *cum-rigim* (cf. Ascoli, *Gloss.* ccxiv) is treated as though it were a simple denominative.

*cummaim* 'shape, form,' *rochummad* 843. Cf. in *cháinsin rocummad* and LL. 206<sup>a</sup> 6, *isē umorro cētna ní rocumad* 7 *rocumdaigit* occu LBr. 120<sup>b</sup> 4.

*dālaím* 'come together,' *frisindālat* 84.

*dālim* 'portion out,' *dālfas* 302.

*dālgud* 1016. Inf. of *dālaigim* 'assign, apportion' O'R.?

*damim* 'grant,' *rodēt* 500, *roddēt* 839.

*damnaim* 'subdue,' *rodamnad* . . . *d'adrad idal*, *rodamnad* . . . *Ramath* 843, *rodamnad* . . . *do fognam Demuin* 843, *fri damnad diabuil* 927, *dena* . . . *a n-domnad a n-degdamnad*, *iarna n-damnad* 988, *for dī ócbáe cen domnad* 991 = *for dá n-ócbuaib eddamna* 'on two young unbroken oxen' LBr. 128<sup>a</sup>. In Ir. this native word has become mixed with *damnaim* from Lat. *damno*.

*dechraigim* 'separate, distinguish,' *rodechraig* 592, *dechraigfiter* 827.

*dedlaím* 'separate,' *nosdedlai* 21, cf. *nosdedland* *eruth Danai aniar*

LL. 135<sup>a</sup> 43, *rodedail gleō i n-uar collaib* LL. 257<sup>b</sup> 20, *rodedlad ra dōenmige* LL. 191<sup>b</sup> 24, *dedail* 'separation' LL. 21<sup>b</sup> 14, 216<sup>b</sup> 28, *deadlaidh* .i. *deilighidh* O'Don. Suppl.

*delgnaim*, *feib rodelgnaisset auctair* 760, *rodelgnad fri cach dūil tind* 845. Meaning uncertain. The general signification of the former passage must be 'as authors have determined.'

*deligim* 'differ, surpass,' *deligthi* 913. Cf. *feib radeligetar a n-dær 7 a mogaid de dōeraib 7 mogadaib fer n-hErenn, deligfit a n-deglāich 7 a n-degóic de deglāichaib 7 de degócaib fer n-hErenn* LL. 57<sup>a</sup> 16, *certgai delgthi* LL. 87<sup>a</sup> 25, *cona cimsaib deligti* LL. 402<sup>b</sup> 21, *deligid friu amlaid* LL. 303<sup>a</sup> 7, *deligud longphoirt ra rig hErenn* 303<sup>a</sup> 3.

*dellig* 378, *dellig ind [f]idbad for lár Parduis* 'the trees sank upon the ground of Paradise' = *is ann diu roloigset croind 7 fidbusid Parthus co lár thalman ar oirmitin in duileman* LBr. 111<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *is fairsin . . . dellig iar céin céim co m-blait in gerrán bñadach Patraic* LL. 204<sup>a</sup> 28, *bid Nemed dano nomen ind poirt ind dellechuir in gerrán* Trip. Life, 240, *andsin deiligh a n-ech leū* BB. 396<sup>a</sup> 15 = *laigid in gerrán oeco andsin* LU. 39<sup>b</sup> 4, *for maig Ailbe dellgetar* 'fell on Ailbe's plain' LL. 43<sup>b</sup> 22, *deillidh a meanma fair* .i. *doluigh no dolean* O'Clery, *dellach* .i. *luighi* . *ut est airtlem acht nā dellset* .i. *eric airtlime orra acht nā roluigit ann* O'Davoren. The word is evidently a compound of *laigim* 'lie,' *nocolessed lige liuin* LL. 153<sup>a</sup> 6, and its form resembles that of *dessid* 'sat down.'

*deōnaigim* 'permit,' *deōnaigi* 9.

*dermaitim* 'forget,' *dermaitid* 179, cf. *rodermataid* LL. 122<sup>b</sup> 24.

*dessid* 'sat,' 385, cf. Ascoli, *Gloss. clii*, 3 pl. *forndestetar* LU. 83<sup>b</sup> 31.

*dī-chelim* 'conceal,' *dosceil* 30, cf. *duceltar* Ml. 111<sup>b</sup> 11.

*dī churim*. To this might belong formally *nodechrad* 187, *ba menic nodechrad dail im chethraib aiddlib Nabail*, but the precise meaning is not clear.

*dī-donaim* 'console,' *didnad* 991. Cf. Ml. 86<sup>d</sup> 3, 8, 62<sup>c</sup> 18, W. *diddanu* 'solari'; *danad* and *donad*, p. 40, n. 3, seem to be used in the same sense.

*dī-emim* 'cover,' *dosfeim*, *dodfeim* 32, *dosfemed* p. 15, n. 3.

*dī-ellaim* 'go aside, deviate,' *diallait* 81, *dorhell* 671, *radiall* 695, *diall fri claind mac n-Israhél* 630 = *ba cosmaile sa cosmaile fri maccu Israhel hē* LBr. 117<sup>a</sup>, *dial* 928, cf. *dureill* Ml. 54<sup>d</sup> 8, *dorell* LL. 204<sup>a</sup> 21.

*dīgalim* 'avenge,' *dīgēlaid* 270, *rodīgail* 593. Cf. *dīgēlaid* LL. 303<sup>a</sup> 15.

*dī-gthim* 'go,' 2, -*dechais* 233, cf. 241, 243, 245, 251, *dochluaid* etc., 355 sq. Cf. *rodassed im na heochu onā dīchtim seccu* 'the horses have become wild so that I cannot pass them' LU. 63<sup>a</sup> 8, *nī dīchtim dano sech in dam* LU. 63<sup>a</sup> 10, *onā dīchtheth carpat frie diu nach anall* LU. 38<sup>a</sup> 31, *odeochus* LU. 70<sup>a</sup> 19, *mā docōiset* LU. 57<sup>b</sup> 31, *ducōistis* MI. 34<sup>a</sup> 9.

*dī-in-gabim* 'ward off,' *dīngēb* 267, *dāfīngēbad* 283. Cf. *rat-dīngēba* LL. 102<sup>b</sup> 20.

*dīlsigim* 'make over to, abandon to,' *rondīlsig* 594, *dodīlsig* 626, cf. *rodīlsig dó sired na sacoraige* LBr. 114<sup>b</sup> 20 = *conairlaio* SR. 3035. As to *nācharndīlsī* 226 (= *conārodīlsigea in coimdiu sinn do demnaib i fudomain ifirn* LBr. 117<sup>a</sup>), either it is a momentary formation for the sake of the rhyme, probably on the analogy of the *s* future, or it must be derived from a parallel verb *dīlsim*. In the former case might be compared perhaps *diaslóī* LL. 132<sup>b</sup> 39 from *sluindim*.

*dī-nessaim* 'sperno, despicio,' *donessai* 21. For further examples, see Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-4, p. 295 n., and cf. *fornesa ceardno n-ecis* i. *dobeir tainsimh for eladhain na n-ecis* O'Davoren, s.v. *fornesa, nesa* i. *tainsium* ut est *fornesa ceard neices donessa ard niumius* Phil. Soc. Trans. 1858-9, p. 170.

*dīngim* 'oppress,' *rododedaig* 344, cf. *rodedaig* LL. 21<sup>b</sup> 10.

*dīrgnaim* (?), *rodīrgnaithi fo dimbrig* 900.

*dīligim* 'I have a claim to,' *rodlecht* 839, sec. fut. pass. *nodlestea* LL. 69<sup>b</sup> 24.

*dlomaim* 'warn off, reject, refuse,' *Iob trén [ná] dlomad cath* 'mighty Job who did not refuse battle,' 184, *dlomthar lat drong demnachda* 796, *dlomad* 989. Cf. *dlomthair dosuidib* MI. 59<sup>d</sup> 7, *dlomaid dóib assin feraind* 'he warns them out of the country' LU. 39<sup>b</sup> 8 = *dlomais dóib da thir díles* LL. 152<sup>b</sup> 45 = *dlomais friu* BB. 396<sup>a</sup> 10.

*dlongim* 'cleave,' *rosdedlaig* 344, *rodluig* 594; sec. fut. pass. *nodlaidís finna for usciu* 'hairs would have been split on water' LU. 96<sup>b</sup> 28. The original paradigm in which *n* forms must have been confined to the present stem (cf. *asdloing* g. *intercidentis* MI. 48<sup>c</sup> 32, *indlung findo* sg. 15<sup>a</sup>, *indloingtis* g. *disecabantur* Book of Armagh 175<sup>b</sup> 1), seems to have split up into two verbs *dlongim* and *dluigim*, cf. Atkinson and Windisch s.v. *dluigim, gorodluigset* 7 *gorodloingset a scéith* LL. 86<sup>b</sup> 43, *cordluig* 7 *cordelig muir robuir* LBr. 118<sup>b</sup> 14.

*ro-dlong, rodlong* . . . *drong dremun dia n-irgabail* 540 = *curid Iolph drong dia as gráda ina n-diaid dia n-ergabail*, LBr. 116<sup>b</sup>.

*do-ar-rethim, tarraid* 'overtook' 380, cf. *dosnaraid* LU. 84<sup>b</sup> 15, *nisanaraid* LU. 83<sup>b</sup> 26, 38, *nisararaid* (leg. *nisanaraid*) LU. 84<sup>a</sup> 2.

*do-ad-scaraim* 'overthrow, destroy,' *taiscērad* 285 (*nī oraibae notrascēraind* LBr. 115<sup>a</sup>), *rotascair* 697. Cf. Ascoli *Gloss.* celxxxviii, *Zeitschr. f. Kelt. Phil.* 15, further *dostascar* 'throws her down' LU. 22<sup>b</sup> 5, *co n-ascar* LL. 109<sup>b</sup> 25, *toscara Cú sessiur dīb and* 'Cuchulinn destroys six of them there' LU. 63<sup>b</sup> 30, cf. 67<sup>a</sup> 19, *doscara cōecait mac dīb* LU. 59<sup>a</sup> 43, *doscarthar Cuculaind* LU. 60<sup>a</sup> 4, *trascraig Cuculainn fo thrī Mand* LU. 82<sup>b</sup> 41, *cortrascair Mand* LU. 82<sup>b</sup> 45, cf. 59<sup>b</sup> 23.

*do-air-comlain* 'collect,' *targlammar* 413, 894, cf. *tarcomlād* LU. 55<sup>a</sup> 1, *tarclamsat* LL. 44<sup>a</sup> 9, *tarclam* LL. 216<sup>b</sup> 44, *targlomaid* .i. *tionóilid* O'Clery. For the various explanations of the verb, see Ascoli, *Gloss.* cxiii. The form *tarcomlād* is in favour of connexion with *lā*-. Composition with *to-aith-* is seen in *teclamad* 983, cf. *tecmall* 'gather' LU. 63<sup>a</sup> 5, *doecmalta* LU. 55<sup>a</sup> 26, *tecmalta* LU. 63<sup>a</sup> 16, *rotheclaim* LL. 121<sup>b</sup> 11.

*do-air-ind-garim* 'promise,' *dorairngert* 465, *rothairngair* 507, *dorairngired* 879, cf. *dorairngired* LU. 72<sup>b</sup> 13, 74<sup>b</sup> 10.

*do-dircim* 'effect,' *tharic* 46, *im-tháirc* 159, *táircaid* 178, *do-tháirced* 194, *tarccacht* p. 25 n. 3, *thuraic* 651, *doraraic* 678, *rontdraig* 704. Cf. Ascoli, *Gloss.* xcvi.

*do-airinnim* 'let down, suppress, humble,' *tairinn* 162, *tairinnid* 181, *toirnet* 182, *rotairinn* 707. Cf. *i n-ōenfecht dostorbaitis a cossa 7 dofairnitis aris* 'at one time they raised their feet and set them down again' LL. 55<sup>b</sup> 8, *nī arlacair Medb aratarnia a carpat* 'Medb did not permit her chariot to be let down,' LL. 57<sup>a</sup> 2, cf. 57<sup>a</sup> 4 *andsin radichurit eich Meidbe 7 raternait a carpait*.

*do-air-lingim* 'leap,' *tarblaing* 377, s subj. *co tarblais* LU. 83<sup>a</sup> 14, infin. *tairléim* LU. 118<sup>a</sup> 13.

*do-aith-benim* 'cut,' *ro-theipi* 402. Cf. *dobretha Fergus tepe forsín gabáil* LL. 61<sup>a</sup> 18, *co roteiped Eua asa thōeb* LBr. 110<sup>a</sup>.

*do-aith-beoigim* 'bring to life,' *tathbeogud* 1008. Cf. *corothath-beoig* LL. 278<sup>b</sup> 30, *rothathbeoig in mac marb* LBr. 131<sup>b</sup> 15.

*do-ecraim dodeccrai*—*srethaib ilretha rétlann* 'he arranged (?) in ranks the many courses of the stars,' *dodeccraib a gnim, is a trí tecraib cech m-būaid* p. 4 n. 3. Cf. the simple *ecraim, ecraid Midir in fidchill* 'Midir arranges the chess(board)' LU. 130<sup>b</sup> 40, *ecraib cid in liathróit i n-dīb cossaib* LL. 62<sup>b</sup> 11, *racratar a munter in carpat inime do chlochaib* etc. (= 'fitted out, filled') LL. 92<sup>b</sup> 8, *rotecraib dino 7 urluachair fóthu* LL. 63<sup>b</sup> 20, *rahecrad tech n-óil 7 airaibnusa*

*leis* LL. 172<sup>b</sup> 23, *impais Conchobar fri Mani 7 ronecrand do bráthbemmennaið do cech aird* ('plied him with blows') LL. 256<sup>b</sup> 19, which is itself a denominative from *écor* (= *aith-cor*) 'arrangement.'

*do-éccim* 'see,' *rodéccai* 402, *rodéircs* 712, and with transition to Class ii *rodéo* 435. Cf. *dofécai* LU. 23<sup>a</sup> 30, *doenécacha* LU. 23<sup>a</sup> 40, *domrécacha* LU. 92<sup>b</sup> 28, *condadercacha* LU. 87<sup>a</sup> 37, 42, *donécuchussa* LU. 19<sup>a</sup> 2, *duéigigi* ML. 111<sup>c</sup> 13, Trip. Life, Index, s.v. *do-éccim*.

*do-gaim* 'choose,' *corothogad* 137, *dorðegasa* 325, *dorðega* 392.

*do-fo-es-smim* 'beget,' *rothuismiset* 788.

*do-for-benim*, *nibartörbas*, 126.

*do-fo-rindim* 'mark out' *dororainn* 682.

*do-fo-strim*, *túirim* 'seek,' *túirid* 180, *rothúir* 624. Already in the Old Irish Glosses this is treated as a simple verb, *rotúirset* ML. 44<sup>d</sup> 23.

*do-fuaid* 'ate up' 366.

*do-gáithim* 'deceive,' *rotogáeth* 695, *togāes* 979. Cf. *dungáitis* ML. 81<sup>c</sup> 20, *dugáithatar* 31<sup>c</sup> 25, further 32<sup>a</sup> 6, 38<sup>a</sup> 13.

*dogniu* 'do,' *dognim* 2 for *dogniu* is supported by *atchimsea* LU. 53<sup>b</sup> 17 and LBr. 110<sup>b</sup> has *is mise choimētus Pardus 7 dogni frestul na n-uli anmann*.

*do-imm-thasaim* 'coarto,' *dorimthas* 675 (? *doerimthas* 'she rolled them up together'), *doerimthas dó Dia do nim co n-innmos co n-indilíb* 'God from heaven joined (?) her to him with wealth, with cattle' 675. Sg. 3<sup>a</sup> 3 quae coartata, etc., is glossed by *i. ex aere et ore in unam vocem i. doimmthastar fri slond n-inliuchtá bis him menmain* 'are united to express the thought that is in the mind.'

*do-ind-fedim* 'breathe, inspire,' *tinfed* 932, *tinfissin* 964.

*do-lám* 'cast,' *conabtorlus* 512, *dorralaid* 'drove us' 517.

*do-midim* 'measure,' *domidet* 94, *dorðemaidir*, *cia dorðemadair* 412. Cf. *ithéride dorumadirsi* g. quae fuerat emensus ML. 16<sup>c</sup> 11. Here *do* seems due to the analogy of *-róemid* from *maidim*, cf. *co róebriis* LL. 73<sup>a</sup> 28 from the verb *brissim* of kindred meaning.

*do-moinim* 'think,' *dorumensat* 436.

*do-olaiscim* 'set free,' *conastorslaic iad* 680 = *conusruc Othanel aris as iat* LBr. 126<sup>b</sup>.

*do-reg* 'I will come,' *toirchi* 'return thou' 269, *dotrega* 274, *notharged* 286. Cf. *tairchi a Medb* 'come, Medb' LL. 250<sup>a</sup> 24.

*do-ro-char* 'I fell,' *dorochair* 389, *dorochoibair* 419, *dorochratar* 431, *torchrór* 110. In poems in LL. a shorter form *docer* is often

found, e.g. 131<sup>b</sup> 41, 132<sup>a</sup> 10, 21, to which is formed a pl. *docorsat* 182<sup>b</sup> 39.

*doróined*? 875.

*dorotacht*, *dorotacht dóib cechóentreib* 466. It now seems probable that this comes from a compound *di-utáingim*, or *to-utáingim* 'protect,' cf. *arutáing*, *conutáing*, or from *\*do-utgim* 'build up, establish,' cf. *arutacht* i. *rochumtaig*, *Ir. Hymn.* 5. 10.

*do-ro-sochim* 'come, reach,' *dotrúa*, *doforfúa* (= *do-for-ro-só* 'there will come to you,' cf. *do-bar-ró* LL. 254<sup>a</sup> 7) 225, *tora* 239, *thorasta* 249, *doruacht* 480, where the examples should have appeared under (e) instead of (d).

*dorúacell* 'bought' 671. Cf. further *ó Ua Riamán dergled* 'and from O'Riamán it was purchased' Irish Charters from the Book of Kells iii, *dorógill* ib. vii, *rúachill no dorúachill* i. *docheannaigh* O'Clery, *dirrógel* Triq. Life Index,—*deirclimmis* Wb. 26<sup>b</sup> 16, *diuclidther* i. *crenaidthea* Phil. Soc. Trans. 1858-9 p. 182, *acht ma dorúachli fadsein* i. *acht madh ní derbcendaighes se budhein* O'Davoren s.v. *rúachle*, *diuchlatair enigh dim* O'Davoren s.v. *diuchlad*, *gealltar* i. *cendaighter*, ut est *mac cumaile mani der[d]-gealltar dia nís* i. *meno derbcendaigi* (should rather be *meno derbcendaighter*) O'Davoren.

*dorúaraid* etc. 'remained over' 384 with note. Cf. Ascoli, *Gloss.* clxxxviii.

*do-sennim* 'chase,' *rothafind* 401, cf. *rotaffniset* LL. 255<sup>b</sup> 2. Perf. pass. *toæssa* LU. 83<sup>a</sup> 29.

*do-sornim*, *triur dorosern in sliag* 674, cf. LBr. 253<sup>b</sup> 7 *Iesai* for *dored intslóig adenur*, 7 *triar o cech threib diarailé oca n-din ar cumad* (? *immad*) *echtrand*.

*drichnim*, *drichnes* 'which rages'? 60. Cf. *driuch* 'fretfulness, anger' O'R., *drice* 'angry' (= *dricni* - ?), *rondriuchtatar* Atkinson 671<sup>a</sup>.

*drubaim* 'linger, stay,' *drubas* 55. Cf. *a forrudrúb g. moratus* Ml. 49<sup>b</sup> 10, *cen adba* (i. *cen tech*) *fir fodruba disorchí* (i. *adaig*) 'without the house of a man who stays the night'? LU. 8<sup>a</sup> 27, *cen fodrubu g. sine moris* Ml. 22<sup>a</sup> 6, *cen fodruib* LBr. 261<sup>b</sup> 84, (better *fodrub* 23 N. 10, R.I.A.), *drubh* i. *tairisiomh no comhnaidhe* O'Clery.

*ro-ellacht*, *feib roellacht dóib cech triall* 839. It is uncertain whether *roellacht* is an act. *t* pret. or a perf. pass. Cf. *ellacht* i. *roellged acce* LU. 11<sup>b</sup> 9, perhaps *condasellacht* LL. 9<sup>a</sup> 16 (= *adosealgacht* BB. 32<sup>b</sup> 25).



*emnaim* 'double, divide,' *roemnastar* 628, *emnaide* 901.

*ercaim*, *erctais* (or passive?) 208, *eretha* 807. Both forms occur in chevilles. Cf. Zimmer, KZ. xxx, 100, and add *erca* (.i. *immad*) *brēch* (.i. *mac tīre*) *biathais* 'many wolves he fed' LL. 44<sup>a</sup> 31, *eretha gluind* LL. 35<sup>a</sup> 12, *Feradach find fechtnach Fail ercad cōch n-ing co n-ilgráin* LL. 132<sup>a</sup> 5, *rodnerca saiget gelāin* LL. 132<sup>a</sup> 3, *immaig nanercsat buirb* LL. 151<sup>a</sup> 11=*for Mag n-Ai erctais fuidb* BB. 395<sup>a</sup> 37, *for Enhain erctais na sluaigh* BB. 395<sup>a</sup> 35=*a Emain eirgeat na sludig* LL. *mórait* .i. *ercait* no *nōemait* Féil. Oeng. xlv, i. As Zimmer points out, the sense of 'fill' suits many of these passages; some of them are obscure.

*ae-srédim* 'scatter, spread,' *heisreite* 908.

*étraigim*, *nī hētraigim dāla ban*, *nī hētraigim rūna Dé* 3, *nā hētraig mac n-Iossé* 158, *nohētraiged* (read *nā-hetraiged*) in *Coindeid* 203. With the first passage cf. *nāchētraiged mnāi* LL. 124<sup>a</sup> 29, which O'Curry translates 'that he should not have intercourse with a woman.' In the other passages the meaning seems to be 'to outrage, to treat with contumely.' Can it stand, with the loss of one of two similar syllables for *\*étradaigim* (i.e. *\*etruzaigim*) from *étradach* 'libidinosus,' *étrad* 'libido'?

*ro-fúid* 'went' 344–5. Cf. *enigid gaim*, *rofúith sam* 'winter drips, summer is gone' LU. 11<sup>b</sup> 21, *rofúith Nin*, *Cir*, *Dair dia éis rofúith Solam sdim*, *Xerxes* 'Ninus has gone, Cyrus, Darius after him,' etc., LL. 133<sup>b</sup> 5, *innuraid* .i. *innuu robait* no in anno *rofúith* .i. *isin bliadain tairnie* Phil. Soc. Trans. 1858–9 p. 187, *rofadatar* g. *exciderunt*, Wb. 29<sup>c</sup> 13. Cf. further the compound *dofúith* 'came' Windisch, s.v. *tóided* .i. *ticed* Féil. Oeng. Prol. 340, Jan. 1, and *dofeith* 'there comes' Imram Brain 16.

*féguim* 'look, behold,' *fégaid* 172, *rofēgdais* 215, *rofēgsatar* 770, *fégad* 991. Cf. *nadfegar* Ml. 36<sup>a</sup> 38.

*fellaim* 'deceive,' *nī fellub* 294. Cf. *rofellus fair* BB. 481<sup>b</sup> 5.

*fethim*, *diafethet buaid nādimchress* 95, meaning obscure. Cf. perhaps o *Egept fethit a fōit fo thúaid cosin Capadóic* LL. 135<sup>b</sup> 13, *i n-Asia Bec fethit diit* 135<sup>b</sup> 38.

*fchim* 'boil,' *forg Dé rofig for far tūr* 597, *fichud* 1017. Cf. *ae frōech nā figed fri feirg* 'with what rage would he not boil in anger?' LL. 255<sup>a</sup> 34.

*fchim* 'fight,' *rofich* 596.

*ferfd* in *ferfd graphainn gergaile* 297 stands for *ferfaid*. Cf. in *graphand rofersam* Féil. Oeng. Prol. 73, *ic ferthain graffand* LL. 273<sup>b</sup> 12, *ferthair graifni ind denaig* LL. 274<sup>a</sup> 12, and, for *i*, *cia*

*confirend in cath* LL. 101<sup>a</sup> 9 (cf. *ferfait* . . . *catha* Salt. R. 8315), *fris* . . . *fálte* LL. 102<sup>a</sup> 27 for the usual *ferais fáilte*.

*fo-álgaim* 'overthrow,' *fonrdlaig*, etc., 677. Cf. *fosndlaig* LU. 24<sup>b</sup> 40, *adaforlaig* LL. 289<sup>a</sup> 47. Does *nisfailgaisi* (rhymes with *thánaisi*) 118 belong here?

*fo-celim* 'give heed to, beware of,' *nádfoichlidar* 55. Cf. Zimmer, *Kelt. Stud.* i 72, Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-4, p. 505, where should have been added *foichle in fer* 'beware of the man' LU. 62<sup>a</sup> 41, 62<sup>b</sup> 4, 10, 2 s.g. subj. in ipv. sense like *déce* 'look.'

*focessaim* 'take away'? *fotroohess* 1746, cf. *focessat úadib issa sid* 'they took him away from them into the *sid*' LU. 63<sup>b</sup> 27, cf. *cess* 832, *cia adbar adbal in fess dia cess in bith* 'what was the wonderful material, is it known, from which was made (spread out?) the world?'

*fo-cnám*, *fodchná* 22; cf. *cnám*. The meaning of this passage is not clear. Is the word used metaphorically in the sense of 'ruminate, ponder?'

*fo-dlugim* 'cleave,' *diarfodluig* 704.

*fo-émaim* 'receive,' *ronfäema* 125, *roföemad* 198.

*fo-fucetha* 892, for *dofucetha*. Such confusion of pretonic particles is found in Middle Irish, cf. *fognith*=*dognith* LU. 79<sup>b</sup> 13 (in a late addition to the *Táin*), *fognid* LL. 59 l. 50, *fognithi* LL. 63<sup>a</sup> 37.

*fo-iadaim* 'close,' *fodasnáda im thalmáin* 'which closes about the earth' 20.

*foichligim*, *níltar foichligthi fri tóir* 914, denominative from *foichlech* (*sáir-foichlech* ML. 90<sup>b</sup> 2) from *fo-chelim*.

*folcim* 'wash, bath,' *nodafoilce* 32(?). In O.Ir. a verb of Class III, *etirfoleai* ML. 81<sup>c</sup> 1.

*fo-rathaigim* 'observe,' *fonrathaig* 655.

*for-dingim* 'oppress,' *forordingsetar* 436. For the form cf. Stokes, *Academy* July 14, 1883. Cf. *forrudedachsa* ML. 96<sup>c</sup> 17.

*for-émdim* 'am unable.' To this may be referred *forfēmdinn* 183, *forfēmid* 651, *forfēmdes* 872. The simpler *fēmdim* is found in *fēmdeth* 186 (= *fēmdig in fer a h-Egipt in marbad* LBr. 115<sup>b</sup>), *rofēmid* 706; *fēmdim* is a Mid. Ir. form of *émdim* = *as-midim* (W. *meddu* 'posse'), cf. *asromus* Rev. Celt. ix 481 n, *conarēmaet a buill oc* *éirge* LL. 287<sup>a</sup> 11.

*for-failtigim* 'rejoice exceedingly,' *forfáltig* 650.

*for(t)gellaim* 'testify, declare,' *fortgellam Dia* ('we take God to witness') 65, *fotroirgell* 671, *forrogellaat* 780, *roforgellaat* 787.

- for-midim* 'reckon,' *fordamidet* 94.  
*for-múchaim* 'stifle,' *formúchthair* 792.  
*for-osnaim* 'illuminate,' *forosna* 23. Cf. *forosna* LU. 89<sup>a</sup> 7,  
*fursain caindel* 'light a candle' LL. 126<sup>b</sup> 25, *fursaind duind*  
 'give us a light' BB. 259<sup>b</sup> 45.  
*for-tuigim* 'cover,' *fortuigthir* 793. Cf. Phil. Soc. Trans.  
 1891-4, p. 535, and add *intuigset* ML. 121<sup>c</sup> 9.  
*fossaigim* 'make firm, establish,' *nod[f]ossaig* 47, *rosfossaig*  
 598. Cf. *fossaigedar a breith* LL. 293<sup>b</sup> 21.  
*fothaigim* 'found,' *corfothaig* 599.  
*fris-accim* 'expect,' *fris-aiccidar* 130.  
*fuagim* 'sew,' *rofuaig* 599. O.Ir. *uagim*.  
*fuathaigim* 'shape, form,' *rofuathaig* 599. From *fuath* 'forma.'  
*gáilaim*, *rogdól gail*, *nathir rongdól*, *rogáil* . . . *infáil* 541-2. Cf.  
*doeranie Brigit bán in mórchatha rodagáil* LL. 52<sup>a</sup> 50, *úar rogálad*  
*tria gnim ga Cendfálad la Finnachta* LL. 133<sup>a</sup> 2. Cf. *gaol* 'wound,'  
*gaolaim* 'break' O'R.  
*gáiligim* = *gáilaim*, *rongáiligeis* 515.  
*gataim* 'steal,' *dogait* 626.  
*gerraim* 'cut,' *rogerrtha* 888.  
*gláidim*, *rogláid fo crithfeidm* 600, where add *rogláed cechlocht*  
 L. 6554, and cf. *dosrat fo gláed comriada* 6794. The verb seems  
 to be used transitively in the sense of 'make fast' and in-  
 transitively in the sense of 'stick fast,' cf. *rogláedastar in cend*  
*fríin cathbarr* 'the head stuck to the helmet' LL. 166<sup>a</sup> 9, quoted  
 by Stokes *Togail Trói* s.v. *gláed*.  
*glíim*, *gléad gníma glangaiss* 187. Cf. *mór n-gliad roglé* LL.  
 141<sup>a</sup> 35, *nísbálar mná soirbe sóire ceanogléa* LL. 134<sup>b</sup> 18, *cía*  
*noigléad* LL. 135<sup>a</sup> 23, *gléithir sturru* 'peace is made between  
 them' LL. 118<sup>a</sup> 4, *gléithis .i. doghlan no dofhoillsigh* O'Clery, and  
 Windisch s.v.  
*gránaigim* (*gráin* 'loathing'), *gránaigter* 800.  
*iarfaigim* 'ask,' *iarfus* 231, *iarfacht* 454, *roiarfacht* 485. Cf.  
*iarfaic* LL. 181<sup>a</sup> 38, 184<sup>b</sup> 19.  
*ibim* 'drink,' *ibas* 275. Cf. *ní ib* LU. 22<sup>b</sup> 31, *ibait* LU. 57<sup>a</sup> 19.  
*íd-naicim* 'give,' *corídnacht*. Cf. Stokes, *Lives of Saints*, Index.  
*imm-agim* 'drive about,' *imracht* 461, 868 (cf. *rodaacht* LL.  
 201<sup>c</sup> 37), *immáin* 958.  
*imm-dilaim* (= *imm-di-lidaim* 'deliver'?), *modilfat uad ar écin*  
 293. Among the meanings of *díolaim* O'R. gives that of 'release';  
 I have no further examples.

\*imm-for-fenim, amrorfus, 513.

immsóim 'turn.' With *imsóid-i* 19.

imm-théilcim, imthelgud 'defecation' 1019, *nothiced a conar imthelcthi forru amach* LBr. 128<sup>a</sup>, *do imthelcud a chuirp* LBr. 129<sup>a</sup> 50.

rosindre 'he harried them' 714 (cf. Atkinson, s.v. *indrith*), but *indroith* 384, cf. *roroith* LL. 288<sup>a</sup> 39.

ir-scartaim 'clear out, remove, purify,' *roiscart* 562. Cf. *do urscartad na slóg di maig Murthemne* LL. 120<sup>b</sup> 28, cf. 121<sup>a</sup> 15, *erscartad* Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies*.

lannain 'parturio,' *lannad* 994 g. *lamanta* l. 3032, cf. *anaid frim corolamnar* LL. 126<sup>a</sup> 10, *hé maccán rolamnad do* LU. 53<sup>a</sup> 22.

*largud* 1019. Cf. *lorgim* 'wound' O'Br. ?

*láthraim, roláthair co lúath a máthair do Jacob* 603. The meaning seems to be 'his mother quickly explained to Jacob (what he was to do).' Cf. *látharthir* 'exponitur' Asc. Ml. 44<sup>b</sup> 16, *láthrimini na rúna diadi* 'we set forth the divine mysteries' Wb. 8<sup>d</sup> 19.

*lénaim* 'wound, hurt,' *nacharlén* 145. In 48 *nínlen clöen ná gó ná ceist* we seem to have *lenim* 'cling to.'

*leod* 'mangling' 1019. Cf. *leod 7 letrad* LL. 243<sup>a</sup> 24, 258<sup>a</sup> 46.

*lessaigim* 'attend to, provide for,' *lessaig do slúaig* 161, *lessaigfid mo chrí* 297, *roslessaig* 606.

*lethaim* 'spread,' *lethas* 58, *lethfaid* 296, *roletheat* 756. Cf. *nibha lām lūich lethas cárna caurad* LL. 87<sup>b</sup> 42.

*letraim* 'tear, mangle,' *corletair* 606, *letrad* 994. Cf. *ralettair Lóch mo dá lón* 'Loch has torn my two sides' (*lúan* .i. *töeb*, Amra Conroi) LL. 75<sup>a</sup> 44, *coroletair claideb erúaid* LL. 256<sup>b</sup> 51, *mallacht air láim roletair* LL. 258<sup>b</sup> 28.

*liunaim, nī rosluina hed dia cur acht mad treb Iuda a hōenur* 736 = *nī roibe nech doclainn Israhel hi cotarena friu acht treb Iuda a hōenur* LBr. 129<sup>b</sup>, *liunsatar cāch dīb fo leith, rodiultsatar a coimdeid* 751 = *rodiultsat meic Israhel a coimdiu* .i. *Dia coitchead edich* LBr. 126<sup>b</sup>, *roliunsat in firchretim* 756. The general sense seems to be 'to deny, refuse, fall away from.'

*loitim* 'hurt,' *loitit* 78.

*lommraim* 'strip, shear,' *lommrad* 995. Cf. *lommēras a cind sin dītea* LL. 288<sup>a</sup> 31.

*luadim* 'move, agitate, disturb,' *nachamlúaid* 161, *luadfit* 307, *luaidfiter* 827.

*maidim* 'break,' *memais* 224, *maidfid* 247, *nomaidfed* 259, *memaid* 341, *romemaid* 348, *romebdatar* 423, *diarmaid* 437. Cf. *monomæ* LL. 94<sup>a</sup> 19, *co mebsat* LU. 74<sup>a</sup> 42, *maidfid* LU. 87<sup>b</sup> 35, 88<sup>a</sup> 38, *ho rumasith* ML. 51<sup>c</sup> 9.

*mandraim* 'destroy,' *mannērat* 263, *mandrad* 995. Cf. *mandrais* LL. 184<sup>b</sup> 9.

*marbaim* 'kill,' *marbait* 71, *coromarba* 114, *cia marbaid* 121, *nodmarba* 123, *nomarbad* 184, *co marbdais* 208, *conāromarbtas* 216, but *muirfet* 293, *notmairfider* 824. The other examples of the future which I have noted belong to Class III, *nieniuilemairbfe* ML. 77<sup>a</sup> 15, *mairfidus* LU. 19<sup>a</sup> 1, *mairfid* LU. 64<sup>b</sup> 15, *nomairfed* LU. 74<sup>b</sup> 17, *nomairfithis* LU. 87<sup>a</sup> 8. Cf. *anaim* 'remain' but *-sin[u]* *ainfa*, *noainfeda*, *ni ainfed* *Ascoli Gloss.* xxxiii (but *anfaim* Salt. R. l. 1425), *adellaim* but *adelliub* ib. lv, *ieaim* but *ieefe*, *iecfider* cvi, *līnaim* but *nollnsfed*, *līnfider*, *folnaim* but *folnifea* clxvi, *logaim* but *noloichfed* clxxv, *sōiraim* but *nonsōirfea*, *nobsōirfea*, *nondasōirfea*, *sōirfithir*, *sōirfetar*, *sōirfed*, *nosōirfithis* by *nobsōirfasa*, *sōirfad* cclxv, *scaraim* by *noscairiub* cclxxvi. The subject requires further investigation.

*mathigim*, *rosmathig* . . . *cathir cōir fa gabulrind* 608=*rasuidiged* *David iarsin hi cathraig chōeim chumais fo gabulrind gābla for fōaidmhullaig slēbi Seōin .i. i n-Erusalem* LBr. 130<sup>a</sup>. Mr. Stokes would translate, 'he measured out a city justly under a pair of compasses.'

*menmaigim* 'break to pieces,' *menmaigfiter* 826, add *rumenmaiged* l. 4149=*do merbliugud 7 do mudugud* LBr. 120<sup>a</sup>. Seems to stand for *menbaigim*, a denominative from *menb* 'small.' Cf. Stokes *Urkelt. Spr.* 205.

*meraim* 'betray,' *rotmera* 737, *romert* 446, *romertsam* p. 24 n. 1, *diammert* 832, *cotamert* 833 (or does this last instance belong to *morleim* 'statue' ML. 51<sup>a</sup> 12, 58<sup>d</sup> 17?). Cf. KZ. xxxiii 306, *rom[r]tatar* ML. 75<sup>d</sup> 5, *nitmeradsu* .i. *nitmairnsfed* LL. 64<sup>b</sup> 25, *cōid ramer in cali 7 in banaccaid* LL. 72<sup>b</sup> 19, *nimmera* LL. 252<sup>a</sup> 30.

*midim* 'judge,' *anromidair mo Dia dam* 411=*anī roordaig Dia* LBr. 115<sup>a</sup>.

*mudaigim* 'destroy,' *rotmudaigeis* 515, *mudugud* 1022. Cf. *nā mudaigter lett Ulaid* LL. 102<sup>b</sup> 31, *rosmudaig Conaing* LL. 128<sup>b</sup> 2, *Nia Segamuin romudaig* LL. 129<sup>a</sup> 9, *romudaig, ciarbo chara, Lugaid, i cath Mucrama* LL. 129<sup>b</sup> 16, cf. l. 24, *marbaid 7 mudaigid cōch bēn risacomarnaic* LL. 240<sup>a</sup> 48, *rogab dano Conchobor scaindred*

7 répad 7 mudugud intsludig LL. 258<sup>a</sup> 50, a muintir do marbad 7 do mudugud 91<sup>b</sup> 35, co fúar mudu is mormada LL. 156<sup>a</sup> 33, daig is maith immudu ifeachta mo maithse 7 is bethu immuig mo bethu LL. 64<sup>a</sup> 28, immudu dochúaid LL. 185<sup>a</sup> 12, Windisch s.v. *mudu*.

nóim 'celebrate' ? nōithi 102. Cf. nōitis mōsíluaig LL. 259<sup>b</sup> 9, nōud cerda .i. erdarcaigim eladna LL. 187<sup>a</sup> 52, rout nōithi .i. erdarcaigim aisti iar sētaib dligid LL. 187<sup>b</sup> 22, nōadh .i. urdar-cughadh no médughadh O'Don. Suppl., nōift cella Trip. Life 34 l. 11.

óinaim 'fast,' roden 528.

oisim 'tend sheep,' doluid in ben . . . co trét nooisced Iacob 191=roērig rempi . . . aitt amboi Iacop oc ingaire chōerach LBr. 113<sup>b</sup>. Cf. oisg 'ewe, sheep' O'R, fōisg 'ewe' Foley, Manx oasht 'wether' ?

orthad 'let him go' 167. Cf. Zimmer, KZ. xxx, 94.

recoaim 'sell,' rorecsam 740, rorecsabair 746.

rannaim 'divide,' roinne 119, rannait 143, raind 162, rannfat 292, rorann, rorainn 553, roinnfithir 826, rorannad 850.

rímim 'count,' rímes 133, rorim 618. Cf. LL. 290<sup>a</sup> passim.

rathaigim 'perceive,' rorathaig 617. Cf. rathaigid LL. 63<sup>b</sup> 45, rathaigis LL. 57<sup>b</sup> 23, rathaiges LU. 83<sup>b</sup> 15.

réidigim 'make clear,' roréidig 617. Cf. roréigestar LL. 176<sup>a</sup> 36.

rethim 'run,' rordáith 350, ruth 934. In Modern Munster Irish the pronunciation of the verbal noun is *rūh*.

rigim 'extend,' roreraig 359, rosrig 435, rorigset 437, rigfádir 822. Cf. reraig rige LL. 21<sup>b</sup> 10, cech rói roreraig Rudraige LL. 23<sup>a</sup> 6, cf. 182<sup>b</sup> 10, roreraig comarbus Cuind LL. 154<sup>a</sup> 15, rotrén reraig corondedaig Æd Ailig LL. 184<sup>b</sup> 12, sluindfetsa duib uili an-anmand mar dosreraig 134<sup>a</sup> 40.

rind-rethait 'star-run' 75. In this sort of compound the endings of the verb appear in their absolute form, cf. *str-canaít* 73, *fin-būanaigít* Ml. 102<sup>a</sup> 12, further Féil. Oeng. s.v. *bíth*.

róenaim 'defeat,' roróen 554. Cf. nī fair noráinfithé LL. 61<sup>b</sup> 15.

rogim 'extend,' rogud 1027. Cf. rogud LL. 21<sup>a</sup> 28, Ascoli Gloss. ccxvii.

roithim 'cause to run' (causative of *rethim*), ruithes 61. Cf. *cen adrad rig roithes gréin* LL. 32<sup>a</sup> 31, Ascoli Gloss. ccxvii.

ro-la 'chanced,' nochosrala for dagcéil 347, cf. *feib donrala fri comrad* 1214, *cid ar dotralaid* 'why dost thou chance to be?' p. 23, n. 1.

*ro-sagim ro-sochim* 'reach,' *rosaig* 50, *rosoich* 51, *nadróig* 51, *rossó* 231, *co ros* 232, *róa* 239, *roacht* 459. Cf. *rossaidsi* LU. 25<sup>b</sup> 10, *rodsá* LL. 58<sup>b</sup> 33, *ró* LL. 67<sup>a</sup> 18, *rosassad* LU. 97<sup>a</sup> 22, *rossasad* LL. 103<sup>a</sup> 41, *rostaís* LU. 83<sup>a</sup> 16, pres. *corosecha* 103<sup>a</sup> 41. The vocalism in this family of words is not altogether clear. Forms like *rosoich* may have arisen from forms like *nadróig*, whence again *rossasad* for *rosassaid*. Cf. Ascoli, *Gloss.* 246.

*ruithnigim* 'make bright,' *roruithnig* 618.

*saidim=suidim* 'sit,' *forsasaid* 'on which sits' 50, *saided* 194, *eiss* 227. Cf. LL. 49<sup>b</sup> 6 *slán seiss a Brigit co m-búaid for grúaid* *Lifi lir co traig*, and last line of the same poem, in which passages the meaning seems to be 'thou sittest.'

*sáilim* 'expect,' *rosáilset* 766.

*sainigim* 'make different, pre-eminent,' *rosuidiged longphort leis*, *ba gnim connort cin eisleis*; *rosainig coirethaib séit for maigib na cáirechtrét* 618=*rosuidiged longport lánmor leis for muigib morrédi* 7 *for eorassasib imáidbli in dithrib* 7 *for conairib cómlethna coimeta* 7 *fethmi na cōrechthréit, diti ambid Dauid oc ingaire na cōerach* 7 *na n-gabur* LBr. 129<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *ní súail rosainig* LL. 183<sup>b</sup> 33.

*sámaigim* 'place,' *rodosámaig* 162, *sámugud* 1027.

*scaraim* 'separate,' *scarthain* 961, *scarad* 998.

*scingim* 'spring,' *roscing* 435. Cf. *scescing* LU. 60<sup>a</sup> 27, Zimmer, KZ. xxx, 63 n.

*scuchim* 'depart,' *scaichsiu* 965.

*sergaim* 'wither,' *sergait* 71, *sergsait* 307. Cf. *dogene muccaid Ochaill acetna fria muccasom corosērggsat* LL. 246<sup>b</sup> 1.

*sernim* 'spread,' *sernait* 71, *sernnaid* 173, *nosernad* 184, *rosern* 563, *sernai* 725, *rosernsat* 758, *serntair* 799, *rosernad* 851; usually along with *sreith*.

*sétaigim* 'make way,' *sétaigfít* 308. Cf. *sétaigte* g. *viantium* Ml. 82<sup>d</sup> 4.

*sidaigim* 'pacify,' *rodasídaig* 620. Cf. *cōraigmitni iarom*, or *Fergus*, 7 *sidaigmit in macraid friseom iarsin* LU. 59<sup>b</sup> 34.

*slaidim* 'cut, hew,' *slaides* 62, *roslas* 840, *slaide* 943. Cf. *cé noslais* LU. 74<sup>a</sup> 18, *roslassa* LU. 59<sup>b</sup> 14.

*sligim* 'cut, smite,' *rodo[s]selaig* 350, *roslig* 435. Cf. *is cumma nosliged iarna chulaib* 7 *ara bélaib* LL. 107<sup>a</sup> 39, *arnonsligfítis* LU. 90<sup>a</sup> 16, *raselgatar* LU. 58<sup>a</sup> 10, *roslechtsa dá mag déo* LL. 6<sup>a</sup> 33, later *roslechtsad* LU. 58<sup>a</sup> 5 in a parenthetical remark of the compiler.

*sligim, dias dōib fri sóirsi slecht fri cerdaacht fri primgoibnecht* 441 = *conordaigis dias occu fri gaibnecht 7 sóirse 7 cerdaacht* LBr. 120<sup>a</sup>. If the paraphrase is to be trusted *slecht* must have the meaning of 'appointed' or the like. Cf. *ad-sligim*.

*snáim* 'swim,' *snáit* 71, *rosná* 621.

*snigim* 'drip,' *snegdator* 500.

*sniim* (?), *sniid* 15, *sníset co cōir a cainti* 756, *snísit fri fiana ferdrong* 754. Meaning not clear.

*sogabtais* (?) 217, cf. *so-gabtha* 902. Stokes suggests *nogabtais*.

*sréim* 'throw, cast,' *sréid, sréis* 527. Cf. *sréid* LU. 81<sup>b</sup> 26, *sréthe* 'casts it' LU. 62<sup>a</sup> 21, *sráithi* 'throws it' LU. 72<sup>a</sup> 15, *sráithius* LU. 65<sup>a</sup> 9, *sréthais* LU. 75<sup>b</sup> 21, *srédis* LU. 82<sup>a</sup> 35, Ascoli, *Gloss.* cclxxxii, Féil. Oeng. Index, s.v. *sreim*. *sréthe* is against Zimmer's view that *sréid* is phonetic for *sréidid*, for *sréidid-e* would have given *srétte*.

*sréthaim* 'arrange,' *rosrethaig* 622.

*no-suildis* 214.

*tachtaim* 'strangle, vex,' *cíid ta[<sup>ch</sup>]thi Dia for Coimdeid* 'why do ye vex God your Lord' 67, *rostacht* 565. Cf. *in cintach ima tabartha brágaid nothachtad, Ir. Text.* iii, 1, 190.

*taiscelad* 'spying,' 999.

*tarchomail*, l. 4757. Cf. *tarchomhladh .i. glúasacht* O'Clery (*to-ar-com-ellaim*).

*tarmairt* 'was within a little of' p. 31, n. 3, *tarmartad* 866. With another construction *tarmairt . . . combad fiach* LL. 33<sup>b</sup> 31, *tarmairt co mächtais dáine* LL. 33<sup>b</sup> 51. Cf. *cotarmairset éo uile* LBr. 131<sup>a</sup> 33, *cotarmartad a léud* LU. 53<sup>a</sup> 6.

*tathlugud* 1022. Cf. Wind. s.v. *tataile*, where add *darataile* LU. 69<sup>b</sup> 36, *tathlaigh no rothathlaigh .i. do-cheannsaigh* O'Clery, Trip. Life s.v. *do-áilgim*.

*techim* 'run,' *rotháig* 351, *rotheich* 436, *techel* 944, *teched* 981. Cf. *corrabatar fó sár theichle iarna aithbe* LL. 183<sup>a</sup> 34.

*téclaigim, nístéclaigim* 4. Meaning uncertain. Cf. *nā sir-eclaig de ar Dia* LU. 53<sup>a</sup> 19, which seems to mean 'do not find fault with God for that.'

*terbaim* 'separate, set apart,' *rodosterbaisit* 761. Cf. *rotherba 7 rodeiligh Dia in soillsi ona dorchadaibh* BB. 15<sup>a</sup> 46.

*tinaim* 'melt away,' *tinsit* 754, *rothinai* Trip. Life 856 l. 8.

*thlaachtar* 497.

*toimsim* 'measure,' *toimsideir* 794.



*torrain* 522, *torroma* 939. Cf. Stokes, *Lives of Saints* s.v. *torruma*.

*tróethaim* 'oppress, overthrow,' *tróethas* 59, *rothrdáith* 568, *tróethfaidir* 822.

*ro-thairgid* 'offered,' p. 33 n.

*tuistigim* 'beget,' *rothuistiged* 855, *tuistigud* 1034.

*tunscanad* 867, apparently for *tinscanad*, to rhyme with *-chum-scaiged*.

*úaslaigim* 'exalt,' *rotúaslaig* 624.

*úraigim* 'am green,' *úraigfes* 302, *úrugud* 1035.

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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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P. 21, l. 2. *mar't-chuala* (*ad-clunim*) should have appeared under (c).

P. 42, note 1. Cf. further *nimda sáthoch* LU. 60<sup>b</sup> 18, *nimda mac* 62<sup>a</sup> 37. In *nidam* we seem to have a transformation of the older *nimda* after *isam*. The phrases *isam*, etc., seem to have been first used with a following noun, cf. *issumocen* 'it is necessary (lit. necessity) for me' Wb. 10<sup>d</sup> 24, *isamónun* 'I fear' LU. 65<sup>a</sup> 18, and to have been extended afterwards to adjectives. Without any form of the substantive verb expressed *ni-m-eolach-sa* LL. 66<sup>a</sup> 19. With *nábdad* cf. *nábad-at-lond-su* 'be not angry' LL. 65<sup>a</sup> 1 = *nádbad-lond-su* 64<sup>a</sup> 31.

P. 48, note 1. Cf. *amal bimmis* 'as though we were' ML. 91<sup>b</sup> 16, *amal bitis* 92<sup>d</sup> 11, *amal bid co n-altain no-berrtha* LU. 69<sup>a</sup> 13 = *marbad* LL. 72<sup>a</sup> 28. Corresponding to the positive *amal bid* I have seen the negative *amal ni bad* in ML, but I cannot find the reference.

P. 49, l. 36. But *beti* is defended by *beite* LU. 81<sup>b</sup> 2, 22, LL. 69<sup>a</sup> 14.

P. 58, l. 32. Mr. Stokes takes *cachnaid* as a secondary present with reduplication borrowed from the perfect.

P. 62, l. 34. With *donad* cf. *donad* Wb. 25<sup>c</sup> 33, ML. 86<sup>d</sup> 8, for the common *didnad*.

P. 65, l. 22. Formally *-tasaím* would go well with Lat. *taxare*. Mr. Stokes suggests connexion with *raíosa*, Zd. *thāñj*.

P. 74, l. 1. Mr. Stokes would translate 'two of them were detached (lit. cut) for carpentry,' etc., taking *slecht* as pret. pass. of *sligim*.

In a number of cases the mark of length has been inadvertently omitted, but, as it is unlikely that this could cause any difficulty, it does not seem necessary to correct them here.

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II.—ON THE USE OF THE PARTICLE *ro-* WITH  
PRETERITAL TENSES IN OLD IRISH. By  
J. STRACHAN.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society, May 22, 1896.*]

ONE of the most characteristic features of the Celtic verbal system is the occurrence of a particle *ro-* in preterital tenses of the indicative, and in the subjunctive mood. This particle is found not only in Irish but also in the Brythonic group, where its usage varies to some extent in the individual languages, and hence it must have become part and parcel of the verbal system before the breaking up of the Celtic languages. As Zimmer and Thurneysen have suggested, its primary force seems to have been perfective, to adopt the terminology of Slavonic grammar. That would explain its use with the subjunctive on the one hand, and with preterital tenses of the indicative on the other; a form originally denoting kind of action may easily come to express grade of time. A thorough comprehension of the functions of *ro-* in Celtic might be expected to throw considerable light on the development of the Celtic system of verbal inflexion from the Indo-Germanic, and even to help towards a deeper insight into the verbal system of the parent language. To arrive at a knowledge of the use of the particle in proto-Celtic, the natural method would be, on the one hand, to determine the earliest Irish usage, and, on the other, by a comparison of the several Brythonic languages to elucidate the original functions of *ro-* in that group, and then to compare with one another the results thus arrived at.

Such, theoretically, is the course which a thorough investigation of the functions of the particle in Celtic would take. My subject to-night is a much more modest one. I propose to confine myself to Irish, and in Irish practically to the use of *ro-* in the preterite tenses of the indicative. The subjunctive will be called in only to supply additional evidence as to the use of *ro-* in compound verbs. The use of *ro-* with the subjunctive mood is to a great extent a question of syntax, and would be better dealt with separately. In the indicative, as I have said, my aim is chiefly to determine the use of *ro-* in the earliest Irish, to

examine how far it is present and how far absent, to ascertain its position in compound verbs, and to consider the various forms that the particle assumes. As to how far Irish has here diverged from the original state of things, an answer to that question will hardly be found, if indeed it is to be found at all, except by an interrogation of the sister Brythonic group. In later Irish the usage of *ro-* undergoes various changes. Of some of these changes we shall see the beginning, but it is no part of our present purpose to follow the fortunes of *ro-* through later times.

Something has already been said about the particle by Zimmer, *Keltische Studien*, ii, 120 sq., and by Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi, 154 sq., 321 sq.; to this we shall have occasion to refer later. Last year, while I was working on the verbal system of the *Saltair na Rann*, I felt strongly the lack of a complete account of the use of *ro-* in Old Irish. It was to supply this want that the present investigation was undertaken. It may seem to be making much ado about a very small thing, and I fear the patience of the Society may well be exhausted by these perpetual Irish questions. However, *ro-*, although small in bulk, plays a great part in Irish grammar, and, apart from the theoretical interest of the investigation, it furnishes an important criterion for fixing the date of Irish documents; for it is here that we find the first noteworthy disturbance of the delicate mechanism of the Old Irish verbal system. So, at the risk of provoking the Nemesis of dulness, I venture to ask you to traverse with me a weary way.

First of all, something must be said about the sources from which the materials for the investigation are derived. For our present purpose any text that shows considerable traces of a disturbance of the earlier state of things, becomes at once suspect as a witness on any isolated point where there is no confirmation of its evidence. The two chief directions in which the usage of *ro-* changes are, that in later texts it tends to be omitted where it is found in earlier Irish, and that there is a growing tendency to prefix it where at an earlier period it was infixes. The latter point can cause little difficulty, as the regular usage is well defined. But the former is not quite so simple. The reason is this. In the oldest Irish some compound verbs take *ro-*, others do not. Now suppose that in a text, in which certain compounds are found without *ro-* contrary to the earlier usage, a compound verb of which there is no example in the older texts

is found without *ro-*. In such a case the question would arise, was *ro-* absent from this compound from of old or not? Under the circumstances an isolated form had better be simply set aside. If the compound be found repeatedly in old texts, where the disturbance of the earlier state of things is only partial, there is more or less probability that the form is old. There is less likelihood, that *ro-* has been introduced into a compound where it was originally absent; yet we shall have one or two probable instances of this.

Of our sources of information, first and foremost in importance are the Old Irish Glosses,<sup>1</sup> above all the three great collections of Würzburg, Saint Gall, and Milan, and they must form the foundation of our research. Even there we find already some signs of a coming change, particularly in the Milan Glosses, and in them principally in one or two passages which bear the appearance of later additions to the bulk of the glosses. With these may be mentioned a couple of religious works of high antiquity preserved in later manuscripts, but copied in essentials with great fidelity—the Stowe Missal, and the fragment of an Irish treatise on the Psalter published by Prof. K. Meyer in his *Hibernica Minora*; the latter approaches closely in language to the Milan Glosses. In the second line come what may roughly be called the other Deponential texts, such as the Irish Hymns, the Féilire of Oengus, the Armagh Glosses, *Tírechán's* Notes in the Book of Armagh, the Glossary ascribed to Cormac, and the older Sagas. In these texts there is a notable departure from the condition of things observed in the Glosses. In the Sagas a certain difference may be observed between, on the one hand, such ancient texts as the *Táin Bó Fráich* (perhaps the most archaic of the longer Sagas),<sup>2</sup> the *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*, and the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre* version of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, and, on the other, such tales as the *Fled Bricrend*, the *Tochmarc Étaíne*, and the *Serglige Conculaind*. The material from these texts has been derived partly from my own collections, partly from Windisch's *Wörterbuch*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-4, pp. 447, 546.

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that in the *Táin Bó Fráich* no verse is found, in the *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga* very little, while in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* verse passages are more frequent. Can any help be got from this fact in arranging the chronological sequence of the Irish Sagas? For linguistic reasons, I should be inclined to arrange these three Sagas chronologically in the above order.

These various sources have not all been drawn upon to an equal extent. The forms found in the Glosses have been given in full, so far as I have noted them, except that in illustrating the use of *ro-* with the preterite of simple verbs, I have restricted myself to the three great collections, and have omitted the forms of the substantive verb. These forms have certain peculiarities of their own, and I hope to treat of them on some other occasion along with the other parts of that verb. The forms drawn from the second class of sources have been kept distinct throughout. Here, except under special circumstances, I have not aimed at collecting all the forms in all these various texts, but have added such as seemed desirable to further illustrate or to supplement the forms of the Glosses. Probably it will be found that the lists contain most of the ordinary verbs; and rare and isolated forms in later sources are of little value.

It has already been remarked that certain signs of the beginning of a change in the use of *ro-* appear in the Glosses, and that this change has become very decided in the second class of documents. In illustration of this, forms have been collected from the Irish Hymns, the Féilre of Oengus, the Book of Armagh, the Táin Bó Fráich, the Togail Bruidne Dá Derga, and the Táin Bó Cúailnge.

Following the method adopted in my paper on the Deponent Verb, I give first the material collected on which my inferences are based, and then purpose to consider what conclusions may be deduced therefrom. These arid lists are not very inviting, but they have their purpose. In Celtic things to err is only too easy, and fellow-workers will find in them a means of checking any rash and unwarranted conclusions. The various subdivisions of Part I hardly call for any further elucidation.

## PART I. MATERIALS.

### I. SIMPLE VERBS WITH *ro-*.

#### 1. Würzburg Glosses.

##### A. Orthotonic forms:—

##### (a) *ro-*.

*ro-boid[ed]* 27<sup>b</sup> 1, *ro-m-bébe* 3<sup>b</sup> 3 (rel.), 10<sup>c</sup> 11 (*hóre*), *ro-b-car-si* 23<sup>d</sup> 4 (rel.), *amal ro-n-dob-carsam-ni* 25<sup>a</sup> 35, *ro-cathichsiur* 24<sup>a</sup> 3, *ro-chéssus-sa* 17<sup>d</sup> 12 (rel.), *ar ro-cées* 6<sup>c</sup> 27, *isairi ro-cées* 6<sup>b</sup> 20, *is*

*mó ro-chéss* 6<sup>c</sup> 8, *is airi som ro-céss* 10<sup>c</sup> 10, *ro-cess* 4<sup>b</sup> 13 (rel.), *ro-chinast* 4<sup>c</sup> 6 (rel.), *ro-cechladatar* 5<sup>a</sup> 24, *ro-b-clandad* 21<sup>d</sup> 6, *is airi ro-cload* 3<sup>b</sup> 1, *ro-chuala* 28<sup>c</sup> 22 (rel.), *ro-chuale* 5<sup>a</sup> 7 (rel.), *ro-chualammar-ni* 5<sup>a</sup> 7 (rel.), *ro-chualatar* 30<sup>a</sup> 11 (rel.), *ro-chlos* 23<sup>c</sup> 11 (rel.), *ro-s-domalnastar* 21<sup>b</sup> 9, *ro-comalnisid-si* 26<sup>b</sup> 6, *ro-ortus* 17<sup>a</sup> 6, *ro-oretis* (rel.) 10<sup>a</sup> 29, 30, *ro-chretti* 5<sup>a</sup> 7 (rel.), *ro-chreti* (rel.) 5<sup>b</sup> 21, 13<sup>a</sup> 34, 24<sup>b</sup> 31, *ro-crotsisi* ('that ye believed') 1<sup>a</sup> 3, *ro-oreitsid-si* 25<sup>d</sup> 20, 26<sup>a</sup> 23, *ro-chretset* 7<sup>b</sup> 11 (rel.), *ro-chreitset* 24<sup>d</sup> 23 (rel.), 31<sup>a</sup> 6 (rel.), *húare ro-oreitsset* 1<sup>a</sup> 3, *ro-chrochtsat* 5<sup>c</sup> 11, *ro-nd-cursagus-sa* 19<sup>a</sup> 6 (rel.), *ro-s-dénigestar* 21<sup>b</sup> 9, *ro-n-dumiged-ni* 12<sup>a</sup> 15, *ro-dn-dolbi* 4<sup>c</sup> 26 (rel.), *amal ro-n-gabus-sa* 9<sup>d</sup> 25, 23<sup>c</sup> 11, *céin ro-n-gabus* 23<sup>b</sup> 18, *ro-gab* 2<sup>c</sup> 21 (rel.), 4<sup>b</sup> 18 (rel.), 12<sup>a</sup> 25 (rel.), 24<sup>c</sup> 14 (rel.), *ro-n-gab* 6<sup>d</sup> 12, 12<sup>b</sup> 1 (*amal*), 27<sup>a</sup> 11, 15 (*amal*), *ro-gabsat* 12<sup>b</sup> 13 (rel.), *ro-gabad* 7<sup>a</sup> 7, *ro-genir* 11<sup>a</sup> 17 (rel.), *ro-géni* 3<sup>d</sup> 25 (rel.), *ro-gniith* 12<sup>b</sup> 30 (rel.), *amal ro-t-gdd-sa* 27<sup>d</sup> 19, *an ro-gadammar* 15<sup>c</sup> 22, *ro-b-gadammar-ni* 24<sup>d</sup> 20, *ro-lasid* 15<sup>d</sup> 1, *ro-laad* 13<sup>d</sup> 9 (rel.), *ro-l-legusa* 19<sup>a</sup> 6 (rel.), *ar<sup>1</sup> ro-legais* 28<sup>d</sup> 7, *ro-légsid* 7<sup>b</sup> 23 (rel.), *ro-léiced* 5<sup>b</sup> 3, *ro-lín* 22<sup>b</sup> 13, *ro-n-lín* 20<sup>d</sup> 11 (rel.), *ro-n-mess-ni* 4<sup>b</sup> 22, *ro-m-múnus* 24<sup>b</sup> 17, 18; *hórs* . . . *ro-misonigestar* 4<sup>c</sup> 16, *hórs ro-m-moidi som* 17<sup>a</sup> 12, *intan ro-n-moitsem* 17<sup>a</sup> 13, *ro-nóib* (rel.), *ro-b-nóib-si* (rel.) 19<sup>b</sup> 12, *ro-nóibad* 2<sup>b</sup> 26 (rel.), 2<sup>c</sup> 4, *ro-pridchus-sa* 13<sup>b</sup> 12 (rel.), 20<sup>b</sup> 4 (rel.), *céin ro-pridchos* 17<sup>c</sup> 1, *ro-pridchus* 23<sup>d</sup> 18 (rel.), *ro-pridach* 27<sup>d</sup> 3 (rel.), *ro-phroidech* 10<sup>c</sup> 20 (rel.), *ro-s-pridach* 21<sup>b</sup> 9, *ro-pridchissem* 27<sup>c</sup> 17 (rel.), 24<sup>d</sup> 4 (rel.), 26<sup>b</sup> 6 (*an*), *amal ro-n-pridchissem-ni* 13<sup>b</sup> 10, *ro-pridchissi[d]* 24<sup>c</sup> 17 (rel.), *ro-pricad* 7<sup>b</sup> 12 (rel.), *ro-pridchad* 7<sup>d</sup> 5 (*amal*), 13<sup>a</sup> 33, 13<sup>a</sup> 32 (*amal*), 18<sup>b</sup> 7 (*ar* = *an* 'what'), 19<sup>b</sup> 6, 27<sup>a</sup> 3 (*amal*), 28<sup>a</sup> 18 (*amal*), *ro-pridched* 23<sup>a</sup> 3 (rel.), 23<sup>a</sup> 16 (rel.), 25<sup>a</sup> 40 (rel.), 25<sup>a</sup> 41 (*quam* = *Ir. oldás*), *amal ro-nd-prom som* 4<sup>b</sup> 20, *ro-réius* 13<sup>a</sup> 35 (rel.), *ro-m-rir* 3<sup>c</sup> 38, *ro-scarsam* 24<sup>d</sup> 26, *ro-scarsat* 28<sup>a</sup> 20, 29<sup>b</sup> 22, *an ro-scribus* 20<sup>c</sup> 18, *ro-scrib* 31<sup>d</sup> 19, *ro-scribad* 2<sup>d</sup> 2 (rel.), 6<sup>c</sup> 28 (rel.), 26<sup>b</sup> 31 (rel.), *ro-slogeth* 13<sup>d</sup> 24, *óre ro-tectsat* 1<sup>a</sup> 9; *ro-fadatar* 29<sup>c</sup> 13, *ol ro-fúsigid* 15<sup>a</sup> 32, *ro-fetar* 7<sup>a</sup> 11, 9<sup>b</sup> 17 (*air*),

<sup>1</sup> "Zimmer has *an*, perhaps rightly."—Stokes. In *an* 'what' and in 'in which,' *n* is sometimes assimilated to a following *r*, sometimes retained. Cf. *an ro-gadammar* Wb. 15<sup>c</sup> 22, *an ropridchissemni* 26<sup>b</sup> 6, *an roscribus* 20<sup>c</sup> 18, *an rothugrad* 16<sup>a</sup> 34, in *rochomallad* Ml. 122<sup>d</sup> 7, in *rogbath* 24<sup>d</sup> 10, with *arropridchad* Wb. 18<sup>b</sup> 7, *arropridchad* 14<sup>d</sup> 23, *arrotgiuil* Sg. 209<sup>b</sup> 26, *irrufofnastar* Wb. 13<sup>b</sup> 29. *an* 'when' is regularly assimilated, but *an runun-roccnigester* Ml. 62<sup>b</sup> 21. Assimilation is the regular development. Where *n* is found before *r*, it has been restored from combinations where *n* remained.

29<sup>d</sup> 13, 32<sup>a</sup> 27, *ro-fitir* 7<sup>c</sup> 15 (rel.), 8<sup>b</sup> 10, 15<sup>b</sup> 13, 18<sup>d</sup> 6, 20<sup>b</sup> 18, 23<sup>a</sup> 27 (rel.), 24<sup>d</sup> 5 (rel.), 27<sup>c</sup> 11 (*ar*), 29<sup>a</sup> 17 (rel.), 30<sup>c</sup> 21, *ro-n-fitir-ni* 15<sup>a</sup> 8, *ro-n-fitir* 15<sup>c</sup> 26, 16<sup>a</sup> 2, *ro-fitemmar* 6<sup>c</sup> 16, 12<sup>c</sup> 5 (rel.), 14<sup>b</sup> 19, 15<sup>a</sup> 5 (*ar*), *ro-fitis* 6<sup>a</sup> 18 (*hore*), 14<sup>c</sup> 12, *ro-fitid* 7<sup>d</sup> 16, 15<sup>c</sup> 28 (rel.), 26<sup>a</sup> 11, *ar ro-filetar* 23<sup>b</sup> 12, *ro-fess* 23<sup>b</sup> 9, 23<sup>b</sup> 9 (*amal*), *ro-firianiged* 2<sup>b</sup> 24 (rel.), 2<sup>c</sup> 8 (*intain*), *ro-fiugrad* 13<sup>a</sup> 36 (*amal*), 15<sup>a</sup> 31 (*amal*), 15<sup>a</sup> 34 (*an*), 18<sup>c</sup> 8 (rel.), *ro-d-fóidi* 7<sup>d</sup> 2 (rel.), *ro-fóided* 23<sup>a</sup> 7 (rel.), 32<sup>a</sup> 25 (*oldaas*), *ro-fóitea* 27<sup>c</sup> 35 (rel.), *ro-s-failsigestar* 31<sup>a</sup> 9, *ro-foilsiged* 13<sup>d</sup> 26 (rel.), 21<sup>c</sup> 15 (rel.), *ro-b-fothiged* 21<sup>d</sup> 6, *ró-sárichset* 1<sup>d</sup> 4 (rel.), *ro-sariged* 3<sup>c</sup> 24, 25, *ro-m-sóir-sa* 3<sup>d</sup> 20, *ro-n-sóir* 2<sup>d</sup> 14 (*hóre*), 24<sup>c</sup> 18 (*hóre*), 32<sup>d</sup> 13 (*amal*), *ro-suidigestar* 12<sup>a</sup> 30; *intan ro-n-anis-siu* 29<sup>d</sup> 9, *ro-ardrigestar* 28<sup>c</sup> 12, *ro-erbad* 10<sup>d</sup> 18, 26 (rel.), 25<sup>d</sup> 20, *ro-erpad* 18<sup>d</sup> 15, 31<sup>a</sup> 10 (rel.), *ro-airptha* 8<sup>c</sup> 12 (rel.), *ro-irladaigsetar* 7<sup>c</sup> 16, *ro-m-icc-sa* 28<sup>a</sup> 12 (rel.), *ro-nn-icc-ni* 21<sup>b</sup> 8 (rel.), *ro-nn-hice* 31<sup>d</sup> 6 (rel.), *ro-n-icc* 28<sup>b</sup> 1 (rel.), *ro-b-hicad* 5<sup>c</sup> 17 (rel.), *ro-ir* 17<sup>b</sup> 13 (rel.), *ro-nn-ir* 20<sup>d</sup> 11 (rel.), *ro-d-ordigestar* 6<sup>a</sup> 3 (rel.), *hóre ro-n-ortigestar* 6<sup>a</sup> 4.

(b) *ru-*.

*ma ru-d-baitsius* 8<sup>a</sup> 3, *cia ru-d-chualatar* 12<sup>d</sup> 28, *ma ru-d-choiscset* 28<sup>c</sup> 7, *ce ru-d-glanta* 4<sup>a</sup> 6, *ru-múgsat* 5<sup>a</sup> 24, *ma ru-d-predchisem* 10<sup>d</sup> 9, *ar* (= *an* 'what') *ru-pridchad* 14<sup>d</sup> 23, *ma ru-d-scarsid* 27<sup>a</sup> 30, *ru-fes* 33<sup>c</sup> 7, *ar ru-foitea* 9<sup>d</sup> 14, *ru-dan-ordan* 33<sup>c</sup> 5 (rel.).

(c) *ra-* (= *ro* + infixed pronoun).

*ra-chomalnastar* 24<sup>a</sup> 37, *ra-cualid* 22<sup>a</sup> 23, *ra-chualatar* 5<sup>a</sup> 8, *ra-chreitsid-si* 13<sup>b</sup> 10, *ra-deimnigestar* 32<sup>c</sup> 20, *ra-géni* 3<sup>c</sup> 25, *ra-midar* 9<sup>b</sup> 5, *ra-múinset* ('they taught it,' sc. *buid ann*) 5<sup>b</sup> 44, *ra-pridchaisem* 5<sup>a</sup> 7, *ra-fitir* 5<sup>a</sup> 10, 23<sup>c</sup> 21, 24<sup>d</sup> 8, *ra-fitid-si* 18<sup>b</sup> 19, *ra-firianigestar* 19<sup>b</sup> 13, *ran-anacht* 17<sup>d</sup> 6. At 28<sup>c</sup> 12 (*marg.*) *isisin raf[it]etar* [*a*]ngil 'it is that which angels knew,' *raf[it]etar* is unusual for *rofitetar*.

B. Enclitic forms:—

(a) *ro-*.

*nád ro-chreit* 5<sup>c</sup> 2, *cani ro-chreitset* 10<sup>c</sup> 20, *nád ro-chreitsid* 5<sup>c</sup> 10, *ni ro-gabsam* 24<sup>b</sup> 20, 24<sup>d</sup> 2, *o-ro-gabsid* 26<sup>a</sup> 25, *na ro-pridchissem-ni* 17<sup>b</sup> 31, *ni ro-rois* 2<sup>c</sup> 28, *frisa-ro-scar* 3<sup>a</sup> 14, *dia-ro-scribad* 3<sup>b</sup> 20, 23<sup>a</sup> 10, *diar-ro-scribad* 25<sup>d</sup> 4, *nád ro-scribad* 27<sup>d</sup> 13, *conid-ro-foilsigestar* 21<sup>c</sup> 22.



(b) *ru-*.

*dia-ru-ba* 13<sup>d</sup> 25<sup>f</sup>, *dia-ru-chreitsid-si* 8<sup>c</sup> 11, *dia-ru-múinestar* 4<sup>c</sup> 38, *dia-ru-pridehos-sa* 7<sup>b</sup> 7, *dia-ru-pridehad* 8<sup>c</sup> 17, *ir-ru-follnastar* 13<sup>b</sup> 29, *ni ru-anus* 14<sup>d</sup> 29.

## (c) With elision.

*ni roitea* 5<sup>a</sup> 3, *nad ran* 14<sup>d</sup> 30, *ndd rairgsiur* 3<sup>c</sup> 27, *hore nan-rairgsiur* 3<sup>c</sup> 26. Similarly *cani ralsid* (= *ro-lásid*) 15<sup>a</sup> 1.

## 2. Saint Gall Glosses.

## A. Orthotonic forms :—

(a) *ro-*.

*ar* (= *an*) *ro-car* 193<sup>b</sup> 1, 196<sup>b</sup> 3, *ro-cinnius* 197<sup>a</sup> 18, *ro-cinnset* 31<sup>b</sup> 5 (rel.), *ro-cruthaigsemmar* 9<sup>a</sup> 22, *ro-n-gab* 65<sup>b</sup> 3 (*amal*), 71<sup>a</sup> 12 (*amal*), 71<sup>a</sup> 10, 11 (*amal*), 158<sup>b</sup> 3 ('that it was'), 159<sup>b</sup> 5 (*amal*), 172<sup>b</sup> 1 (*fobith*), *amal ro-nd-gab* 71<sup>a</sup> 8, 75<sup>b</sup> 2, 214<sup>b</sup> 1, 217<sup>a</sup> 2, *amal ro-n-gabsat* 71<sup>a</sup> 11, *amal ro-nd-gabsat* 190<sup>b</sup> 6, *ro-n-genair* 31<sup>a</sup> 6 (rel.), *ro-t-giuil* 229, marg., *ar* (= *an* 'what') *ro-gáid* 209<sup>b</sup> 26, *ro-laa* 75<sup>a</sup> 4 (rel.), *ro-laad* 153<sup>b</sup> 6 (rel.), *ro-scrib* 197<sup>a</sup> 19 (rel.), *ro-scribad* 195<sup>b</sup> marg. (rel.), 203<sup>a</sup> marg. (rel.), *ro-thecht* 7<sup>b</sup> 16 (rel.), *ro-thechtsat som* 209<sup>a</sup> 6 (rel.), *ro-toltanaigestar* 7<sup>b</sup> 10 (rel.), *ro-šechestar* 208<sup>b</sup> 15 (rel.), *ro-seircset* 178<sup>b</sup> 2.

## B. Enclitic forms :—

(a) *ro-*.

*ni ro-chinnset* 71<sup>b</sup> 3, *in ro-lég* 148<sup>a</sup> 6 (bis), *ni ro-scribad* 6<sup>b</sup> 3, *ni roilgius* (= *ro-légus*) 148<sup>a</sup> 10.

## 3. Milan Glosses.

## A. Orthotonic forms :—

(a) *ro-*.

*ro-bertaigset* 26<sup>d</sup> 5, *ro-bitha* 100<sup>b</sup> 2 (rel.), *ro-brénsat* 58<sup>a</sup> 15, *ro-cairdnigthea* 137<sup>c</sup> 10, *ro-cachain*<sup>1</sup> 48<sup>b</sup> 11 (rel.), *ro-cet* 2<sup>b</sup> 6 (rel.), *ro-cét* 25<sup>b</sup> 6 (rel.), 25<sup>b</sup> 8 (rel.), 57<sup>d</sup> 13 (rel.), *ro-chet* 25<sup>b</sup> 6 (rel.), *ro-ceta* 30<sup>a</sup> 9 (rel.), *ro-car* 65<sup>d</sup> 5 (rel.), *ro-cessa*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *tresa-rocachain* Ir. Salt. 11, *rocachain*, *rochachain*, ib. passim; it is the common form in the older Sagas.

114<sup>a</sup> 6, *ro-cés* 17<sup>a</sup> 13 (rel.), *ro-cés* 44<sup>b</sup> 1 (rel.), *ro-ghesom* 44<sup>d</sup> 4 (rel.), *ro-cinset* 26<sup>b</sup> 17 (rel.), *ro-clois-siu* 43<sup>d</sup> 18, *ro-chlóí* 37<sup>a</sup> 5 (rel.), *ro-comadasaiged* (g. aptata esse) 86<sup>d</sup> 17, *ar ro-comallus* 74<sup>d</sup> 5, *ro-nd-chomallastar* 122<sup>d</sup> 7 (rel.), *ro-comallad* 81<sup>d</sup> 5, *intan ro-comallad[a]* 38<sup>c</sup> 9, *huare ro-comallada* 74<sup>c</sup> 20, *ro-comalnada* 44<sup>d</sup> 31 (impleta esse), *ro-cualu-su* 50<sup>d</sup> 7 (rel.), *ro-nd-cualas* (eum se audirisse) 53<sup>b</sup> 26, *lasse ro-nda-cu[a]las* 124<sup>d</sup> 6, *ro-s-cosmailigestar* 55<sup>d</sup> 8, *ro-cotrummaigestar* 55<sup>d</sup> 3, *ro-chreti* 46<sup>a</sup> 14 (rel.), *ro-croiset* 31<sup>c</sup> 9 (*intain*), 96<sup>b</sup> 5 (*amal*), 123<sup>c</sup> 1, *ro-chreisset* 60<sup>b</sup> 16 (rel.), *ro-crochsat* 24<sup>d</sup> 4 (rel.), *ro-n-dánaigestar* 96<sup>b</sup> 9 (rel.), *ro-daingni-gestar* 51<sup>d</sup> 8 (rel.), *ro-debthaichsetar* 19<sup>c</sup> 16 (rel.), *ro-dedus-sa* 44<sup>d</sup> 10, 50<sup>b</sup> 3, *ro-ded* 111<sup>b</sup> 12, *ro-n-dilmainaigset* (vacasse) 76<sup>a</sup> 8, *ro-dligestar* 36<sup>a</sup> 29 (rel.), *ar* (= *an*) *ro-n-doichenelaigsiur-sa* 44<sup>b</sup> 36, *ro-n-doir* : *mmamaigestar* (leg. *ro-n-doirmaigestar*, g. quod viluerit) 101<sup>a</sup> 8, *ro-n-doirmaigasm* (nos viluisse) 93<sup>d</sup> 9, *ro-dumaigestar* 55<sup>d</sup> 3, 80<sup>b</sup> 3, 83<sup>d</sup> 1, *ro-gab* 25<sup>a</sup> 16, 27<sup>a</sup> 12, 35<sup>b</sup> 24 (rel., bis), 44<sup>b</sup> 1 (rel.), 48<sup>d</sup> 28 (rel.), 52 (rel.), 55<sup>c</sup> 1, 90<sup>b</sup> 15 (rel.), 137<sup>b</sup> 7 (rel.), *ro-m-gad* 132<sup>c</sup> 8, *ro-d-gab* 49<sup>a</sup> 3 (rel.), *ro-dn-gab* 61<sup>a</sup> 1 (rel.), *ro-s-gab* 57<sup>c</sup> 13, *ro-n-gab* 20<sup>c</sup> 3 (object clause), 38<sup>c</sup> 7 (rel.), 40<sup>d</sup> 18 (*amal*), 82<sup>d</sup> 11 (rel., bis), 131<sup>c</sup> 12 (*huare*), *ro-nd-gab* 30<sup>b</sup> 11 (esse), 118<sup>c</sup> 5 (*amal*), *ro-gabsat* 139<sup>a</sup> 15, *ro-gabad* 14<sup>a</sup> 4 (rel.), 17<sup>b</sup> 18 (rel.), 24<sup>d</sup> 10 (rel.), 24<sup>d</sup> 26 (rel.), 35<sup>a</sup> 10 (rel.), 35<sup>b</sup> 10 (rel.), 35<sup>a</sup> 8 (rel., bis), 38<sup>c</sup> 4 (rel.), 45<sup>d</sup> 7 (rel., bis), 57<sup>b</sup> 16, 67<sup>c</sup> 18, 74<sup>b</sup> 1 (rel.), 86<sup>d</sup> 13 (rel.), 90<sup>b</sup> 15 (rel.), 98<sup>c</sup> 10 (rel.), 100<sup>d</sup> 7, 112<sup>c</sup> 11 (rel., bis), 113<sup>d</sup> 3, 116<sup>c</sup> 2, 133<sup>b</sup> 1, *ro-gabath* 24<sup>d</sup> 13, *ro-gabtha* 133<sup>b</sup> 2 (rel.), 139<sup>a</sup> 6 (rel., bis), *ro-n-gad-sa* 43<sup>d</sup> 18 (rel.), *ro-gaid* 43<sup>d</sup> 20 (rel.), 55<sup>d</sup> 4, *ro-n-gaid* (se petiisse) 53<sup>b</sup> 26, *amal ro-nd-gatar* 131<sup>d</sup> 14, *ro-garbus* 127<sup>c</sup> 16, *ro-genair* 24<sup>d</sup> 4 (rel.), 25<sup>b</sup> 5 (rel.), *ro-n-genair* 85<sup>b</sup> 11 (rel.), *ro-giuil* 98<sup>b</sup> 8, *ro-gnathaigsetar* 34<sup>b</sup> 2, *ro-géni* 48<sup>c</sup> 6 (rel.), *ro-n-geni* 22<sup>d</sup> 19 (eum fecisse), 27<sup>a</sup> 6 (rel.), *aní ro-gneni* (leg. *ro-n-geni*, Ascoli) 31<sup>b</sup> 24, *ro-genset* 80<sup>c</sup> 6, *ro-nda-geinsset* 29<sup>a</sup> 4 (rel.), *ro-n-gnith* 14<sup>a</sup> 18 (g. actum), 17<sup>d</sup> 12 (g. actum videtur), 31<sup>b</sup> 20 (*huare*), *ro-n-gnitha* 97<sup>a</sup> 3 (rel.), 115<sup>b</sup> 4 (rel.), *ro-laad* 44<sup>d</sup> 2, *ro-llaad* 29<sup>c</sup> 1, *ro-labrastar* 126<sup>c</sup> 10 (rel.), *ro-d-labrastar* 126<sup>c</sup> 10 (rel.), *ro-m-leicis-ae* 44<sup>b</sup> 10–11 (bis), *ro-leicthea* (se relictos esse) 90<sup>c</sup> 9, *ro-legsat* 24<sup>d</sup> 24, *ro-leldatar* 96<sup>c</sup> 13, *ro-lethnaigser* 50<sup>a</sup> 14, *ro-lin* 54<sup>d</sup> 7, 64<sup>d</sup> 16, *ro-lommar* 14<sup>b</sup> 2, *ro-londaigestar* 29<sup>a</sup> 2, *ro-loisc* 123<sup>a</sup> 15, *ro-madaichte* 80<sup>d</sup> 3, *intan* . . . *ro-memaid* 127<sup>d</sup> 6, *ro-marbsat* 56<sup>b</sup> 6 (rel.), *ro-me[r]tatar* 75<sup>d</sup> 5 (rel.), *ro-mincigestar* 36<sup>a</sup> 40, *ro-m-mo[i]di* 72<sup>c</sup> 1, *ro-m-molastar* 126<sup>b</sup> 16 (rel.), *ro-morais* 37<sup>a</sup> 2, *ro-prithach* 50<sup>d</sup> 17 (rel.), *ro-pridach* 69<sup>d</sup> 3 (rel.), *ro-roch*

20<sup>a</sup> 23, 39<sup>e</sup> 11, *ro-relais* 50<sup>e</sup> 13, 15, *ro-rélsat* 117<sup>d</sup> 2, *ro-rois* 84<sup>e</sup> 16, *ro-scaird* 14<sup>b</sup> 2, *ro-s[ceng]atar* 96<sup>e</sup> 11 (rel.), *ro-scribais* 74<sup>d</sup> 13 (rel.), *huare ro-sleolta* 48<sup>d</sup> 28, *ro-taitnigser-su* 105<sup>e</sup> 7, *ro-thecht* 37<sup>b</sup> 27 (rel.), 44<sup>e</sup> 10 (rel.), 131<sup>e</sup> 5 (rel.), *ro-techtsat* 84<sup>e</sup> 10, *ro-tachatar* 44<sup>a</sup> 19 (rel.), *ro-torasnaigestar* 106<sup>b</sup> 8, *ro-tracht* 121<sup>a</sup> 8; *ro-fassaigestar* 118<sup>b</sup> 7, *ro-feuchraigset* 114<sup>a</sup> 6, *ro-nd-firianaigestar* 19<sup>d</sup> 16 (rel.), *ro-fitir* 24<sup>a</sup> 19, 58<sup>e</sup> 6 (ar), *ro-fess* 80<sup>b</sup> 11 (air), *ro-faileigestar* 51<sup>d</sup> 15 (rel.), *ro-foilsigestar* 103<sup>d</sup> 11, 145<sup>b</sup> 4, *ro-foileigthea* 61<sup>a</sup> 3, *ro-foirbthichser* 43<sup>d</sup> 17, 50<sup>e</sup> 13; *ro-nda-saibset* 24<sup>d</sup> 24, *ro-secsat* (g. clausas esse) 46<sup>a</sup> 22, *ar- (= an) rro-sonart-naigestar* 49<sup>b</sup> 4, *ro-semiged* 118<sup>b</sup> 5 (attenuatum esse), *ro-seimigthea* 93<sup>d</sup> 3, *ro-soisset* 124<sup>e</sup> 6, *ro-soer* 60<sup>b</sup> 16 (rel.), *ro-dam-soer-sa* 48<sup>a</sup> 21 (rel.), *ro-nd-sóer* 52 (rel.), *ro-soirad* 61<sup>d</sup> 2 (rel.), *ro-soirtha* 102<sup>d</sup> 17 (*amal*, MS. *roirtha*), 38<sup>d</sup> 8 (*intan*), 131<sup>e</sup> 9, *ro-suidigser-su* 121<sup>a</sup> 12 (rel.), *ro-suidigestar* 46<sup>e</sup> 20, 63<sup>e</sup> 10, *ro-suthchaichser* 81<sup>b</sup> 9; *ro-adbartaigsiur* 115<sup>a</sup> 13, 117<sup>e</sup> 5, *ro-adbartaigset* 26<sup>b</sup> 20 (rel.), *ro-mm-alt-sa* 45<sup>e</sup> 3, *ro-dil* 19<sup>e</sup> 10, *ro-n-an* 126<sup>b</sup> 1 (rel.), 126<sup>b</sup> 2 (*intan*), *ro-en-ainmnigestar* 26<sup>b</sup> 8 (rel.), 37<sup>b</sup> 22, *ro-ndn-ainmnigestar* 17<sup>b</sup> 9 (rel.), *ro-airius* 95<sup>d</sup> 9, *ro-dsaisset* 2<sup>a</sup> 6, *ro-echtrannaigsetar* 66<sup>d</sup> 2 (rel.), *ro-echtrannaigthea* (leg. *-thea*) 66<sup>d</sup> 1 (rel.), *ro-érasaigset* 131<sup>e</sup> 9, *ro-erbrigsem* 35<sup>a</sup> 5, *ro-eirpsat* 43<sup>e</sup> 18, *ro-etarcnaigestar* 32<sup>b</sup> 5, *ro-étrummaigset* 113<sup>e</sup> 8, *ro-mm-étrummaiged* 48<sup>b</sup> 5, *ro-ndann-leis-ni* 89<sup>d</sup> 6 (rel.), *ro-icad* 50<sup>d</sup> 15, *ro-n-icad* 18<sup>d</sup> 20 (sanatum esse), *ro-n-ictha* 60<sup>b</sup> 16 (sanatos esse), *ro-mm-isliged* 50<sup>a</sup> 12, *ro-ingraigthea* 100<sup>e</sup> 18, *ro-ort* 48<sup>e</sup> 8, *ro-hortan* 107<sup>b</sup> 2, *ro-oirdned* 14<sup>a</sup> 3.

## (b) ru-

*ru-éhi* 64<sup>a</sup> 13 (rel.), *ar (= an) ru-castaigser* 2<sup>a</sup> 3, *ar (= an) ru-culigestar* 63<sup>a</sup> 14, *ru-delbad* 74<sup>a</sup> 11 (rel.), *ru-dianaiged* 98<sup>b</sup> 14, *ru-n-déih* 33<sup>a</sup> 17 (rel.), *ru-nd-gab* 16<sup>d</sup> 4 (*amal*), 32<sup>d</sup> 5 (*huare*), 65<sup>a</sup> 2 (*lascant*), 67<sup>d</sup> 14 (*amal*), 87<sup>b</sup> 9 (*amal*), *ru-n-gab* 56<sup>b</sup> 33 (*amal*), *ru-nda-gabsam* 24<sup>d</sup> 24 (*amal*), *ru-nd-gabsat* 55<sup>e</sup> 1 (rel.), 64<sup>e</sup> 5 (*amal*), 67<sup>d</sup> 14, 74<sup>d</sup> 7 (rel.), *ru-t-glanus* 103<sup>a</sup> 5, *ru-n-leicis* 63<sup>e</sup> 20 (rel.), *ru-s-madaigset* 48<sup>a</sup> 1, *ru-midair* 72<sup>b</sup> 21, *ru-ndam-molad-sa* 88<sup>a</sup> 17 (rel.), *cia ru-d-mrechtnaigestar* 123<sup>b</sup> 12, *ru-radus-sa* 50<sup>d</sup> 7 (rel.); *a ru-fáileigset* 74<sup>a</sup> 4, *ru-foidligsemmar* 105<sup>a</sup> 4 (rel.), *amal ru-nd-ftir* 140<sup>e</sup> 10, *ar (= an) ru-freptanaighthisiur* 103<sup>a</sup> 6, *ru-serigestar* 71<sup>b</sup> 14 (rel.), *ol ru-soad* 101<sup>a</sup> 6, *amal ru-soirtha* 102<sup>d</sup> 17, 124<sup>b</sup> 7, *ru-suidigsiur* 59<sup>b</sup> 2 (rel.); *ar (= an) ru-n-etendiged* 113<sup>e</sup> 2, *ar (= an) ru-n-etuailngistar* 62<sup>b</sup> 22, *an ru-n-anraccaigestar* 62<sup>b</sup> 21, *ru-hort* 63<sup>b</sup> 12 (rel.), *ru-n-uaibrigetar* 73<sup>b</sup> 10 (rel.).

(c) **ra-** (=ro- with infixed pronoun).

*ra-cumgaigestar* 133<sup>a</sup> 9, *ra-danaigestar* 97<sup>d</sup> 17 (rel.), *ra-gab* 42<sup>b</sup> 7 (rel.), 44<sup>b</sup> 2, 50<sup>a</sup> 8, 50<sup>d</sup> 18; *air ra-fetatar* 54<sup>b</sup> 14, *ra-glanus* 91<sup>b</sup> 8, *ral-leic* 53<sup>b</sup> 6, *ra-soisitsi* 103<sup>c</sup> 15. In 109<sup>b</sup> 2 *ra-foilsigestar* *Nathan do Duid an-adf[a]dar* we may have an anticipatory pronoun. In 36<sup>a</sup> 32 *ra-fetar-sa at firian-su*, if *ra-* be not used for *ro-* it would anticipate the following clause, 'I know it that thou art just.' In 130<sup>b</sup> 11, in *air ram-chualse*, *ram-* is simply used for *ro-m-*.

## B. Enclitic forms:—

(a) **ro-**.

*nad ro-cheta* 115<sup>b</sup> 4, *nad ro-choilset* 48<sup>d</sup> 28, *in ro-chomallad* 122<sup>d</sup> 7, *ni-s-ro-chret* 39<sup>d</sup> 3, *ona ro-chret* 33<sup>b</sup> 5, *ro-chreitset* 35<sup>c</sup> 20 (ni), 90<sup>c</sup> 22 (ni), 131<sup>c</sup> 9 (*nad*), 131<sup>d</sup> 11 (*nad*), *nach ro-chrochtsat* 25<sup>b</sup> 2, *ro-gab* 36<sup>a</sup> 32 (*nicon*, bis), 45<sup>a</sup> 3 (*fuand-*), 50<sup>a</sup> 10 (*fuand-*, *fuan-*), 74<sup>b</sup> 12 (*hi*), *ro-gbad* 24<sup>d</sup> 12 (*fua-*), 74<sup>b</sup> 11 (*ara-*), 103<sup>b</sup> 7 (*dia-*), *in ro-gbath* 24<sup>d</sup> 10, *co ro-genar-sa* 44<sup>c</sup> 11, *nad ro-gnatha* 115<sup>b</sup> 4, *ro-gaid* 55<sup>d</sup> 4 (*cona*), 124<sup>c</sup> 10 (*nad*), *dia-ro-guid*<sup>1</sup> 46<sup>b</sup> 28, *diu ro-gadatar* 46<sup>b</sup> 28, *ni ro-leat* (= *ro-lásat*) 16<sup>d</sup> 2, *nach-a-ro-marb-som* 23<sup>b</sup> 5, *ni ro-rois* 44<sup>a</sup> 1, *ni-s-ro-thechtusa* 44<sup>b</sup> 10, *ni ro-thuailngigestar* 16<sup>b</sup> 12; *nad ro-feidligest* 105<sup>a</sup> 4, *ni ro-adbartaigestar* 55<sup>d</sup> 1. With infection of *ro-*, *inni nad roi-lgisid* 17<sup>b</sup> 18, *nad roi-thechtsat* 97<sup>d</sup> 7, *ni ro-lie* 23<sup>b</sup> 4, *nach rei-loed* 49<sup>a</sup> 10.

(b) **ru-**.

*ni ru-s-comallas[atar]* 105<sup>a</sup> 6, *ho ru-deda* 22<sup>d</sup> 7, *ho ru-dedsat* 22<sup>d</sup> 6, *ni ru-madaigest* 48<sup>a</sup> 2, *ho ru-maith* 51<sup>c</sup> 9, *con ru-sleachtia* 53<sup>d</sup> 11; *dia ru-foilsiged* 136<sup>d</sup> 9, *in ru-soer* 33<sup>b</sup> 23, *frissa-ru-suidiged* 23<sup>a</sup> 18; *cona ru-aigestar* 35<sup>c</sup> 4.

(c) **ra-**.

*fuand-ra-gab* 38<sup>c</sup> 4, 5, *dia ra-gbtha* 35<sup>b</sup> 24, *nacham-ralas* 90<sup>c</sup> 17.

<sup>1</sup> If it be not a blunder for *rogdid*.

II. SIMPLE VERBS WITHOUT *ro-*.<sup>1</sup>*luid*.

*luid* Wb. 3<sup>c</sup> 37 (*ho*), Ml. 16<sup>c</sup> 10, 52 (*dia*), 55<sup>c</sup> 1, 58<sup>c</sup> 4 (*dia*), 74<sup>b</sup> 5, *luide* 55<sup>c</sup> 1, 127<sup>d</sup> 3.

*fetar*, with negatives.

*ni fetar* Wb. 28<sup>c</sup> 10, *ni fitir* 21<sup>c</sup> 22, 26<sup>d</sup> 14, *ni-s-fitir* 5<sup>c</sup> 15, *cona fitir* 8<sup>b</sup> 4, *ni-s-fitemmar* 12<sup>c</sup> 6, *nad fitemmar* 16<sup>a</sup> 29, *ni fitetar* 27<sup>a</sup> 11, *ni otetar* (Stokes, *fitetar* Zimmer) 21<sup>d</sup> 1, *ni fitemmar* Sg. 32<sup>b</sup> 5, *ni fetar* Ml. 90<sup>c</sup> 19, 96<sup>b</sup> 2, *conid-fetar-sa* 55<sup>d</sup> 21, *ni fitir* 24<sup>a</sup> 19, 140<sup>c</sup> 10, *nad fitir* 67<sup>d</sup> 1, *naich-id-fitir* 27<sup>d</sup> 7, *nad fetammar* 37<sup>a</sup> 10, *nad fitetar* 35<sup>b</sup> 19, 21, *nio-fitetar* 95<sup>a</sup> 12, *nad fess* 80<sup>b</sup> 10, *nad fes* 51<sup>b</sup> 7. With *con*, *con-fitetar* Ml. 91<sup>c</sup> 18.

*cúala*, with negatives.

in *nád cúlaid-si* Wb. 5<sup>a</sup> 21, *nach-id-chualatar* 25<sup>d</sup> 14, *ni-s-cu[s]as* Ml. 59<sup>a</sup> 13, *ni cu[a]latar* 102<sup>d</sup> 7. With *con*, *con-dam-chualas* Ml. 95<sup>c</sup> 9, *conid-chualas* 20<sup>a</sup> 2.

<sup>1</sup> In the verb 'to be' *ro-* is often absent in the copula forms, rarely in the verb of existence. The usage of the Old Irish Glosses may be illustrated by the following forms taken from Wb. 1-12 and Ml. 1-40.

## (a) Verb of existence:—

Wb. *ro-bói* 2<sup>c</sup> 15, 5<sup>c</sup> 10, 15, 6<sup>d</sup> 5, *ro-m-bói* 2<sup>c</sup> 5, 6, 5<sup>d</sup> 6, 10<sup>d</sup> 12, *ro-m-bod* 5<sup>b</sup> 31, *ce ru-d-bói*, *ce ru-d-batar* 4<sup>b</sup> 13, *ce ru-baid* 3<sup>b</sup> 19, *ram-bói* ('that there was to him') 2<sup>c</sup> 13, *nád ro-be* 1<sup>d</sup> 2, *i ró-be* 3<sup>d</sup> 13, *ni ru-bi* 11<sup>c</sup> 17; *bói* 10<sup>d</sup> 13, *ol-m-bói* 9<sup>c</sup> 10; Ml. *ro-bói* 18<sup>a</sup> 8, *ro-m-bói* 19<sup>d</sup> 17, 26<sup>b</sup> 8, 28<sup>d</sup> 5, *ro-nd-bói* 21<sup>d</sup> 4, *cia ru-d-bói* 2<sup>a</sup> 3, *amal ru-m-bói* 31<sup>a</sup> 3, 38<sup>c</sup> 9, *nád ro-bae* 15<sup>d</sup> 9, 20<sup>b</sup> 2, 33<sup>c</sup> 17, *ni ra-bae* 28<sup>d</sup> 3, 33<sup>c</sup> 17, *nád ra-bae* 38<sup>d</sup> 4, *fua-ra-batar* 2<sup>b</sup> 11; *boi* 14<sup>b</sup> 13, *ni boi* 33<sup>a</sup> 5, 34<sup>a</sup> 16, *im-bói* 39<sup>a</sup> 3, *im-bai* 29<sup>c</sup> 1.

## (b) Copula.

Wb. *ro-bo* 5<sup>d</sup> 10, *ro-po* 3<sup>c</sup> 23, 9<sup>c</sup> 29, *ro-p-sa* 3<sup>c</sup> 27, 11<sup>a</sup> 2, *ro-btar* 7<sup>b</sup> 5, *huare ro-mtar* 7<sup>b</sup> 13, *nar-bo*, 4<sup>d</sup> 3, *ndr-bu* 5<sup>b</sup> 12, *ba-sa* 10<sup>d</sup> 43, *ba* 1<sup>d</sup> 15, 3<sup>a</sup> 1, 8, 3<sup>c</sup> 26, 4<sup>c</sup> 15, 5<sup>b</sup> 31, 9<sup>c</sup> 17, *ce-pu* 4<sup>c</sup> 35, *ni-pu* 8<sup>a</sup> 5, 9<sup>c</sup> 17, *ni-bo* 4<sup>a</sup> 12, *nipo* 4<sup>b</sup> 12, 4<sup>c</sup> 35, *na-po* 5<sup>a</sup> 14, *ni-p-sa* 10<sup>d</sup> 35, *ni-p* 5<sup>b</sup> 3; Ml. *ro-bu* 14<sup>a</sup> 4, 25<sup>c</sup> 13 (*am*), 30<sup>d</sup> 11, 33<sup>a</sup> 18, *huare ro-m-bu* 2<sup>b</sup> 16, 18<sup>d</sup> 20, *ro-btar* 23<sup>a</sup> 14, *air ru-bu* 32<sup>c</sup> 2, *ar-* (= *an*) *ru-m-sa* 27<sup>b</sup> 8, *ar-* (= *an*) *ru-mtar* 34<sup>d</sup> 10, *ni-r-bu* 33<sup>c</sup> 13, 34<sup>c</sup> 17, *na-r-bu* 18<sup>d</sup> 18, 40<sup>d</sup> 10, *o-ru-ptar* 40<sup>d</sup> 16, *cia bu* 24<sup>c</sup> 12, *ba* 18<sup>c</sup> 14, 19<sup>c</sup> 15, 24<sup>a</sup> 4, 25<sup>a</sup> 18, 27<sup>c</sup> 20, 29<sup>a</sup> 8, 31<sup>d</sup> 12, 32<sup>b</sup> 2, 21, 34<sup>c</sup> 9, 35<sup>d</sup> 6, 39<sup>a</sup> 3, 14, *bí* 28<sup>c</sup> 17, *batár* 23<sup>c</sup> 16, 31<sup>a</sup> 3, *ni bu* 14<sup>b</sup> 13, 32<sup>b</sup> 17, *diam-bu* 22<sup>a</sup> 4, *un-bu* 22<sup>a</sup> 4.

## Isolated forms.

*o chreitsit* Wb. 31<sup>c</sup> 7,<sup>1</sup> *cichnaigistir* Sg. 152<sup>b</sup> 2, *chas*<sup>2</sup> Ml. 44<sup>b</sup> 2 (rel.), *ni etade* 111<sup>b</sup> 20, *trissan-étatsat* 57<sup>a</sup> 3, *fuar*<sup>3</sup> Ml. 57<sup>d</sup> 3, *mad* (= 'well') *genatar* 90<sup>b</sup> 12, *gensat*<sup>4</sup> 80<sup>b</sup> 11 (rel.), *ni leic* 58<sup>c</sup> 6, *saidsi* 55<sup>c</sup> 1, *leicsi*, *brethas* 52, *m-bertatar* Tar. 145. With *no-* prefixed, *nu-nda-bertatar*<sup>5</sup> Ml. 82<sup>d</sup> 9 (rel.). From the two poems in Ml. may be added *ni chelt*, *ni lil*, *gabusa*.

In later texts, forms without *ro-* become much more frequent. This may be illustrated from the following texts, which belong probably to the later part of the eighth or to the ninth century. The forms are arranged as follows: (a) forms with *ro-*, (b) forms without *ro-* preceded by negatives, etc., (c) forms without *ro-* with no such preceding particle, (d) instances where the perfect passive has been replaced by the passive participle, (e) absolute forms in *-is*, *-it*.

## 1. Irish Hymns.

(a) I. *ro-n-snaid*, *ro-anacht*, *ro-la*; II. *ro-closs*, *ro-firad*, *ro-chés*, *ro-ratha*, *ro-scarad*, *ro-menair*; V. *ro-chloss*, *ro-cloth*, *ro-d-glinnestar*, *ro-gaid*, *ro-das-gaid*, *ro-das-cload*, *ro-reraig*, *ro-gab* (ter), *ro-sm-bi*, *ro-n-cind*, *ro-chuala* (bis).

(b) I. *nat-leic*; II. *ni leice*, *ni creitsit*, *i n-genair*, *co m-beba*; V. *ni car*, *ni cair*, *ni chiuir*, *ni coill*, *ni fuar*, *ni frith* (bis), *ni-s-gaib*, *ni luid*, *nocon-millestar*, *ni rir*, *mad-bocht*, *i-cuala*, *dia-foided*, *co frith*, *co memaid*.

(c) I. *anacht*; II. *gadatar*, *genair*; III. *dedaig*, *cathaigostar*; V. *dith*, *siassair*, *reraig*, *tathich*, *sonastar*.

(d) II. *fechtá*, V. *sentá*.

(e) II. *anaís*, *lassaís*, *legaís*, *pridchaiss*, *samaiges*; III. *batses*; V. *bennachais*, *carais*, *cinis*, *ferais*, *genais*, *loiscis*, *scarais*, *senais* (quinquies), from compound verb *érnaís*; *dercsaít*.

<sup>1</sup> Wb. 33<sup>d</sup> 1 Stokes translates *ni pridched iris* by 'faith has not been preached.' But the connexion with the text is not obvious, and the passage may be corrupt. At 19<sup>d</sup> 6 *mirransam* is translated 'we have not divided it,' but again the connexion is obscure. In 2<sup>b</sup> 28 *fírianichthi* = *fírianigid* i 'justifies him,' so *foisigthi* 'shows it' Sg. 211<sup>a</sup> 7.

<sup>2</sup> If it be not a mere repetition of the first syllable of the preceding *chloss*; the word is not necessary to the sense.

<sup>3</sup> *fuar* is regularly found without *ro-*.

<sup>4</sup> Ascoli proposes *dorigensat*, as in the preceding gloss.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *no-dm-bert* LL. 249<sup>b</sup> 26, *no-s-gryoin* LÚ. 64<sup>a</sup> 33, *no-s-gengain* 70<sup>b</sup> 17, 40, *no-dm-ortatar* 99<sup>a</sup> 35, *no-da-nertsat* 99<sup>a</sup> 38, *nam-bertatar* 23<sup>b</sup> 39, *no-da-sensat* 24<sup>a</sup> 30.

## 2. Féilire Oenguso (to end of June).

(a) *ro-bruthea*, *ro-clannad*, *ro-dos-crochsath*, *ro-crochadh* (*cia*) *ro-damnatar*<sup>1</sup> (bis), *ro-n-fethis*, *ro-gabtha*, *ro-lamair*, *ro-laithe*, *ro-lénadh*, *ro-leblaing*, *ro-lín* (bis), *ro-loiscthea*, *ro-mar*, *ro-milled*, *ro-moradh*, *ro-martha*, *ro-múchadh*, *ro-múchtha*, *ro-noebadh*, *ro-dan-ort*, *ro-hortu*, *ro-plagtha*, *ro-pridchai*, *ro-promtha*, *ro-radius*, *ro-radis*, *ro-raith* (Pr. 21), *ro-rigadh* (bis), *ro-rigtha*, *ro-rimed*, *ro-ringed*, *ro-ringthea*, *ro-scaich*, *ro-scaiche* (bis), *ro-scrib*, *ro-selaig*, *ro-selgatar*, *ro-sonnta*, *ro-sretha*, *ro-tseitha*, in improper compound *ro-fir-scaich* (Pr. 84); *nir oeradh*, *las-ro-chas* (Pr. 86), *las-r-ort* (Br. *lasort*, Pr. 106), *las-orta* (Br. *lasorta*, Pr. 65).

(b) *ni fess*, *nicon fess*, *ni frith*, *ni-s-gegnatar*, *mani chuala*, *mad-genair* (*nodgenair* Laud, Pr. 251), *asam-brucht*, *frism-brucht*, *lasa-frith*, *fris-raith*, *las-luid*, *la[s]-sceith*, *imma-slecht*, *o luid* (Pr. 128).

(c) *fuair*, *luid* (octies), *lotar*, *bert* (bis), *cachaind* (v. l. Ap. 26), *carat* (bis), *cechaing* (quater), *gabsath*, *drebraing* (bis), *raith*, *senaig*, *roiglithe* (v. l. *rosraiglithe*, Pr. 43).

(d) *bretha* (Jn. 11), *crochtha* (Fb. 5), *orta* (Jan. 26, Mr. 6), *éinlai* (Pr. 100), *slecht* (Fb. 12).

(e) *bebais* (ter), *carais* (quater), *cassais* (ter), *orochoais* (bis), *dalais*, *scorsit*; *morsus* Pr. 132 (v. l.), Jan. 5, 30 (v. l.), *soersa* (Ep. 452, etc.).

## 3. Armagh Glosses.

(a) *ru-minaiged* 171<sup>a</sup> 2.

(o) *celibirsimme* 184<sup>b</sup> 2, *gabais* 77<sup>a</sup>, *dúnsit* 175<sup>b</sup> 2, *dlúthsit* 189<sup>b</sup> 1.

## 4. Tírechán's Notes.

(a) *ru-fítir* 14.

(b) *ni fetor* 11.

(c) *luid* 6, 8, 14, 15.

(d) *ritheas* 6.

(e) *dluis* 11, *dlomis* 14, *gabais* 2, *pridchis* 8; *aílsi* 8, *baitzisi* 11, *berre* 11, *foidei*, *foitsi* 14, *gabai* 15.

## 5. Táin Bó Fráich LL.

(a) *ro-ainmniged* 249<sup>a</sup> 35, *ro-airigestar* 250<sup>a</sup> 27, *ro-m-both* 249<sup>b</sup> 15, *ro-charus* 249<sup>b</sup> 36, *cid ro-chainset* 259<sup>b</sup> 36, *ro-t-chuala-sa*

<sup>1</sup> MSS. vary between *ro-damatar* and *rodamdatar*. I have ventured to write *ro-damnatar*, as in the Old Irish Glosses: cf. p. 96.

251<sup>b</sup> 6, *ro-fetar* 251<sup>a</sup> 30, 51, 251<sup>b</sup> 4, *ro-fetammar* 252<sup>a</sup> 30, *ro-n-gabus* 249<sup>b</sup> 1, 251<sup>b</sup> 16, *ro-gatta* 251<sup>b</sup> 33, cf. 251<sup>b</sup> 30, *ro-da-llaui* 249<sup>b</sup> 40, *ro-llaui* 251<sup>b</sup> 14, *ro-lasa* 251<sup>a</sup> 52, *ro-d-laa* 251<sup>b</sup> 7, *ro-lásat* 252<sup>b</sup> 2; *con-da-ru-batar*<sup>1</sup> ('killed them') 248<sup>b</sup> 26, *ni-s-ra-gbusa* ('I did not take it') 251<sup>b</sup> 10, in *ro-lad* 251<sup>a</sup> 32.

(b) *ni fetar* 251<sup>a</sup> 18, *co cualatar* 251<sup>b</sup> 31, *co corastar* 259<sup>b</sup> 50, *oid-gab* 251<sup>b</sup> 16, *co luid* 250<sup>b</sup> 5, 252<sup>b</sup> 4.

(c) *luid* 252<sup>b</sup> 3, *lotar* 252<sup>a</sup> 5, *sephainn* 249<sup>a</sup> 29, *scarsat* 250<sup>b</sup> 48.

(e) *gabais* 249<sup>a</sup> 47 (o), 251<sup>b</sup> 27, *brissis* 250<sup>a</sup> 36, *ferais* 252<sup>a</sup> 24, *fidis* 251<sup>a</sup> 36; *gabsus* 250<sup>a</sup> 29; *ansait* 249<sup>a</sup> 16.

#### 6. Togail Bruidne Dá Derga.

(a) *ro-anacht* 96<sup>a</sup> 5, *ro-s-anacht* 88<sup>b</sup> 43, *ro-both* 87<sup>a</sup> 21, *ro-chaohain* 83<sup>b</sup> 28, 37, 91<sup>a</sup> 39, 91<sup>b</sup> 10, 92<sup>b</sup> 41, *ro-cessa* 95<sup>b</sup> 40, *ro-chi* 89<sup>b</sup> 17, 92<sup>a</sup> 35, *ro-cirred* 98<sup>b</sup> 44, *ro-crehtnaiged* 99<sup>a</sup> 1, *ro-criathrad* 99<sup>a</sup> 1, *ro-chúala* 85<sup>b</sup> 27, *ro-chúalammar* 85<sup>a</sup> 37, *ro-cuirthea* 83<sup>a</sup> 9, *ro-dot* 97<sup>a</sup> 24, *ro-fetur* 93 l. 16, 94 l. 28, 96<sup>a</sup> 23, *ro-fetar* 92<sup>a</sup> 27, 94 l. 12, *ro-s-fetar* 93 l. 11, 94 l. 16, *ro-fetartar*<sup>2</sup> (sic) 90<sup>b</sup> 10, *ro-fess* 84<sup>a</sup> 29, *ro-fer* 98<sup>a</sup> 4, *ro-fersatar* 97<sup>b</sup> 42, *ro-fich* 99<sup>a</sup> 3, *ro-n-gabus* 97<sup>a</sup> 38, 40, *ro-gab* 80<sup>b</sup> 23, 84<sup>a</sup> 16, 87<sup>b</sup> 42, 97<sup>a</sup> 29, *ro-gabsat* 83<sup>a</sup> 27, 33, 85<sup>a</sup> 43, *ro-m-gabsat-sa* 84<sup>a</sup> 11, *ro-gabad* 83<sup>a</sup> 25, *ro-lá* 87<sup>a</sup> 43, 97<sup>b</sup> 8, *ro-lásat* 85<sup>b</sup> 15, 18, *ro-leg* 98<sup>b</sup> 20, *ro-leic* 92<sup>b</sup> 35, *ro-len* 98<sup>b</sup> 26, *ro-marbsat* 96<sup>a</sup> 6, *ro-marbad* 99<sup>a</sup> 9, *ro-mebaid* 83<sup>a</sup> 24, *ro-d-mert* 84<sup>a</sup> 8, *ro-radi* 97<sup>b</sup> 43, *ro-ráthaiged* 87<sup>a</sup> 38, *ro-scáig* 86<sup>a</sup> 42, 91<sup>b</sup> 31; *ru-s-fetar* 94 ll. 5, 20, *ru-s-fetammar* 93 l. 26, *rán-trusa* 83<sup>a</sup> 43 sq., *ra-chain* 86<sup>a</sup> 32; *ni ro-s-anachtatar* 87<sup>b</sup> 26, *ni ro-dunait* 96<sup>a</sup> 25, in *ro-lásat* 87<sup>a</sup> 16, *cor-ro-lsat* 83<sup>a</sup> 7, *ni ru-butar* 87<sup>b</sup> 26, *ni relic* 96<sup>a</sup> 7, *cor-roemid* 98<sup>a</sup> 13; *cor-ra-gaib* 83<sup>b</sup> 41, *conid-ra-gaib* 97<sup>a</sup> 35, *cor-ra-gbaiset* 84<sup>a</sup> 13, 85<sup>a</sup> 42, *ni raldá* 92<sup>b</sup> 6.

(b) *ni fetur* 85<sup>b</sup> 4, 88<sup>a</sup> 30, 89<sup>b</sup> 41, 96<sup>a</sup> 4, *noo-fetur-sa* 98<sup>b</sup> 12, *nad fetatar* 86<sup>b</sup> 2, *ni hétás* 89<sup>b</sup> 18, *ni-fúair* 98<sup>a</sup> 11, 15, *nach fuair* 98<sup>a</sup> 5.

(c) *bert* 97<sup>b</sup> 17 (bis), *bertatar* 99<sup>a</sup> 8, *oélsammar* 86<sup>a</sup> 22, *lathrastar* 89<sup>b</sup> 35, *luid* 84<sup>a</sup> 1, 98<sup>a</sup> 10, etc., *lotar* 84<sup>b</sup> 39, 41, *ortatár* 84<sup>b</sup> 41, *ortá* 83<sup>a</sup> 10, *selgatar* 89<sup>b</sup> 38, *gabsat* 85<sup>b</sup> 40, 43.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ni rubai* LU. 65<sup>a</sup> 1, *co rubaitis Coinculand* 64<sup>a</sup> 30.

<sup>2</sup> So Wb. 4<sup>c</sup> 12 *ro-génartar* is found for *ro-génatar*. Zimmer, KZ. xxx, 225, defends the forms, but it may be doubted whether they are not simply blunders, in which the *r* has come from the singular.



- (*d*) *gabtha* (*diberg*) 84<sup>a</sup> 40, 84<sup>b</sup> 1, 7, 14.  
 (*e*) *anais* 83<sup>b</sup> 32, *ferais* 84<sup>a</sup> 28, *gabais* 86<sup>b</sup> 18 (*o*), 92<sup>b</sup> 32, 96<sup>a</sup> 25 (*o*), 97<sup>b</sup> 15, *radis* 84<sup>a</sup> 9, *rat*[*h*]*aiges* 83<sup>b</sup> 15, *canais* 91<sup>a</sup> 43, *diúchtrais* 91<sup>a</sup> 43, *aplis* 98<sup>a</sup> 5, *dórtais* 98<sup>a</sup> 32, *cotlais* 91<sup>a</sup> 42; *gabaisit* 83<sup>a</sup> 20, 86<sup>a</sup> 3, 89<sup>a</sup> 42, *bensait* 97<sup>a</sup> 17.

7. Táin Bó Cúailnge (to the end of LU. 63<sup>a</sup>).

- (*a*) *ro-m-béotar* 62<sup>a</sup> 16, *ro-bíth* 58<sup>a</sup> 45, *ro-m-bíth* 60<sup>a</sup> 1, *ro-bíthá* 58<sup>b</sup> 22, *ro-clas* 58<sup>b</sup> 3, *ro-chúalammar* 58<sup>b</sup> 23, *ro-dassad* 63<sup>a</sup> 8, *ro-fetammar* 60<sup>a</sup> 39, *ro-gab* 56<sup>a</sup> 6, 57<sup>a</sup> 15, *ro-láosa* 58<sup>a</sup> 24, *ro-laa* 57<sup>b</sup> 25, *ro-lá* 57<sup>b</sup> 30, 34, 36, 60<sup>b</sup> 41, *ro-d-lá* 57<sup>b</sup> 33, 58<sup>a</sup> 42, *ro-lád* 58<sup>b</sup> 4, *ro-léicsem* 58<sup>a</sup> 16, *ro-scrib* 57<sup>b</sup> 40, *ro-slassa* 59<sup>b</sup> 15, *ro-scáig* 56<sup>b</sup> 18, 20; *ra-fetamar* 59<sup>a</sup> 27, 60<sup>a</sup> 39, *ra-chúala-sa* 61<sup>b</sup> 2, *ra-ulgatar* 58<sup>a</sup> 1; *nach ro-lamar* 62<sup>a</sup> 29, *nd ro-nass* 59<sup>b</sup> 7, *frisind-ro-lais* 61<sup>b</sup> 41, *in-ro-lád* 63<sup>a</sup> 35, *oid-ralla* 62<sup>b</sup> 17. With present *ni ro-laim* 58<sup>a</sup> 6.  
 (*b*) *nad chúalaid* 57<sup>a</sup> 16, *co chúala* 62<sup>b</sup> 19, 60<sup>a</sup> 4, *noo-fetar* 55<sup>b</sup> 41, 57<sup>b</sup> 37, *ni fetar-sa* 59<sup>b</sup> 8, *ni etar-sa* 59<sup>b</sup> 43, *ni fitir* 59<sup>a</sup> 26, *ni suaratar* 62<sup>a</sup> 2, *ni lamar* 60<sup>a</sup> 26, *ni má lodmar* 58<sup>a</sup> 15, *co féotar* 57<sup>a</sup> 30, *co corastar* 59<sup>b</sup> 32, *o-luid* 57<sup>a</sup> 29, *co m-mobaid* 61<sup>b</sup> 13, 40, 62<sup>b</sup> 3, *co seacaind* 60<sup>b</sup> 39, *co seascing* 60<sup>a</sup> 26.  
 (*c*) *arigsetár* 57<sup>b</sup> 17, *cachain* 57<sup>b</sup> 28, *feotar* 58<sup>a</sup> 9, *fóite* 55<sup>a</sup> 4, *giúd* 61<sup>b</sup> 22, *gellatár* 57<sup>b</sup> 18 (bis), 27, *lelgatar* 57<sup>b</sup> 19, *luid* 57<sup>b</sup> 1, 58<sup>b</sup> 25, 26, 59<sup>b</sup> 21, 60<sup>a</sup> 45, 63<sup>a</sup> 19, *lotair* 55<sup>a</sup> 37, *lotár* 59<sup>b</sup> 13, *lotar* 60<sup>a</sup> 28.  
 (*d*) *ettha* (itum est) 55<sup>a</sup> 3, *sudigthe* (positum est) 56<sup>b</sup> 6, *alta* (altum est) 59<sup>a</sup> 6, *riastartha* 59<sup>a</sup> 33.  
 (*e*) *anais* 58<sup>a</sup> 14, *brissis* 58<sup>b</sup> 7, 61<sup>b</sup> 13, *fichis* 63<sup>a</sup> 35, *ferais* 58<sup>a</sup> 9, *gabais* 58<sup>b</sup> 28, 59<sup>a</sup> 32, *iadais* 59<sup>a</sup> 36, *scribais* 57<sup>a</sup> 42, *eréthis* 62<sup>b</sup> 2, *oid-sa* 58<sup>a</sup> 29, *cum-rigis* 62<sup>b</sup> 44.

## III. COMPOUND VERBS WITH RO- INFIXED.

## 1. The compound contains only one preposition.

ORTHOTONIC.

ENCLITIC.

*ad-áur, timeo.**ad-raichestar* ML. 80<sup>d</sup> 4, *ad-raigsetar*124<sup>b</sup> 6 (bis).

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

**adōraim**,<sup>1</sup> *adoro*.

*at-ror* (rel.) Ml. 69<sup>d</sup> 3, *ad-rorsat* (rel.)

Wb. 1<sup>b</sup> 19.

**frith-aílim**, *expecto*.

*fris-railsiur* Ml. 86<sup>d</sup> 8.

**ad-amraigim**, *miror*.

*ad-ru-amraigset* Ml. 88<sup>a</sup> 18.

**aith-ānim**, *mando*.

*ad-roni* (rel.) Wb. 29<sup>b</sup> 29 (bis).

**imm-ānim**,<sup>2</sup> *delego*.

*imme-rāni* Bcr. 39<sup>d</sup>.

**for-āssaim**, *proficio*.

*ci for-rāsus-sa* Acr. 40, *for-rassais-*

*siu* Ml. 43<sup>d</sup> 17, *for-rarsis-siu*

38<sup>a</sup> 9, *for-rās* 115<sup>d</sup> 11.

**aith- (ad-) balim**,<sup>3</sup> *morior*.

*at-ru-balt* Ml. 144<sup>d</sup> 3, *att-ru-baltar*

100<sup>a</sup> 1.

**di-badim**,<sup>4</sup> *extinguo*.

*co n-der-badad* Wb. 27<sup>a</sup> 21.

**com-airliur**, *consulo*.

*lassi o-rairlestar* Ml. 125<sup>c</sup> 1.

**ceta-bíu**, *sentio*.

*lase ceta-ro-ba-sa* Ml. 44<sup>b</sup> 22.

**ad-berim**,<sup>5</sup> *dico*.

*aut-ru-bert* Cod. Cam. 37<sup>d</sup>, *ad-ru-*

*bartmar* (rel.) Sg. 197<sup>b</sup> 16.

**ar[a]-berim**, generally with *biuth*, *utor*.

*an ara-ru-burt* Ml. 108<sup>a</sup> 2, *ar-ro-bert* *ni ar-bart* Ml. 36<sup>a</sup> 4, *ni ar*

Wb. 29<sup>d</sup> 23, *ara-ro-bert* (rel.) Ml. *r-bartatar* Sg. 40<sup>b</sup> 9.

66<sup>c</sup> 19, *ar-ru-bart* Ml. 21<sup>a</sup> 11,

21<sup>d</sup> 4, 35<sup>b</sup> 11, 42<sup>b</sup> 6 (*an*), 53<sup>a</sup> 12

<sup>1</sup> A verb borrowed from Lat. *adoro*, and treated partly as a simple verb, as in *adras*, partly as a compound, as in the above forms. In Ml. 14<sup>b</sup> 4 the form *adrodar* is not clear to me.

<sup>2</sup> *imm-rāni*, *imm-ransat* Tir. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *co n-er-baltatar* LU. 77<sup>b</sup> 38.

<sup>4</sup> *do-r-ro-badad* LU. 97<sup>a</sup> 23.

<sup>5</sup> *at-ru-bart* Carm. Ml., LU. 97<sup>a</sup> 31, cf. Windisch s.v. *at-biur*.

## ORTHOTONIC.

(*an*), 61<sup>d</sup> 11, *ara-ru-bart* Sg. 78<sup>a</sup> 1 (usum esse), Ml. 112<sup>b</sup> 5 (*ma*), *ara-ru-bart* 60<sup>a</sup> 3 (usum esse), *ar-ru-bartatar* (MS. *arrubartärtatar*) Ml. 33<sup>c</sup> 14 (*an*), 34<sup>c</sup> 4 (*an*), 100<sup>c</sup> 25, 123<sup>a</sup> 4, *ara-ru-bartatar* Sg. 40<sup>b</sup> 12 (*intan*, MS. *ararubatar*), Ml. 91<sup>b</sup> 1 (*cia*), 97<sup>d</sup> 2, 125<sup>d</sup> 5, 131<sup>a</sup> 11, 136<sup>b</sup> 3 (rel.).

## ENCLITIC.

*ess-berim*,<sup>1</sup> dico.

*as-ru-burt* Wb. 9<sup>c</sup> 1 (rel.), Sg. 91<sup>a</sup> 3 (rel.), Ml. 50<sup>d</sup> 7 (rel.), *cias-id-ru-burt* Sg. 58<sup>b</sup> 1, 75<sup>b</sup> 2, 99<sup>a</sup> 3, 218<sup>a</sup> 6, *cias-id-ru-bart-sa* Ml. 3<sup>a</sup> 15, 66<sup>c</sup> 1, *as-ru-bart* Wb. 4<sup>d</sup> 16 (rel.), 7<sup>c</sup> 8, 7<sup>c</sup> 18 (rel.), 10<sup>a</sup> 26 (rel., *cid*), 10<sup>d</sup> 2 (rel.), 11<sup>b</sup> 5 (rel.), 13<sup>d</sup> 23 (*an*), 26<sup>a</sup> 3 (rel.), 27<sup>d</sup> 27 (rel.), 32<sup>c</sup> 13 (rel.), 32<sup>d</sup> 2 (rel.), Sg. 21<sup>b</sup> 10 (rel.), 22<sup>a</sup> 3, 39<sup>a</sup> 5 (rel.), 55<sup>a</sup> 3 (rel.), 56<sup>b</sup> 13, 138<sup>a</sup> 6 (rel.), 157<sup>b</sup> 7 (rel.), Ml. 15<sup>d</sup> 2 (rel.), 32<sup>d</sup> 5 (rel.), 35<sup>a</sup> 7 (rel.), 35<sup>c</sup> 26 (*an*), 43<sup>d</sup> 1 (*intan*), 45<sup>a</sup> 8 (rel.), 48<sup>c</sup> 10, 50<sup>b</sup> 8 (rel.), 51<sup>a</sup> 19 (rel.), 51<sup>d</sup> 2 (*amal*), 53<sup>a</sup> 17 (*intan*), 53<sup>b</sup> 26, 53<sup>c</sup> 16 (*intan*), 55<sup>c</sup> 3 (rel.), 59<sup>a</sup> 7 (rel., *asrubbart*), 62<sup>c</sup> 1, 62<sup>c</sup> 1 (*amal*, MS. *rubart*), 64<sup>d</sup> 8 (rel.), 65<sup>c</sup> 6 (rel.), 66<sup>d</sup> 15 (rel.), 67<sup>b</sup> 3, 73<sup>d</sup> 4 (rel.), 83<sup>b</sup> 13, 89<sup>b</sup> 2 (*an*), 92<sup>a</sup> 12 (rel.), 94<sup>a</sup> 13 (rel.), 100<sup>c</sup> 13 (rel.), 101<sup>c</sup> 4 (rel.), 102<sup>d</sup> 3 (rel.), 112<sup>d</sup> 2 (bis, rel.), 125<sup>c</sup> 2, 131<sup>c</sup> 14 (rel.), *as-id-ru-bart* Sg. 220<sup>a</sup> 10 (rel.), *as-ro-bar*[*t*]

*ni ær-burt* Ml. 44<sup>b</sup> 19, *dia n-ér-bart* Wb. 13<sup>c</sup> 12, *frisian-ér-brath* Sg. 220<sup>a</sup> 10, *ni-sn-ærþ*[*art*]atar Ml. 29<sup>a</sup> 4.

<sup>1</sup> With prefixed *mi-*, *mi-ess-berim* male dico, *innahí mtarbar*[*t*]mar Ml. 56<sup>b</sup> 26; *as-ru-bart* LÜ. 64<sup>a</sup> 24, *as-ru-bairt* 69<sup>a</sup> 24, *as-id-ru-bairt* 71<sup>a</sup> 29. The usual form in the early Sagas is *as-bert*.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

Ml. 17<sup>b</sup> 23 (rel.), *as-ru-bartmar*  
 Wb. 8<sup>d</sup> 26 (rel.), Sg. 55<sup>d</sup> 5 (rel.),  
 188<sup>a</sup> 29 (rel.), Ml. 34<sup>b</sup> 8 (rel.),  
 37<sup>a</sup> 14 (bis, *intan*), 54<sup>a</sup> 32 (rel.),  
 111<sup>o</sup> 9 (rel.), 136<sup>o</sup> 13 (rel.), *as-*  
*ru-bartatar* Wb. 18<sup>d</sup> 1 (rel.), Ml.  
 16<sup>e</sup> 5, 20<sup>b</sup> 2 (rel.), 24<sup>d</sup> 4 (rel.),  
*huare as-in-ru-bartat[ar]* 131<sup>d</sup> 12,  
*as-ro-brad* Wb. 3<sup>c</sup> 31 (rel.), 5<sup>a</sup> 4  
 (rel.), 10<sup>d</sup> 8 (rel.), 12<sup>d</sup> 26 (rel.),  
 33<sup>b</sup> 16 (*an*), Ml. 16<sup>a</sup> 14, 31<sup>b</sup> 24,  
 32<sup>e</sup> 15 (*amal*), 33<sup>d</sup> 12 (rel.),  
 37<sup>b</sup> 24 (*amal*), 45<sup>a</sup> 9 (rel.), 72<sup>b</sup> 4<sup>b</sup>,  
 Tur. 62 (*intan*), *as-ind-ro-brad*  
 50<sup>b</sup> 8 (rel.).

*for-berim*,<sup>1</sup> *cresco*.

*for-ru-bart* Ml. 33<sup>e</sup> 10, 64<sup>e</sup> 7, *for-*  
*ru-bartmar* 102<sup>a</sup> 1, *for-ru-bartatar*  
 101<sup>a</sup> 10, 103<sup>d</sup> 6 (MS. *forrubart*).<sup>1</sup>

*di-bideim*, *iaculor*.

*do-ro-bide* Ml. 58<sup>e</sup> 3, *do-r-ru-bide*  
 40<sup>d</sup> 9 (*iaculatum esse*).

*for-brissim*, *supero*.

*for-ror-bris* Ml. 34<sup>b</sup> 16, 67<sup>b</sup> 24 (rel.).

*ceta-canim*, *primus* (*primum*) *cano*.

*intan cita-rochet* Ml. 44<sup>b</sup> 4, *ceta-ro-*  
*chet* (rel.) 86<sup>d</sup> 19<sup>b</sup>.

*for-canim*, *doceo*, *instituo*.

*for-roichan-sa* Ml. 17<sup>d</sup> 1, *for-tan-*  
*roichan-ni* 22<sup>e</sup> 3, *for-ro-chain*<sup>2</sup>  
 68<sup>b</sup> 8, *for-tan-roichechnatar*<sup>3-ni</sup>  
 (rel.) 63<sup>b</sup> 1, *fo[r]-ro-chet* (rel.)  
 35<sup>b</sup> 19.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *fororbairt* Féil. Pr. 173, where *ro-* is inserted as though the first part of the compound were *fo-*. Cf. *fodarorcenn*, *fororcenna* p. 96, *forrorbris* p. 94, *fothroigell* p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> For the regular *forroichain*, cf. *horumaiñ* p. 86, *inrograinn* p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> For the regular *fortanroichnetar*, cf. *forrubleangatar* p. 102.

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**to-cathim**,<sup>1</sup> *consumo*.*du-ro-chithaisset* Ml. 98<sup>b</sup> 13.**ar-cellaim**, *rapio*.*ar-id-ro-chell* Sg. 202<sup>a</sup> 7.**fo-celim**,<sup>2</sup> *expecto, curo*.*fo-n-ro-chled* Wb. 19<sup>c</sup> 13.**for-cennaim**,<sup>3</sup> *perficio, absumo*.

*lasse for-ru-chénsat* Ml. 100<sup>d</sup> 9, *for-ni-r-ru-foircneda* Ml. 94<sup>c</sup>  
*ru-m-chenad-sa* 127<sup>c</sup> 10, *fo-da-ro-* 18.  
*r-cenn* Wb. 11<sup>a</sup> 27.

**to-cer**<sup>4</sup>-, *cadere*.

*do-ro-chair* Sg. 29<sup>a</sup> 8, Tur. 18, *do-ro-chratar* (g. *interiisse*) Ml. 36<sup>d</sup>  
 13, *du-ro-chratar* 91<sup>c</sup> 18 (*intan*).

**as-ro-chess**<sup>5</sup> (g. *expansum est*) Ml.39<sup>c</sup> 11.**ar-cessim**, *parco, indulgeo*.*air ar-ro-cheiss* Ml. 61<sup>a</sup> 9.**fo-cladim**, *effodio*.*fo-roichlaid* Ml. 24<sup>c</sup> 18.**ad-cobram**, *concupisco*.

*ad-ro-chobursam* (rel.) Ml. 56<sup>b</sup> 24, *nicon-ru-ac-cobrus* Ml. 136<sup>b</sup>  
*ad-ro-chobairset* (rel.) 67<sup>b</sup> 10. 7.

**aith-cotadaigim**, *reconcilio*.

*in rad-chotadaiged* Ml.  
 32<sup>d</sup> 24.

**to-crechaim**, *excogito, molior*.

*an du-ro-chrech* Ml. 68<sup>c</sup> 11, *an du-ro-chrehsat* 47<sup>d</sup> 15.

<sup>1</sup> Add to the examples quoted of this verb, Wb. 31<sup>d</sup> 11, *nachitochthad* 'let him not wear thee out.'

<sup>2</sup> *fo-ro-chlad* Hy. ii, 15.

<sup>3</sup> *foror-cennia* Féil. Pr. 87 (MSS. vary between *fororenait* and *forforcennia*). Does this verb lurk in *for-ruchui* . . . g. *conficit*, Ml. 121<sup>c</sup> 24? Other examples of the verb are *forcennatar* Ml. 48<sup>a</sup> 15, *o-foircenitis* 54<sup>a</sup> 18, *forceinfiter* 56<sup>c</sup> 19.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Windisch s.v. *torchar*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ascoli, *Supplementi Periodici dell' Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 129 sq.

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*ceta-cretim*, *primus credo*.

*ceta-ru-chreti* (rel.) Wb. 7<sup>b</sup> 11, *clatu-ru-chreitset* (rel.) 14<sup>a</sup> 29.

*ara-crinim*,<sup>1</sup> *defitiscor*.

*ara-rui-chiur* Ml. 136<sup>a</sup> 8.

*o-arr-ceoratar* Ml. 26<sup>d</sup> 7.

*to-curiur*, *adscisco*.

*do-[r]-ro-chuirestar* Sg. 184<sup>a</sup> 2, *do-ro-churestar* Ml. 16<sup>c</sup> 6, *do-ro-chuiristar* Ml. 25<sup>c</sup> 13, *do-ro-chuirsemmar* Sg. 6<sup>b</sup> 18.

*ni rú-tho-churestar* Ml. 18<sup>d</sup> 6.

*fo-dálim*,<sup>2</sup> *dispertio*.

*amal fo-nd-ro-dil* Wb. 10<sup>a</sup> 11, *fo-ro-dalta* Ml. 99<sup>c</sup> 4.

*ad-damim*,<sup>3</sup> *profiteor, concedo*.

*ad-ro-damar* Acr. 99, *ad-ro-[da]mar-su* 29 (rel.), *inn ár-damar-su* Acr. 46.

*fo-damim*,<sup>4</sup> *patior*.

*fo-ro-damar-sa* Ml. 22<sup>d</sup> 5 (rel.), 58<sup>d</sup> 13 (rel.), 132<sup>c</sup> 12, *fo-r-ro-damar* Wb. 19<sup>d</sup> 30, *fo-ro-damar* Ml. 95<sup>d</sup> 13, 14 (rel.), *fo-s-ro-damar-sa* 39<sup>a</sup> 13, *fo-ro-damair* 54<sup>b</sup> 28 (rel.), cf. 54<sup>a</sup> 35, 62<sup>d</sup> 9 (rel.), 133<sup>a</sup> 6 (rel.), *fu-ro-damair* 131<sup>b</sup> 12 (rel.), *fo-ro-damnatar* Ml. 90<sup>c</sup> 13 (rel.), *fu-ro-damnatar* (rel.) 96<sup>b</sup> 8, *amal fo-nd-ro-damnatar* 105<sup>b</sup> 9.

<sup>1</sup> *ar-ro-chiur* Féil. Pr. 67, 127, *ar-ro-chiúirtar* LU. 23<sup>b</sup> 19: *ni ar-chiúir* LL. 249<sup>a</sup> 49.

<sup>2</sup> *fo-ro-dlad* LU. 58<sup>a</sup> 26, cf. Windisch Wb. s.v.

<sup>3</sup> *nar-damair* Féil. Fb. 9, *ni ar-damair* LU. 112<sup>a</sup> 41.

<sup>4</sup> *nad for-damar-sa* LL. 119<sup>a</sup> 1, *ni for-ddamair* LU. 111<sup>b</sup> 12.

<sup>5</sup> The *n* in this form is remarkable, as no *n* appears in other parts of this verb. If we could suppose that in the perfect of *-moiniur* there was at one time a singular *ménair* by a plural *\*memnatar*, *-damnatar* might have arisen after the analogy of that, but such an explanation is purely hypothetical. Perhaps an investigation of the combination *mn* in Celtic, such as Schmidt, *Kritik der Sonanten-theorie* 87 sq., has conducted for other Idg. languages, would bring some light.

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**com-dedaim**, contabesco.*o-ro-deda* Ml. 118<sup>b</sup> 2.**com-delgaim**, comparo.*a con-ro-delgg* Sg. 40<sup>a</sup> 20, *o-ru-delo*  
Ml. 55<sup>d</sup> 3, *cota-ro-delo* 55<sup>d</sup> 8.**for-dingim**, opprimo.*for-ru-dedach-su* Ml. 96<sup>c</sup> 17, *lasse*  
*for-ru-dedgatar* 63<sup>c</sup> 3.**dī-donaim**, solor.*do-ro-n-donad-ni* Wb. 16<sup>b</sup> 17.**fo-drubaim**, moror.*a fo-r-ru-drúb* Ml. 49<sup>b</sup> 10.**friss-dūnaim**, obstruo.*fris-ro-dūnsat* Ml. 22<sup>a</sup> 2, 39<sup>d</sup> 4.**ar-ēgim**, queror.*ar ro-ēig* Ml. 58<sup>b</sup> 14, *ar-ru-ēig*  
(rel.) 54<sup>b</sup> 29, *ciar-ud-roig* 50<sup>d</sup> 1.**dī-ellaim**, devio.*do-relleat* Ml. 36<sup>c</sup> 22, *du-relsat*  
105<sup>b</sup> 18 (rel.).**com-emim**, servo.*o-roitatar* Ml. 55<sup>c</sup> 1.**dī-emim**, velo, protego.*do-r-r-et-sa* (rel.) Wb. 31<sup>a</sup> 1, *do-r-et*  
Ml. 16<sup>c</sup> 8, *du-nd-r-et* (rel.) 40<sup>b</sup> 8.**com-erbim**, confido.*a con-id-rerp* Ml. 54<sup>b</sup> 1, *lasse con-id-*  
*rerp* 106<sup>b</sup> 8, *a conn-id-rerb som*  
33<sup>b</sup> 5.**dī-fedim**, educo.*du-da-ruid* Ml. 63<sup>b</sup> 12.**ad-fenaim**.*lasse ad-ru-s-pén* (gl. iurando) Ml.  
78<sup>a</sup> 5.

Phil. Trans. 1895-7.

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**fo-feraim**,<sup>1</sup> efficio.

*fo-ruar* Wb. 2<sup>a</sup> 18, 8<sup>b</sup> 5 (rel.),  
 14<sup>c</sup> 43, Tur. 48, *fo-d-ruar* Wb.  
 15<sup>a</sup> 15 (rel.), Ml. 20<sup>b</sup> 17.

**dī-fichim**, vindico.

*da-ruioh* Ml. 43<sup>d</sup> 19, *do-ro-acht*  
 98<sup>d</sup> 9, 38<sup>d</sup> 8 (*intan*), Tur. 81  
 (rel.), *an du-ru-acht* Ml. 43<sup>d</sup> 11.

**in-állim**, implico.

*in-ru-áll* Ml. 33<sup>c</sup> 11.

**to-foidim**, mitto.

*do-roid-ni* Ml. 53<sup>d</sup> 9 (rel.).

**remi-foidim**, praemitto.

*ar* (=an) *remi-roid* Ml. 31<sup>c</sup> 9.

**ceta-gabim**, primus usurpo.

*cita-ro-gab* Ml. 38<sup>c</sup> 3 (rel.).

**dī-gabim**, adimo.

*di-ro-gbad* Sg. 9<sup>b</sup> 16, *amal du-ro-gab*  
 Ml. 34<sup>d</sup> 18, *eo du-ro-gabsat* 108<sup>a</sup> 6,  
*do-ro-gbad* 17<sup>a</sup> 13.<sup>2</sup>

**friss-gabim**, coerceo, freno.

*ni ru-frith-gab* Ml. 124<sup>c</sup> 11.

**to-gaim**, deligo.

*do-b-roiga-sa* Ml. 103<sup>c</sup> 15 (*iarsindi*),  
*du-roiga-su* 138<sup>b</sup> 8, *do-róigu* Wb.  
 4<sup>b</sup> 31, 4<sup>c</sup> 16 (*hóre*), 5<sup>b</sup> 12 (rel.),  
*do-r-roigu* 5<sup>b</sup> 1 (rel.), *do-b-róigu*  
 26<sup>a</sup> 24, *do-roigaid* 20<sup>a</sup> 4 (rel.), *do-*  
*roigatar* 5<sup>b</sup> 12 (*hore*), *do-roigad*  
 Ml. 123<sup>a</sup> 14, *do-rogad* 124<sup>c</sup> 13  
 (delectum esse).

**to-gāithim**, decipio.

*ni ru-thó-gaitsam* Wb. 16<sup>a</sup>  
 22, *ni-m-thor-gaith* Ml.  
 38<sup>a</sup> 13.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Windisch Wb. s.v. *foirim*, perf. pass. *foruireth* = *fo-ro-ferad* ib.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning seems to be 'he was lessened,' i.e. 'he was made lower than the angels.' In Ml. 60<sup>a</sup> 8 we should read *ni dú ragab*.



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**aith-garim**, veto.*ad-ob-ra-gart* Wb. 19<sup>b</sup> 5, *hore ad-ro-grad* 3<sup>c</sup> 22.**ar-garim**, veto.

*ara-ro-gart* Wb. 5<sup>c</sup> 23 (bis, rel.), *ni ar-gart* Wb. 31<sup>c</sup> 25,  
*ciar-id-ro-ga[r]t* Ml. 132<sup>a</sup> 10, *ara-intan nadn-ar-gart* Ml.  
*ro-grad* Wb. 3<sup>c</sup> 25 (rel.), *amal* 53<sup>d</sup> 9.  
*ar-ro-grad* 9<sup>b</sup> 13.

**to-garim**,<sup>1</sup> voco.

*do-ro-gart* Wb. 21<sup>d</sup> 2 (rel.), Ml.  
 69<sup>d</sup> 14 (rel.), *do-da-ro-gart* Wb.  
 22<sup>e</sup> 1 (rel.), *da-ro-gart* Ml. 20<sup>b</sup> 2  
 (rel.), *do-ro-grad* Wb. 10<sup>a</sup> 12  
 (*amal*), 10<sup>a</sup> 22 (rel.), *do-b-ro-grad*  
 24<sup>c</sup> 4, *do-n-ro-grad* 20<sup>d</sup> 9.

**tris-gataim**, foro.*dris-ro-gat* Ml. 86<sup>a</sup> 6.**for-gellaim**,<sup>2</sup> perhibeo.

*lass for-ru-géll* Ml. 97<sup>a</sup> 12, *for-ro-gellsam-ni* (rel.) Wb. 25<sup>d</sup> 20.

**ar-gníu**,<sup>3</sup> facio.*ar-ru-genisiu* (gessisse) Ml. 72<sup>b</sup> 20.**di-gníu**, facio.

*do-rignius-sa* Wb. 24<sup>b</sup> 12 (rel.), *do-ri* *ni dernus*<sup>4</sup> Ml. 39<sup>a</sup> 11,  
*rignius* Ml. 47<sup>a</sup> 20 (rel.), *ma du-dergéné* Sg. 100<sup>a</sup> 11,  
*d-rignius* 23<sup>c</sup> 27, *do-rigenuas-sa* *nád deirgéné* Wb. 13<sup>b</sup> 17,  
 2<sup>a</sup> 6 (rel.), *do-rignis* (rel.) 46<sup>b</sup> *ni dergéné* Ml. 114<sup>b</sup> 12,  
 24, 26, *do-r-rignis* Sg. 217<sup>a</sup> 5 *nicon-dergeni* 36<sup>a</sup> 1,  
 (rel.), *du-rignisiu* Ml. 63<sup>c</sup> 5 (rel.), *nadn-dergeni* 23<sup>c</sup> 15,  
*amal du-nd-rignis* 128<sup>a</sup> 12, *do-39<sup>a</sup> 15, cf. 69<sup>c</sup> 7, nach*  
*rigéné* Wb. 12<sup>a</sup> 29 (rel.), 13<sup>d</sup> 30 *derni* 128<sup>c</sup> 3, *co n-*  
 (rel.), Sg. 209<sup>b</sup> 10 (rel.), *do-rigéni* *dergensat* Sg. 187<sup>b</sup> 6.

<sup>1</sup> *do-ro-grad* Féil. Mr. 10, Sp. 5.<sup>2</sup> *fu-t-roir-gell* Cormac's Gloss. s.v. *imbais forosnai*.<sup>3</sup> *ni mad-air-genus* LU. 61<sup>a</sup> 2, *ni ar-génsat* 58<sup>a</sup> 12.<sup>4</sup> *ni dernus* may be explained as due to the analogy of the perfect passive *ni dernad* = *ni di-ro-gnáth*. So after *dorónad* (= *di-ro-gnith*) arise active forms like *doÁróni* LU. 83<sup>a</sup> 29, *dorónsat* 87<sup>a</sup> 16, etc. Conversely, after the active *dorigni*, etc., arise passive forms like *dorigned* LU. 96<sup>a</sup> 28, etc.

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(rel.) Wb. 11<sup>a</sup> 28, *do-rigeni* 11<sup>a</sup> 30 (rel.), 21<sup>d</sup> 11 (*an*), 22<sup>a</sup> 12 (*an*), 27<sup>d</sup> 10 (rel.), 30<sup>a</sup> 8 (*an*), Ml. 55<sup>d</sup> 4 (rel.), 24<sup>c</sup> 13, 98<sup>c</sup> 6 (rel.), 129<sup>d</sup> 5 (rel.), *amal* [*as*] *ne dor* [*i*] *geni* 27<sup>b</sup> 13, *do-r-rigeni* Wb. 30<sup>d</sup> 22, 15<sup>d</sup> 13 (*hóre*), *amal do-nd-rigéni* 6<sup>d</sup> 2, *do-rigni* 4<sup>c</sup> 32 (rel.), Ml. 19<sup>c</sup> 19 (rel.), 46<sup>b</sup> 30, 42<sup>b</sup> 24 (rel.), 48<sup>d</sup> 28 (rel.), 51<sup>a</sup> 16 (rel.), 50<sup>d</sup> 15 (rel.), 116<sup>d</sup> 4 (rel.), *du-rigeni* 67<sup>b</sup> 17 (rel.), 74<sup>b</sup> 7 (*ar*), 85<sup>c</sup> 9 (rel.), 91<sup>b</sup> 12 (rel.), 129<sup>d</sup> 5 (*an*), *du-rigni* 23<sup>b</sup> 11 (rel.), 24<sup>c</sup> 8 (*an*), 31<sup>b</sup> 24 (*an*), 39<sup>b</sup> 2 (rel.), 50<sup>d</sup> 10 (*amal*), 67<sup>d</sup> 2, 91<sup>c</sup> 9 (rel.), 96<sup>d</sup> 3, 4 (rel.), 98<sup>c</sup> 6 (rel.), 124<sup>d</sup> 5 (*an*), *du-d-rigni* 54<sup>d</sup> 16 (rel.), *du-d-rigni* 62<sup>c</sup> 19 (rel.), 124<sup>b</sup> 3 (rel.), *du-s-rigeni* 54<sup>a</sup> 34, *du-nd-rigni* 39<sup>a</sup> 3 (*amal*), 51<sup>a</sup> 16 (*amal*), 53<sup>b</sup> 27 (*amal*), *da-rigni* Sg. 31<sup>b</sup> 22, Ml. 51<sup>d</sup> 2 (rel.), 55<sup>c</sup> 3, 4, *du-nda-rigni* 93<sup>d</sup> 14, *andrigni* 124<sup>b</sup> 5 (*dorigni* ?), *do-rigénsam* Wb. 14<sup>b</sup> 26 (*cid*), 24<sup>d</sup> 3 (*an*), *do-rigensam* Ml. 46<sup>b</sup> 26 (rel.), *cia do-d-rigensid* Wb. 20<sup>d</sup> 3, *du-rigensid-si* 33<sup>d</sup> 5 (rel.), *da-rigensi* 9<sup>c</sup> 29, *do-rigénsat* 7<sup>d</sup> 10, 11<sup>a</sup> 30 (rel.), 28<sup>d</sup> 19 (rel.), *do-rigénsat* 5<sup>a</sup> 24, *do-rigénsat* Ml. 23<sup>b</sup> 5 (rel.), 28<sup>d</sup> 7, 29<sup>d</sup> 8 (rel.), 43<sup>b</sup> 13 (rel.), 46<sup>d</sup> 10 (rel.), 48<sup>b</sup> 18 (rel.), 54<sup>a</sup> 34 (rel.), 80<sup>b</sup> 10 (rel.), 90<sup>c</sup> 12 (rel.), 97<sup>b</sup> 4 (rel.), 124<sup>d</sup> 4 (rel.), 136<sup>b</sup> 4 (rel.), *do-ringensat* 16<sup>d</sup> 6, *amal do-nd-rigénsat* Wb. 26<sup>a</sup> 20, *du-rigensat* Ml. 50<sup>c</sup> 7 (rel.), 62<sup>d</sup> 6 (rel.), 80<sup>b</sup> 4 (rel.), 84<sup>c</sup> 1, 91<sup>a</sup> 21 (rel., bis),

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105<sup>a</sup> 2 (rel., bis), *du-nd-rigensat*  
68<sup>b</sup> 4 (*amal*), 87<sup>a</sup> 8 (rel.), *da-*  
*rigensat* Sg. 213<sup>a</sup> 1 (rel.), *do-nda-*  
*rigensat* Ml. 31<sup>b</sup> 17 (rel.), *do-ronad*  
Ml. 88<sup>a</sup> 17 (rel.), 90<sup>c</sup> 11, *do-r-*  
*ronad* Wb. 24<sup>d</sup> 5 (factum esse  
pacem), *cod du-rónath* 33<sup>a</sup> 15, *du-*  
*ronad* Ml. 136<sup>c</sup> 1 (rel.), *do-rónta*  
Sg. 216<sup>a</sup> 1 (rel.), *do-ronta* Ml.  
133<sup>c</sup> 5.

**fo-gníu,**<sup>1</sup> servio.

*fo-rui-géni* (rel.) Wb. 13<sup>b</sup> 7, *amal* *dia fo-r-génsam* Wb. 3<sup>c</sup> 15,  
*fo-rui-gensid* Wb. 3<sup>b</sup> 28, *fo-rui-* *fo-r-geni* (rel.) Ml. 44<sup>c</sup> 9.  
*gensat* 1<sup>b</sup> 22 (rel.).

**aith-gonaim,** repungo.

*ad-ro-gegon-sa* Sg. 181<sup>a</sup> 7.

**ad-grennim,** persequor.

*ala-roi-grainn* Ml. 30<sup>b</sup> 2, *ad-roi-*  
*gegrannatar* (rel.) 25<sup>b</sup> 11.

**in-grennim,** persequor.

*in-roi-grainn* Ml. 26<sup>d</sup> 3, 37<sup>a</sup> 4 (*ol*),  
*an in-roi-grann* 36<sup>d</sup> 7, *in-ro-grainn*  
26<sup>b</sup> 24.

**fo-illim,** mereor.

*ma fu-roillisem-ni* Ml. 100<sup>d</sup> 8.

**ess-laim,**<sup>2</sup> excedo.

*as-ru-lús*<sup>3</sup> Wb. 17<sup>d</sup> 16 (rel.).

**to-lāaim,** pono.<sup>3</sup>

*du-s-rale* Ml. 23<sup>c</sup> 16, *do-ralad* Wb.  
13<sup>d</sup> 8 (rel.), Ml. 14<sup>b</sup> 12 (rel.),  
*du-ralad* Ml. 67<sup>d</sup> 9.

**ar-lēcim,** mutuo do.

*ara-reilced* Ml. 36<sup>a</sup> 30 (rel.).

<sup>1</sup> *dia for-géni* LU. 60<sup>a</sup> 42.

<sup>2</sup> *as-ro-la* FéL. Ap. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *do-ra-lus* FéL. Pr. 15, *da-ro-lus* LL. 251<sup>b</sup> 17, *do-r-ra-lud* LU. 97<sup>a</sup> 18.  
On *a* in *doralad*, etc., see Thurneysen, *Kelto-Romanisches* 34.

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**ar-lēgaim**, recito.

*con-da-ar-leg* Ml. 43<sup>b</sup> 14.

**ess-lenim**, inquino.

*lase as-ru-lensat* Ml. 74<sup>a</sup> 3, *as-ro-llenad* 124<sup>d</sup> 17, *as-ru-lenta* 28<sup>a</sup> 22, 100<sup>c</sup> 18.

*nad reildisem-ni* Ml. 63<sup>d</sup> 15. With extension, *ar (=an) ru-n-eillestar* Ml. 63<sup>a</sup> 14, *ro-heilled* 127<sup>a</sup> 13.

**dī-legaim**, deleo.

*du-roi-lged* Wb. 2<sup>d</sup> 13.

**fo-lengim**,<sup>1</sup> praevenio.

*fo-roi-bläng* Ml. 43<sup>d</sup> 16, 95<sup>d</sup> 11, but *forroiblang* 107<sup>d</sup> 13, *ar fo-roi-blachta* 58<sup>d</sup> 6.

**for-lengim**,<sup>2</sup> subsilio.

*for-ru-leblangatar* Ml. 129<sup>c</sup> 21.

**to-līnaim**, mano.

*do-ru-lin* (manasse) Ml. 64<sup>c</sup> 18.

**dī-logaim**, remitto, ignosco.

*amal do-ro-lgis* Ml. 125<sup>a</sup> 12, *amal ni der-laichta* Wb. 33<sup>b</sup> 18. *du-ro-lgis-siu* 124<sup>a</sup> 9, *du-nd-ro-lgis* (rel.) Ml. 46<sup>b</sup> 29, *do-ro-laig* Ml. 49<sup>c</sup> 9, 50<sup>d</sup> 15 (*amal*), 136<sup>b</sup> 2 (*lase*), *du-ro-lged* Wb. 3<sup>b</sup> 12, Ml. 124<sup>b</sup> 3 (*amal*), *do-ro-lgetha* Wb. 26<sup>c</sup> 11 (rel.), *do-ro-lgida* Ml. 32<sup>c</sup> 15.

**imm-lod**,<sup>3</sup> circumivi.

*nio-im-ru-latar* Tur. 64.

**ar-mertaim**, statuo.

*ar-ro-mertus* Ml. 51<sup>a</sup> 12, *ar-ru-mertus* 58<sup>c</sup> 9, 58<sup>d</sup> 17.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *remfolaing* g. anticipa Ml. 44<sup>c</sup> 24, *remfolaing* g. praeveni 100<sup>d</sup> 12, *co remifail* ut anticipet 23<sup>a</sup> 8.

<sup>2</sup> The same compound is found LU. 85<sup>b</sup> 28 *forling agaisced*, 19<sup>a</sup> 14 *for-róibling*, the verbal noun 85<sup>b</sup> 30 *oc forlaim a gaiscid*. *forruleblangtar* is irregular for *forroiblangtar*, cf. *fortanroichechnatar* p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *nad im-ru-laid* Ir. Psalt. l. 468.

ORTHOTONIC.

**to-maidim**, erumpo.

**to-melim**,<sup>1</sup> consumo.

**to-midiur**,<sup>2</sup> emetior, pondero.

*do-ru-madir* ML. 16<sup>c</sup> 11 (rel.), *an do-ruimdetar* 87<sup>c</sup> 4.

**fo-māmaigim**, subigo.

*fo-s-ro-mamaigestar* (MS. *fosro amma-maigestar*) ML. 67<sup>b</sup> 24.

**ar-moiniur feid**, honoro.

*ar-ru-muinset* ML. 90<sup>a</sup> 1.

**to-moiniur**, puto.

*du-ru-menar*<sup>3</sup> ML. 32<sup>d</sup> 10, 49<sup>b</sup> 13, 130<sup>d</sup> 4, *do-ru-menair* 61<sup>d</sup> 2 (rel.), *ma do-d-ru-menatar* Sg. 27<sup>a</sup> 18, *do-ru-menatar* ML. 35<sup>b</sup> 18, *du-ru-menatar* 80<sup>b</sup> 10 (rel.).

**ar-nascim**, despondeo.

*ar-ob-róinasc* Wb. 17<sup>b</sup> 27.

**ar-nertaim**, cohortor.

*ar-ru-nert* ML. 130<sup>b</sup> 2.

**dī-meccim**, contemno.

**com-nessim**,<sup>4</sup> inculco.

*lasse co-ru-nes* ML. 102<sup>d</sup> 5.

**dī-nessim**, sperno.

*an da-ru-nesus* ML. 36<sup>c</sup> 1.

ENCLITIC.

*asa-to-róimed* Wb. 11<sup>a</sup> 19.

*ní tor-mult* Wb. 18<sup>a</sup> 10.

*ní-tor-menar-sa*<sup>2</sup> ML. 42<sup>a</sup> 10, *ní tor-ménmar-ní* 115<sup>b</sup> 1, *ní thor-menid* 68<sup>b</sup> 1, *ní tor-menatar* 90<sup>c</sup> 5, 106<sup>d</sup> 11, *nad tor-menatar* 90<sup>c</sup> 6, 95<sup>b</sup> 3.

*ní ro-di-micestar* ML. 119<sup>a</sup> 10.

<sup>1</sup> *do-ro-mait* Ir. Psalt. l. 71, *du-s-ro-mait* Trip. Life, cf. Windisch s.v. *toimdim*.

<sup>2</sup> *do-ru-midir* Cormac's Glossary s.v. *laith*. To this verb may be referred *do-s-ruimdemar* Féil. Oeng. Ep. 6, according to the reading of the Laud copy. In so old a text *do-rimemar* (the reading of the other MSS.) from *do-ríim* seems an impossibility.

<sup>3</sup> Wb. has a form without *ro-*, *do-ménar-sa* 3<sup>c</sup>, cf. *to-m-mán[ar]-sa* ML. 130<sup>d</sup> 5. It may be noted that *ro-* does not appear in the subjunctive of this verb.

<sup>4</sup> Present *co-t-nessiu-sa* ML. 126<sup>c</sup> 17.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

**ad-nethim**, sustineo.*ad-ro-neestar* Wb. 4<sup>c</sup> 35.**ar-nethim**, sustineo, expecto.*ar-ro-t-noithius-sa* Ml. 46<sup>b</sup> 20, *ar-ru-t-noithius-sa* 46<sup>d</sup> 14, *lasse ar-ro-noith* 50<sup>b</sup> 8, *cid ar-rú-neid* 68<sup>a</sup> 6 (expectasse), *ar-ru-neastar* 50<sup>b</sup> 8 (rel.), *ar-ru-noithset* 50<sup>b</sup> 9.**fo-rondaim**, fusco.*fo-ro-raid* Ml. 51<sup>a</sup> 23.**ceta-pridehim**, primus praedico.*cetu-ru-pridach* Wb. 26<sup>c</sup> 4 (rel.).**imm-rādim**,<sup>1</sup> perpendo, cogito.*lasse immo-ro-rdus* Ml. 96<sup>a</sup> 3, *immo-ro-raid* Sg. 197<sup>b</sup> 15, *ho im-ro-rdai* Pcr. 61<sup>a</sup> 1, *imm-un-ro-rdað* Wb. 20<sup>d</sup> 10.**ind-rethim**, incurro.*an in-ro-rad-su* Ml. 84<sup>c</sup> 2, *in-ro-raid* 66<sup>d</sup> 21, *in-ro-rthatar* 35<sup>a</sup> 21, *lasse in-ro-rthatar* 104<sup>b</sup> 8.**ad-rimim**, numero.*ad-rui-rim* Ml. 28<sup>d</sup> 5, *ata-rui-rmisct* ni-n-ar-raim 49<sup>c</sup> 9. Sg. 188<sup>a</sup> 1, *lasse ad-rui-rmisct* Ml. 101<sup>b</sup> 2, *at-rui-rmed* Wb. 2<sup>c</sup> 6 (rel.), *an ad-rui-rmed* 2<sup>d</sup> 7.**to-rimim**,<sup>2</sup> enarro.*do-rui-rim* Ml. 36<sup>b</sup> 6, *amal do-nd-rui-rmissem* Wb. 24<sup>d</sup> 16.**fo-rimim**,<sup>3</sup> appono.*intan fo-rui-rim* Ml. 2<sup>a</sup> 6, *fo-rui-rmed* 74<sup>c</sup> 20.

<sup>1</sup> *im-ro-rdus* Féil. Pr. 20, 21, Jan. 7, *im-ro-rdais* Nv. 13, *imma-ri* LL. 248<sup>a</sup> 25. In Ml. 90<sup>d</sup> 16 *immerodaisset* should, with Ascoli, be ch to *immerordaisset*, 'it was plain from their speech the iniquity [with *anda* *indandgid* g. iniquiter Ml. 56<sup>c</sup> 18] which they had in their thoughts.'

<sup>2</sup> *do-rui-rmius* Féil. Ep. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *o-ru-rim* LU. 61<sup>b</sup> 12, *fo-rui-rmisct* 82<sup>a</sup> 34, *fo-rui-rmed* Stowe Missal

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

**ind-samlur**, imitor.

*in-ru-samlasatar* Sg. 112<sup>b</sup> 4.

**etar-scaraim**,<sup>1</sup> sepono, secedo.

*lasso etar-dan-ro-scar-ni* Ml. 120<sup>a</sup> 3, *in ru-etar-scar* Ml. 91<sup>c</sup> 1,

*itir-ro-scar[sat]* Wb. 5<sup>b</sup> 34 (rel.). *dus in retar-scar* 91<sup>c</sup> 1.

**to-sechim**, alo.<sup>2</sup>

*do-m-roi-sectatar* Wb. 17<sup>c</sup> 1.

**ar-sissiur**, innitor.

*ar-roissiur-sa* Ml. 88<sup>a</sup> 9, *ar-roisestar*

18<sup>d</sup> 16 (innisum).

**fo-sissiur**, confiteor.

*a fu-roisestar* Ml. 46<sup>d</sup> 15.

**fo-sligim**, lino.

*lasso fo-ruillechta* Wb. 7<sup>d</sup> 9.

**dī-sluindim**, recuso, nego.

*do-ro-sluind* Ml. 58<sup>a</sup> 11, *lasso du-ru-*

*sluind* 93<sup>c</sup> 8, *do-d-ro-lluind* Tur.

130, *do-ru-sluindset* Ml. 90<sup>b</sup> 17, cf.

*do-riltiset* Wb. 5<sup>c</sup> 11, *do-riltiset*<sup>3</sup>

25<sup>b</sup> 13.

**ad-sodim**, retineo.

*ad-ro-soid* Ml. 97<sup>d</sup> 16, *at-ro-soid*

39<sup>a</sup> 16.

**etar-suidigur**, interpono.

*etar-ru-suidige[d]* Ml. 27<sup>d</sup> 23.

**for-suidigur**, superpono.

*for-ru-suidigestar* Wb. 7<sup>b</sup> 5.

**iarmu-suidigur**, postpono.

*iarmu-ru-suidigestar* Ml. 130<sup>a</sup> 7.

<sup>1</sup> *etar-ro-scrad* Ir. Psalt. l. 312.

<sup>2</sup> The more primary meaning seems to have been 'to take care of': cf. *isairi do-s-roi-secht-sa collair imbosain* LL. 251<sup>b</sup> 5. Perhaps the compound was rather *to-cas-sechim*, otherwise why is the *s* preserved? Cf. Gr. *ἐπεω*?

<sup>3</sup> These forms go in meaning with *dī-sluindim*, but their origin is not certain. Ascoli seems inclined to connect them with *dī-sluindim*, from *-dillnd-*, *-dild-*. The difficulty in this is, that to judge from *dilndiu*, *dilliu* by *dilnd*, *-dillnd-* should have given *-dill-*. Stokes, Old Ir. Gloss. 269, suggests *dī-luadim*, which would account for the form.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## EXCLITIC.

*do-ru-thethaig*<sup>1</sup> 'lost' ? Tur. 17.*com-tessaigim*, concalesco.*con-ru-tessaigestar* Ml. 59<sup>a</sup> 16.*to-tluichur*,<sup>2</sup> postulo.*nad ro-to-dlaigestar* Ml.  
124<sup>d</sup> 9.*ad-trebaim*, habito.*ad-ro-threb* Wb. 27<sup>a</sup> 12, 8g. 32<sup>b</sup> 6  
(rel.), Ml. 17<sup>b</sup> 7 (rel.), 51<sup>d</sup> 28  
(rel.), *ad-ru-threb* 92<sup>a</sup> 4, 113<sup>c</sup> 2  
(rel.).*imm-trēnaigim*, mando.*cid im-ru-threnaiged* Ml. 102<sup>d</sup> 15,  
*im-ru-threnigthea* 128<sup>c</sup> 4.*ar-trōithaim*, opprimo.*ar-ru-throith* Ml. 38<sup>d</sup> 7 (rel.), *ar-ru-*  
*throithad* 121<sup>d</sup> 9.*com-ūagim*, contexo.*con-ruaig* Ml. 99<sup>a</sup> 2.

From other texts the following verbs may be added:—

*ad-annaim*, accendo.*ad-rannai* Féil. Sp. 6, *ad-rannad* ib.  
Ap. 5.*for-benim*,<sup>3</sup> caedo.*for-ru-mai* LU. 64<sup>b</sup> 31.*ni for-roim* LU. 69<sup>a</sup> 10,  
*ni for-bai* 69<sup>a</sup> 8.*imm-benim*, mutuo caedere.*im-ru-bai* Ir. Text, iii, 1, 240.*imm-berim*.*imma-ru-bart* LU. 114<sup>b</sup> 34, *im-da-*  
*ru-bart* LU. 43<sup>a</sup> 34, *imma-ro-brad*  
LU. 98<sup>b</sup> 43.<sup>1</sup> An isolated form of uncertain origin. Cf. *ad-roethaig* Windisch Wb. 348.<sup>2</sup> *du-ro-thlaigestar* Trip. Life.<sup>3</sup> Cf. Zimmer, KZ. xxx, 136 sq. To this Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 85, would doubtfully refer *for-ruib* Hy. ii, 8.



## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

*ad-comalnur*, impleo.*ad-ro-comallnad* Ir. Psalt. l. 307.*fo-crothaim*,<sup>1</sup> quatio.*fo-r-ro-crath* LU. 85<sup>b</sup> 16.*ad-ethaim*, adeo, assequor.*ad-reih* Féil. Pr. 120, Jl. 7, Ag. 30,*ad-reihat* LU. 66<sup>a</sup> 36.*do-fortaim*, effundo.*do-rortad* Féil. Mr. 27.*imm-gabim*, vito.*nað rim-gab* LU. 73<sup>b</sup> 10.*frim-garim*, respondeo.*fris-ro-gart* Trip. Life.*ad-glädur*, alloquor.*ad-ro-gailser* Fl. Br. 231, *ata-ro- ní-n-ar-lasair* LU. 71<sup>a</sup> 11.*gladustar* Ir. Text. iii, 1, 239,*ata-raglastar* LU. 86<sup>a</sup> 17, encliticform *ar-lastar* 71<sup>a</sup> 40 (rel.).*imm-lä-*, venire, accidere.*imm-us-rala* LU. 83<sup>a</sup> 31, cf. Wind.

Wb.

*fo-lëicim*, demitto.*fo-s-ro-laic* Hy. ii, 38, 62 (Francisc.).<sup>2</sup>*to-lengim*, salio.*do-r-roeblaing* LL. 251<sup>b</sup> 15.*ad-midiur*,<sup>3</sup> conor.*ad-ro-madair* Ir. Text. iii, 1, 190.*ad-nacim*, sepelio.*ad-ranacht* Tír. 13.*eo ro-ad-nacht* LU. 98<sup>b</sup> 24.*ecta-ordnim*, primus (primum) ordino.*cíla-ru-oirtneð* primus ordinatus est,

Tír. 11.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *foehrotha* LU. 74<sup>a</sup> 23.<sup>2</sup> The Trinity College copy has *fosrolaich*, which Windisch accepts, referring the form to *foälgaim*. But from that verb we should have expected *fosrolaig*.<sup>3</sup> Cf. *con-err-madair* LU. 73<sup>b</sup> 21, with the common interchange of *ess-* and *ad-*. But *conammadarsa* adiudicavi Wb. 26<sup>b</sup> 21.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

fo-rethim, succurro.

*fo-ro-raid* Hy. v, 32.

ess-regim, surgo.

*o-érracht*<sup>1</sup> LU. 59<sup>a</sup> 36, 65<sup>a</sup>  
35, etc.ad-teoch,<sup>2</sup> precor.*ad-roethach* Hy. vi, 20, *ad-roethech*Fél. Ep. 300, *atum-roethaig* Ir.

Text. iii, 1, 242.

## 2. THE COMPOUND CONTAINS MORE THAN ONE PREPOSITION.

A. *ro-* stands after the second or third preposition.to-imm-ānim,<sup>3</sup> mando.*do-imm-arnad* Ml. 34<sup>a</sup> 6.to-ad-badim,<sup>4</sup> ostendo.*do-ár-bith* Wb. 19<sup>c</sup> 11, *du-ár-baid* *nad tar-bas* Ml. 64<sup>d</sup> 13,Ml. 129<sup>c</sup> 15, *du-ar-baid* Ml. 46<sup>d</sup> *ni tár-bas* 65<sup>d</sup> 16.15, *du-air-baid* 62<sup>c</sup> 5, *do-n-ár-baid*Ml. 108<sup>b</sup> 7 (rel.), *da-ár-baid* Sg.144<sup>b</sup> 3 (rel.), *du-ar-buid*, *intan**du-ar-buid* Per. 12<sup>a</sup> 3, *do-ár-bas*Wb. 3<sup>d</sup> 21 (rel.), 15<sup>a</sup> 18.to-ess-ban,<sup>5</sup> deficit.*tes-ar-bas* Ml. 34<sup>c</sup> 16, Wb. 77<sup>d</sup> 2. *manid-tes-ar-bi* Wb. 28<sup>d</sup> 30.<sup>1</sup> The orthotonic form in the Sagas is usually *atracht*.<sup>2</sup> Others would refer this to *deg-*, whence *cuintgim*. But *ateoch* differs from *cuintgim* (1) in the form of the 1 sg. pres. ind.; (2) it has a reduplicated perfect, *cuintgim* has a *t* preterite; (3) it inserts *ro-*, which *cuintgim* does not.<sup>3</sup> *timairne*, *timarnasat* Rev. Celt. xv, 491, *tan-imm-airni*, Miss Stokes, Christ. Inscr. ii. 27.<sup>4</sup> But cf. p. 161, note. In Wb. 19<sup>c</sup> 11 *do-dr-buid* belongs to another verb. Mr. Stokes translates 'it bound.' We may compare *ara-tarbid* Ml. 131<sup>c</sup> 9, and probably, with another preposition, *at-roebaid* Salt. Rann 3997.<sup>5</sup> Cf. Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 92 sq.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

**to-fo-benim**, excido.

*do-fo-r-bad-si* Wb. 20<sup>a</sup> 15, *du-fo-r-bad* Ml. 92<sup>d</sup> 4.

**to-ess-benim**, concido.

*do-ér-bai* Sg. 60<sup>b</sup> 18.

**rēmi-ess-berim**, supradico.

*remi-ær-burt* Ml. 23<sup>c</sup> 24 (rel.), *remi-ér-bart* Ml. 15<sup>b</sup> 3 (rel.), *remi-ér-bart* 74<sup>d</sup> 7 (rel.), *remi-er-bart* 94<sup>c</sup> 13 (rel.), *remi-ær-bartmar* Ml. 36<sup>c</sup> 21 (rel.), 97<sup>a</sup> 7 (rel.), *remi-ær-bartmar* 42<sup>c</sup> 34 (rel.), *remi-er-bartmar* 73<sup>b</sup> 2 (rel.), *remi-er-bartatar* 33<sup>a</sup> 1 (rel.).

**ar-fo-celim**.

*ar-for-chelta*<sup>1</sup> Wb. 4<sup>c</sup> 37.

**to-imm-chellaim**, circumdo.

*du-m-imm-er-chell* Ml. 108<sup>a</sup> 12.

**imm-to-imm-chellaim**, circumdo.

*imm-um-timm-er-chelsat-sa* Ml. 130<sup>b</sup> 12.

**com-to-cer-**, concidera.

*con-tor-chratar* Ml. 48<sup>c</sup> 28.

**com-fo-feraim**, comparo.

*con-fo-roirisset* Ml. 69<sup>a</sup> 9.

**ceta-di-gnū**, primus facio.

*cet-id-deirgni* Ml. 124<sup>b</sup> 3.

**com-od-gabim**,<sup>2</sup> attollo.

*conn-uar-gab* Ml. 37<sup>b</sup> 15, *con-uar-gabad* 32<sup>c</sup> 1.

<sup>1</sup> Another form of this verb with *ro-* after the first preposition will be found p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *con-uar-gabad* Trip. Life i, lxxv. In Ml. 20<sup>a</sup> 7, in the metaphorical sense of 'boast,' we find the enclitic *nad ru-chum-gab*.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

to-od-gabim,<sup>1</sup> attollo.

*do-fuar-gabsat* Ml. 96<sup>c</sup> 1, *tuar-gab* *con-da-tuargabusa* Wb. 26<sup>d</sup>  
Wb. 26<sup>d</sup> 11. 10.

imm-fo-langim, efficio.

*immo-for-ling* Wb. 10<sup>c</sup> 18 (rel.), *dia n-im-for-lainged* Ml.  
*imme-for-ling* 15<sup>b</sup> 8, *imm-for-ling* 69<sup>d</sup> 4, *o-imme-for-*  
16<sup>c</sup> 2, *im-for-ling* 5<sup>b</sup> 21, *imm-um-* *laingthea* 63<sup>b</sup> 6.  
*for-ling* 13<sup>b</sup> 6 (rel.), *imm-id-for-*  
*ling* 10<sup>c</sup> 20 (rel.), 24<sup>a</sup> 34, 21<sup>c</sup> 20  
(rel.), *im-for-linged* 15<sup>d</sup> 21, *im-im-*  
*for-laingis-se* Ml. 38<sup>d</sup> 18, *imme-*  
*for-laing* 38<sup>c</sup> 10 (rel.), 62<sup>b</sup> 5,  
90<sup>b</sup> 14 (rel.), *im-for-laing* 61<sup>b</sup> 4.

as-chún-dar-laig,<sup>2</sup> g. disrupt Ml. 83<sup>c</sup> 6.

to-fo-com-salim, transgredior.

*do-for-chossol* Wb. 13<sup>d</sup> 27, *do-for-*  
*chosalsam* 21<sup>b</sup> 4.

to-fo-od-salcim,<sup>3</sup> solvo.

*du-n-forsailc* Ml. 125<sup>a</sup> 9, *do-forsailced*  
118<sup>d</sup> 20, *to-forsailced* 131<sup>d</sup> 1.

to-fo-scagim, discedo.

*do-forscaig* Ml. 37<sup>d</sup> 12.

to-ind-scannaim,<sup>4</sup> incipio.

*tind-ar-scan* Tur. 49 (rel.).

ind-to-ind-scannaim, incipio.

*in-tind-ar-scan* Tur. 49.

to-di-od-sechim, expergefacio.

*dan-dersaig*<sup>5</sup> Ml. 66<sup>c</sup> 14.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 113, note 4.<sup>2</sup> This word is perhaps to be analyzed into *ess-com-di-leg-*, but why should *c* be aspirated?<sup>3</sup> *do-rosile*, Ml. 58<sup>a</sup> 11, is perhaps to be referred to a compound *to-od-salcim*, cf. *tarslaic* Hy. i, 33, *-torslaic* Salt. Rann 5827.<sup>4</sup> *do-ind-ar-scansat*, Cormac's Gloss. s.v. *Mugeme*.<sup>5</sup> 'God aroused him.' Cf. *do-dersaig*, Cormac's Gloss. s.v. *Mugeme*.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

**to-ad-selbaim**, attribuo.

*du-air-ilbeet* ML. 46<sup>d</sup> 10 (rel.), *do- ni thar-ilb* ML. 49<sup>b</sup> 3, *ni*  
*air-i[l]beet* 53<sup>b</sup> 11 (rel.), *da-air- tair-ilb* 36<sup>a</sup> 36.  
*il-beet* (rel.), 53<sup>b</sup> 11 (rel.), *du-air-*  
*ilbed* 117<sup>a</sup> 6, 121<sup>d</sup> 20, [*do*]-*air-*  
*ilbed* 2<sup>b</sup> 6 (rel.).

**to-fo-ess-semim**, creo, condo.

*do-for-sat* (rel.) Sg. 31<sup>b</sup> 5, *do-for- ara-tor-sata* ML. 42<sup>b</sup> 13,  
*sat* (rel.) ML. 17<sup>b</sup> 6, *du-da-for-sat* 120<sup>c</sup> 7.  
 94<sup>b</sup> 7, *do-da-for-sat* 130<sup>a</sup> 6 (rel.),  
*an do-forsat* Bcr. 40<sup>d</sup> 1, *do-for-*  
*sa[ta]* ML. 17<sup>b</sup> 2 (rel.).<sup>1</sup>

**for-dī-sissiur** (?), lustro.

*for-der-isiur* ML. 133<sup>b</sup> 8.

**com-to-soim**,<sup>2</sup> converto.

*con-to-roo* ML. 123<sup>b</sup> 7, *o-to-rdd* Sg.  
 106<sup>b</sup> 4, 5.

**to-ind-sōim**,<sup>3</sup> verto.

*do-n-int-arrai* Wb. 16<sup>b</sup> 18 (rel.),  
*du-int-arrai* ML. 54<sup>d</sup> 3.

**ad-com-od-tegim**, adstruo.

*ol ad-o-ro-taig* ML. 35<sup>b</sup> 13.

B. *ro-* stands after the first preposition.

**ar-dī-bādim**,<sup>4</sup> extinguo.

*ar-ro-di-baid* Wb. 11<sup>a</sup> 19 (rel.), *ar-*  
*ru-di-baid* ML. 99<sup>a</sup> 2.

**etar-dī-benim**, perimo.

*lasse etir-ru-dið* ML. 123<sup>b</sup> 10.

**imm-dī-benim**, circumcido.

*imme-rui-d-bed* Wb. 18<sup>d</sup> 9, *imm-um- ni roim-di-bed* Wb. 18<sup>d</sup> 9,  
*rui-d-bed* 23<sup>d</sup> 30 (rel.). 23<sup>d</sup> 25, *in roim-di-bed*  
 2<sup>c</sup> 8.

<sup>1</sup> In ML. 110<sup>a</sup> 8 Ascoli has corrected *duforsaisset* to *duformisset*. Cf. also p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Ascoli's analysis *to-ind-to-sō-* is equally possible. Cf. also p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> Verbal noun *airdibud*, *airdibud cech uile* LL. 343<sup>b</sup> 37.

## ORTHOTONIC.

ind-ar-benim, expello.

*in-rarpatar* Ml. 23<sup>d</sup> 9.<sup>1</sup>to-for-banim,<sup>2</sup> pervenio, evenio.*an do-rór-pai* Sg. 196<sup>b</sup> 8.ad-od-berim,<sup>3</sup> offero.*ad-robart* Ml. 32<sup>b</sup> 23, *ad-robartat*[ar]14<sup>a</sup> 16, *ad-roipred* Wb. 15<sup>d</sup> 20(rel.), *atam-roipred* Ml. 44<sup>c</sup> 17.

ar-fo-celim, tutor (?).

*ar-n-dam-roi-chlis-se* Ml. 74<sup>d</sup> 8 (rel.).dī-aith-cīu<sup>4</sup> (?).*do-recachtar* Ml. 53<sup>b</sup> 11 (rel.), *do- in do-recatar* Ml. 53<sup>b</sup> 11.*recatar* 53<sup>d</sup> 17 (rel.).

friss-ad-cīu, expecto, spero.

*fris-racacha* Ml. 47<sup>a</sup> 8 (rel.), *fris- in-ru-fres-cachae* Ml. 44<sup>c</sup> 19,*rachae* 68<sup>a</sup> 7 (sperasse), *huare frit- hi-ru-fres-cachae* 44<sup>c</sup> 9,*racatar* 131<sup>c</sup> 10. *ni-ru-fres-cachtar* 26<sup>b</sup> 25,34<sup>d</sup> 17, *ni-ru-fres-cisset*72<sup>c</sup> 13, *ni-ru-res-cisset*72<sup>c</sup> 13.

to-aith-crenim, redimo.

*do-rad-chiúir* Wb. 2<sup>b</sup> 1 (rel.), *do-r-**raid-chiúir* 32<sup>d</sup> 10 (rel.), *do-rath-**chratha* Ml. 125<sup>b</sup> 9.

to-ad-crādim, exacerbo.

*do-racraid* Ml. 28<sup>a</sup> 17.

## ENCLITIC.

*nach-im-rind-arpai* Wb.  
5<sup>a</sup> 18.*ni-ru-thor-ba-sa* Ml. 44<sup>b</sup> 29,  
*hi-ru-thor-batar* 44<sup>b</sup> 29.

<sup>1</sup> At 46<sup>b</sup> 10 Ml. has *inraba cech n-deithidin . . uaim*, g. abiecta omni cura. Ascoli suggests *inraba*. In accordance with the above passages we should expect rather *inraba*.

<sup>2</sup> *do-t-rorpai*, Cormac's Gloss. s.v. prull.

<sup>3</sup> *at-róipert* Tir. 1, *ad-roipred* Féil. Ép. 346.

<sup>4</sup> In these passages in Ml. the sense is 'to look to, to trust in,' a sense which I do not remember to have seen elsewhere. It is probable that these forms are distinct from the compound which appears in *o-da-dercacha* LU. 87<sup>a</sup> 27, in *dercacha-su* 87<sup>a</sup> 42, and perhaps from *dan-ecachae* Rev. Celt. xi, 446. cf. p. 161 note 2. In Ml. 33<sup>c</sup> 18 is found the curious form *dorencanas* g. esse perspectum, which Mr. Stokes conjectures to be an error for *dorennacas*, from *lo-ind-ad-ciu*.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

*ar-fo-emim*, *recipio*, *adsumo*.

*ar-róicéit-sa* Wb. 6<sup>d</sup> 14 (rel.), *ar-róit* 4<sup>b</sup> 19 (rel.), 9<sup>c</sup> 10 (rel.), *ar-róit* 32<sup>d</sup> 10 (rel.), *ma ar-róicéit* 28<sup>d</sup> 28, *ara-róicéit* 24<sup>a</sup> 32 (rel.), *ar-róit* Ml. 17<sup>a</sup> 8 (rel.), cf. 25<sup>d</sup> 10, 11, *an ara-m-roet* 131<sup>b</sup> 8, *ar-róet* Sg. 154<sup>a</sup> 1, Ml. 16<sup>a</sup> 4 (*an*), cf. 17<sup>c</sup> 3, 7, *ara-róitmar* Wb. 9<sup>c</sup> 10 (rel.), *ar-róitid* 13<sup>a</sup> 20.

*ni ar-roit* Ml. 34<sup>a</sup> 34, *ni-sn-ar-roitmar-ni* Sg. 16<sup>c</sup> 8, *nád ar-róimsat* Wb. 26<sup>a</sup> 23.

*ess-ind-fedim*,<sup>1</sup> *enarro*.

*as-rindid* Ml. 107<sup>a</sup> 12, *as-rindes*, 104<sup>c</sup> 8.

*to-ind-fethim*,<sup>2</sup> *flo*, *inspiro*.

*an du-rin-fid* Ml. 96<sup>c</sup> 4, *do-rin-fess* Wb. 30<sup>d</sup> 1.

*remi-fo-feraim*, *praesto*.

*reme-roired* Ml. 36<sup>d</sup> 8.

*fo-ad-gabaim*,<sup>3</sup> *relinquo*.

*fo-t-rácbus-sa* Wb. 31<sup>b</sup> 1, *fo-racab* Ml. 37<sup>d</sup> 10, *fo-ragab* 30<sup>a</sup> 9, *fo-ragabsat* 95<sup>a</sup> 12.

*to-air-gabim*,<sup>4</sup> *profero*, *emergeo*.

*du-rur-gab* Ml. 76<sup>c</sup> 16, *du-rur-gab-sa* Act. 8, *du-rur-gabtha* Sg. 61<sup>a</sup> 15; *du-rur-gaib* Ml. 63<sup>a</sup> 15, 138<sup>d</sup> 11 (*co*).

<sup>1</sup> *as-rindid* Féil. Jan. 12.<sup>2</sup> *do-rin-fid* Ir. Psalt. l. 178.<sup>3</sup> *fo-rácbus* LL. 251<sup>a</sup> 6, *fo-s-rácbus* 251<sup>a</sup> 11, *fo-d-racab* Ir. Psalt. l. 463, *fo-racab* LU. 87<sup>a</sup> 39; *nach-id-farcaib* Ir. Psalt. l. 462, *conach-farcaib* LU. 98<sup>a</sup> 2, in *farbad* 20<sup>b</sup> 4, *frisi-farbad* 57<sup>b</sup> 32. Cf. Windisch, Wb.<sup>4</sup> *to-air* appears clearly in *tergabur*, *tercbad* G.C.<sup>2</sup> 884. Further, to this may be referred *turgabthi* ib., cf. *tursite*, *tursitnech* by *tairsite*, *tairsitiu*, Ascoli (*Gloss. occelli*); *to-for-gab-* should have given *túar-gab-*. The forms *do-furgabthi*, *do-furabur*, *do-furcbad* G.C. l.c., *andufurgab* Ml. 138<sup>b</sup> 1, *do-furgab* Ir. Psalt. 410, might seem to point to *to-for-gab-*, but the pret. *dururgab* can hardly come from *to-ro-for-gab-*, which should have given *dorörgab* or *dorúargab*. And *for* in the second place regularly appears as *for*, not as *fur*. Hence I suspect that e.g. *do-furgab* stands for *do-ur-gaib*, with the analogical introduction of *f*, of which I have spoken in my paper on the Verb of the Saltair *na Rann*, p. 6. To *to-for-gabim* is commonly referred *túargab*, *do-fúargab*. Certainly *tuargab* might come from *to-for-gab*, but what of *do-fúargab*? So

## ORTHOTONIC.

*imm-imm-gabim*, evito.*im-rim-gabsat* Ber. 39<sup>c</sup> 1.*ess-ind-gabim*, excedo.

*as-rin-gbus* Ml. 130<sup>d</sup> 4, *as-rin-gaib* nt *orn-gaib* Ml. 32<sup>d</sup> 19.  
 32<sup>d</sup> 8, 10, *huas-rin-gaib* 22<sup>d</sup> 9, With *ro-* prefixed, *nad*  
*as-rin-gabsat* 113<sup>d</sup> 8. *resn-gabsat* Ml. 122<sup>d</sup> 8.

*to-ad-garim*, causor.*do-racartmar* Wb. 2<sup>a</sup> 16.*ess-com-garim*, indico.*as-ro-chon-grad* Ml. 121<sup>d</sup> 19.*for-com-garim*, praecipio.

*for-ro-chon-gart* Wb. 20<sup>c</sup> 9, Sg.  
 199<sup>b</sup> 1 (rel.), *for-ru-chon-gart* Ml.  
 145<sup>a</sup> 7 (rel.), 145<sup>a</sup> 8 (*lase*), *ar*  
*for-ru-chon-grad* Ml. 34<sup>d</sup> 4, *for-*  
*ru-chon-rad* 102<sup>d</sup> 15, *for-ror-con-*  
*grad* Sg. 199<sup>b</sup> 1 (rel.).

*to-air-ind-garim*,<sup>1</sup> polliceor.

*amal du-nda-rair-giurt-sa* Ml. 109<sup>c</sup> 9,  
*do-rairn-gert* Wb. 14<sup>c</sup> 32, 25<sup>a</sup> 28  
 (*an*), 31<sup>a</sup> 7 (*an*), 31<sup>a</sup> 9 (rel.),  
 30<sup>b</sup> 2 (rel.), Ml. 46<sup>c</sup> 20 (rel.),  
 136<sup>c</sup> 12 (rel.), *du-rairn-gert* Wb.  
 5<sup>c</sup> 9 (*an*), 30<sup>b</sup> 3 (*an*), 33<sup>d</sup> 10  
 (*intan*), Ml. 74<sup>c</sup> 20 (rel.), 105<sup>b</sup> 11  
 (rel.), 108<sup>b</sup> 7 (rel.), 108<sup>c</sup> 2 (rel.),  
 123<sup>c</sup> 1 (rel.), 126<sup>c</sup> 10 (rel.),  
 130<sup>c</sup> 16, *amal du-nd-rai[r]n-gertar*  
 Ml. 67<sup>b</sup> 8, *do-rairn-gred* Wb.  
 2<sup>c</sup> 12, 19<sup>c</sup> 5, *an du-rairn-gred*  
 Wb. 19<sup>b</sup> 22, 33<sup>b</sup> 3, *huare do-*  
*rairn-gerad* Ml. 113<sup>d</sup> 5.

far as I know, these forms occur only in the preterite. At p. 110 I refer them to *to-od-gabim*, *tócbaim* e.g. *dofuargab*, as above, for *do-üargab* = *to-ud-ro-gab*. Thus we should have *ud* in the compounds of *gabim* that signify actual physical lifting up, *tócbaim*, *conucbaim*, and it is worth noting that in both compounds *ro* has the same place. A further compound of the same kind is *arrocab* LL. 249<sup>a</sup> 2, *arrócbat* LU. 66<sup>a</sup> 11, *arrocabtha* LU. 94 l. 19 (= *ar-ro-ud-gab*?).

<sup>1</sup> *do-rairn-gert* LU. 97<sup>a</sup> 20, *do-rar-gertais* LU. 62<sup>b</sup> 23, *do-rairn-gered* LL. 252<sup>a</sup> 35.



## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

**fo-od-garim**,<sup>1</sup> *indico*.*fo-s-rocurt* Wb. 24<sup>a</sup> 26, *fo-rócrad*  
19<sup>b</sup> 6.**to air-icim**,<sup>2</sup> *efficio*.*do-rárrico* Wb. 3<sup>e</sup> 15 (rel.), 29, *do-rarico* (rel.) 19<sup>b</sup> 23, *du-rairic* Ml.  
33<sup>b</sup> 20 (rel.).**con-to-airicim**, *confero*.*lase o-ró-tairicis-siu* Ml. 77<sup>d</sup> 1.**dí-od-gellaim**<sup>3</sup> (?), *emo*.*da-rucellsat* Ml. 126<sup>d</sup> 7.**es-com-od-láim**, *proficiscor*.*an as-ro-chum-lai* Sg. 7<sup>b</sup> 19, *as-ru-chum-lai* Ml. 17<sup>b</sup> 2.**fo-ad-lagaim**,<sup>4</sup> *prosterno*.*fo-rálaig* Ml. 43<sup>d</sup> 5 (rel.).**to-fo-illim**, *mereo*.*ni ro-thuillissem* Wb. 24<sup>d</sup> 6.**com-air-lecim**, *permitto*.*con-rair-leicius* Ml. 74<sup>c</sup> 15, *indaas o-id-rair-lecis-siu* 87<sup>a</sup> 8, *cot-rair-léic* 44<sup>d</sup> 16, *con-rair-leic* 58<sup>c</sup> 6 (rel.), *o-rair-leced* 36<sup>a</sup> 29, but *on-air-leicthea* 34<sup>d</sup> 21. *ni ru-m-chom-air-leicis-se* Ml. 76<sup>d</sup> 5, *nant ro-chom-air-leic* 53<sup>d</sup> 9, *in-da-ron-com-ar-lecis-ni* (*in-dan-ro-Asc.*) 77<sup>d</sup> 6.**ind-od-lud** (?),<sup>5</sup> *inire*.*in-rualad-sa* Ml. 142<sup>a</sup> 2, *aní in-rualaid* 71<sup>c</sup> 7, *in-rúaldatar* 24<sup>b</sup> 11, 62<sup>b</sup> 15. *nad rind-ualdatur* Ml. 24<sup>b</sup> 11, *hua rind-ualad-su* 93<sup>c</sup> 14.<sup>1</sup> Cf. Windisch s.v. *fócarim*.<sup>2</sup> *do-reraice* Féil. Ag. 1.<sup>3</sup> Cf. Verbal System of Saltair na Rann, p. 66. The analysis of the verb is not easy. Forms ending in *-cell* might be explained as above, but what of forms like *doruicéill*? In Ml. *darucellsat* should, perhaps, be changed to *daruacellsat*.<sup>4</sup> *con-da-forlaig*, LL. 289<sup>a</sup> 47. In Ml. 123<sup>b</sup> 9 the meaning *prosterno* does not suit the context well, and Ascoli suggests that there *forálaig* comes from *fo-laigim* *abscondo*, cf. *forolgaís* LU. 51<sup>b</sup> 14. But that is more than doubtful. To cover the enemy up, or hide them, would be a curious sort of circumvallation.<sup>5</sup> The analysis of the verb is uncertain. Ascoli suggests *ind-fo-od-lud*, Thurneysen, *Kelto-Romanisches* 36, *ind-ō-lud*.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

**com-fo-lūaim**, convolo.*o - ru - fo - luassat* Ml. 67<sup>c</sup> 16 (g.  
convolasse).**to-ind-malcim**, promulgo.*du-rin-mailc* Ml. 31<sup>d</sup> 3.**for-aith-moiniur**, reminiscor.*foruraithminset* Ml. 135<sup>a</sup> 1.*ni ru-for-aith-menair* Ml.  
24<sup>a</sup> 17, 24<sup>c</sup> 8.**to-for-magim**,<sup>1</sup> augeo.*du-ror-macht* Ml. 90<sup>d</sup> 1.**to-ind-nacim**,<sup>2</sup> dono.*do-r-rind-nacht* Wb. 20<sup>d</sup> 15 (rel.).**ad-com-ōlaim** <sup>3</sup>(?), coniungo.'*ad-ro-chom-ul* Ml. 58<sup>b</sup> 12 (rel.).**to-in-ōlaim**,<sup>4</sup> colligo.*do-rin-ól* Ml. 51<sup>a</sup> 21 (rel.).**com-to-in-ōlaim**, colligo.*lase o-ro-th-in-oll* Sg. 66<sup>b</sup> 23.**com-air-orcim**, erro.*con-rer-ortatar* Sg. 210<sup>b</sup> 4 (*feib*),  
Ml. 75<sup>d</sup> 10 (rel.).**imm-ess-rāim**,<sup>5</sup> navem solvo.*im-re-ra*, g. solverat Sg. 62<sup>b</sup> 7.**ess-ess-regim**,<sup>6</sup> resurgo.*as-réracht* Wb. 4<sup>d</sup> 27, 13<sup>b</sup> 12, 15<sup>d</sup> 12  
(*ar*), Tur. 19.**dī-ess-regim**,<sup>7</sup> desero.*an du-reracht* Ml. 74<sup>b</sup> 4, *do-rérachtid* *nīs-do-raerachtatar* Ml. 57<sup>d</sup>  
(rel.), *do-r-rerachtid* (rel.) Wb. 12.  
18<sup>c</sup> 6.<sup>1</sup> *do-ror-macht* Ir. Psalt. 337.<sup>2</sup> *do-rid-nacht* Féil. Nv. 12.<sup>3</sup> *ad-com-od-la-* Thurneysen, Rev. Celt. vi, 312, cf. p. 156.<sup>4</sup> *do-daunrínol* Ir. Psalt. 214, *do-rinól* LU. 55<sup>a</sup> 32. But cf. p. 156.<sup>5</sup> Ascoli, after Windisch, postulates simply *imm-rāim*, but both the vocalism and the meaning seem to call for something more.<sup>6</sup> *as-reracht* Féil. Pr. 92, Mr. 27.<sup>7</sup> *do-reracht* Hy. ii, 43.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

**air-dī-ess-regim**, propono.

*ar-ro-dergus* Ml. 51<sup>a</sup> 13, *ar-ru-dergestar* Wb. 4<sup>c</sup> 13 (rel.), *ar-ru-derged* 2<sup>b</sup> 10.

**dī-od-rethim**,<sup>1</sup> resto.

*do-rua-rid* Ml. 44<sup>a</sup> 20 (rel.), *do-r-ruairthetar* Sg. 18<sup>a</sup> 16 (rel.), *do-rua-rthatar* 5<sup>b</sup> 13. *ní do-rua-rid* Ml. 31<sup>a</sup> 6.

**to-imm-to-rethim** (?), ministro.

*do-d-rim-thirid* Wb. 32<sup>c</sup> 15 (rel.), *do-r-im-thirthetar* 32<sup>b</sup> 5 (rel.).

**to-etar-rigim**, comprehendo.

*do-retar-racht* Ml. 33<sup>c</sup> 20 (esse comprehensum).

**to-fo-rindim**, signo.

*to-ro-ran* Ml. 29<sup>b</sup> 8.

**aith-to-fo-rindim**, repungo.

*ad-ro-thoirndius* Sg. 181<sup>a</sup> 10.

**tremi-to-fo-rindim**, transfiguro.

*trimi-ro-thorndius-sa* Wb. 8<sup>d</sup> 26.

**com-od-sanim**, desino.

*co-rosan som* Ml. 113<sup>c</sup> 5 (cessasse). *ní rú-chum-sanus-sa* Ml. 94<sup>b</sup> 14, *in ru-chum-san* 32<sup>d</sup> 26.

**com-od-scagim**, moveo, removeo.

*con-roscagis-siu* Ml. 21<sup>d</sup> 7, *lase con-roscag* 45<sup>c</sup> 2, *o-roscagied* Sg. 19<sup>b</sup> 1. *ní com-arascagied* Sg. 205<sup>b</sup> 2.

**to-com-sechur**, persequor.

*du-ru-choi-sgestar* Ml. 64<sup>c</sup> 8, *du-ro-choi-sgestar* 98<sup>b</sup> 7, *du-ro-cho-sgestar* 99<sup>b</sup> 11.

**com to-com-sechur**, consequor.

*o-ru-tho-chaisgesser-su* Ml. 43<sup>c</sup> 9.

<sup>1</sup> So Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 74, otherwise Ascoli, Gloss. clxxxviii; *do-ruaraidh* Ir. Psalt. 30.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

**in-com-sechim**, increpo.

*in-ro-choissecht* Ml. 43<sup>d</sup> 27 (rel.), but

*in-choissecht* 16<sup>c</sup> 10.

**to-dí-od-sechim**,<sup>1</sup> expergefacio.

*amal do-ro-diugad* Wb. 9<sup>d</sup> 3, 21<sup>b</sup> 6.

**fo-cem-selaim** (?), aufero.

*fo-r-rózul* Wb. 27<sup>a</sup> 19, *fo-ro-chaalsat*

Ml. 18<sup>d</sup> 11, *fo-ro-xlad* 31<sup>a</sup> 5.

**to-ess-semim**,<sup>2</sup> effundo.

*do-res-set* Wb. 20<sup>d</sup> 13.

**to-fo-ess-semim**,<sup>3</sup> creo, condo.

*do-rósat* Sg. 31<sup>b</sup> 2, *do-rosat* Per.

12<sup>a</sup> 2.

**ad-com-senim**, expeto.

*ad-ru-chois-séni* Ml. 69<sup>d</sup> 4.

**to-ind-sōim**,<sup>4</sup> verto.

*do-rintai* Ml. 3<sup>a</sup> 7 (rel.).

**com-to-sōim**,<sup>4</sup> converto.

*co-ru-thói* Ml. 51<sup>c</sup> 22.

**ar-ind-sorgim**,<sup>5</sup> immitto.

*ar-rin-sartat*[*ar*] Ml. 99<sup>c</sup> 5.

**com-tatalgim**,<sup>6</sup> confoveo.

*o-ro-tataile* Ml. 138<sup>a</sup> 7.

**com-od-tegim**,<sup>7</sup> extruo.

*o-rotaig* Wb. 33<sup>a</sup> 5 (rel.), Ml. 40<sup>d</sup> 5,

*con-id-rotig* Wb. 33<sup>a</sup> 2 (rel.), *con-*

*ro-toich* Bv. 1<sup>b</sup> 1 (rel.), *con-rótgatar*

Sg. 32<sup>b</sup> 6 (rel.), *con-rotacht* Ml.

48<sup>d</sup> 27 (rel.).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> *to-risset* Stowe Missal 64<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> So Ascoli analyzes the word; Windisch would refer it to *ar-ess-or*; favour of Ascoli's view is the *ro*, which in compounds of *org-* is regularly Cf. Skr. *ṛj*?

<sup>6</sup> = *to-ad-to-alg-*? Cf. *do-áilgim* Trip. Life, Index, *da-rataile* LU.

*luc do-n-atalcfe* Ml. 69<sup>c</sup> 3.

<sup>7</sup> *o-ro-tacht* LU. 76<sup>a</sup> 9.

## ORTHOTOMIC.

## ENCLITIC.

*fo-ad-tibim*, subrideo.

*amal-fo-raibí* Tur. 62.

From other texts may be added:—

*to-di-benim*, exscindo.

*do-ro-d-bad* Féil. Pr. 96.

*ad-ar-benim*, expello.

*atob-rar-bad-ní* LU. 84<sup>b</sup> 29, cf. *at-*

*arrobradsi* (for *atob-rar-bad-si*?)

ib., *at-rarpi* Cormac's Gloss. s.v.

*imbis forosnai*.

*di-od-berim*, fraudo, privo.

*ní-s-dorbrad* (?) Hy. v, 83.

*fo-od-berim*, adorior.

*fo-robart* LU. 113<sup>d</sup> 10, *fo-s-ro-bart*

Ir. Text. ii, 1, 175.

*to-fo-cellaim*, circumeo.

*to-ró-chell* LU. 98<sup>a</sup> 16.

*to-imm-cellaim*, circumvenio.

*do-rim-chell* LU. 98<sup>a</sup> 13.

*imm-ad-ciú*,<sup>1</sup> mutuo videre.

*im-racacha* LU. 130<sup>b</sup> 22.

*imm-fo-feraim*, efficio.

*imma-roerad* Féil. Pr. 206.

*fris-od-gabim*,<sup>2</sup> ascendo.

*fris-rocaib* Féil. Oc. 24, *fris-rocabasat*

Jan. 16.

*dí-od-garim*, vocem edo.

*do-riucart* Trip. Life, *do-r-riucart*

Cormac's Gloss. s.v. *prull*.

*to-imm-garim*.

*do-m-rim-gart-sa* LU. 124<sup>b</sup> 8, *do-*

*rim-gart* Ir. Text. iii, 1, 200,

cf. Windisch s.v. *timngarim*.

<sup>1</sup> *immanacai* Ml. 17<sup>b</sup> 6 is present, but perfect without *ro-* is found in *manacai* LL. 256<sup>a</sup> 39. Cf. p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> For the compound, cf. Windisch s.v. *frisócbaim*, *frisócbat* LU. 81<sup>a</sup> 39.

## ORTHOTONIC.

*to-ind-gellaim*,<sup>1</sup> polliceor.*da-rind-gult* LU. 73<sup>b</sup> 14.*com-od-laaím* <sup>2</sup>(?), discedo.*con-ruala* Féil. Jl. 12.*to-ind-com-sechim*,<sup>3</sup> praecipio.*do-rin-choise* LU. 61<sup>b</sup> 1.*dí-od-sechim*, expurgo.*do-rtusaig* LU. 91<sup>a</sup> 39.

## ENCLITIC.

*ní der-saig* LU. 130<sup>a</sup> 27.IV. COMPOUND VERBS WITHOUT *ro-*.*com-ang-*, *com-ic*, posse.*col-aneccar-sa* Wb. 14<sup>c</sup> 40, *o-anacuir* *ní-choim-nucuir*<sup>4</sup> Wb. 19<sup>c</sup>  
Ml. 119<sup>d</sup> 7.10, *co ní coim-nacuir*  
Ml. 116<sup>c</sup> 5, *nach-coim-*  
*nacuir* 97<sup>d</sup> 10, *nád coim-*  
*nacur* 97<sup>d</sup> 4, 5, *ní coim-*  
*nacmar-ní* 53<sup>d</sup> 9, 135<sup>d</sup> 4,  
*nád coim-nacaid* Wb.  
9<sup>b</sup> 2, *nád com-nactar* Wb.  
8<sup>a</sup> 14, *ní choim-nactar*  
Ml. 19<sup>c</sup> 5, *ní com-nactar*  
76<sup>a</sup> 7, *ní coim-nactar*  
135<sup>d</sup> 4, *nád choim-nactar*  
66<sup>d</sup> 6, *intan nád coim-*  
*nactar* 76<sup>d</sup> 5.*to-aith-com-ang-*,<sup>5</sup> evenire.*tec-com-nocuir* Wb. 10<sup>a</sup> 4, *amail do-*  
*nd-ecommucuir* Cod. Cam. 38<sup>a</sup>.<sup>1</sup> Cf. *domindgell* LU. 133<sup>a</sup> 14.<sup>2</sup> *con-ō-lā* Thurneysen, *Kelto-Romanisches* 35, cf., from *lud*, *conid-rualaid* Hy. v, 49.<sup>3</sup> Cf. *donarchosaig* LU. 61<sup>a</sup> 42.<sup>4</sup> The later *coemnacair*, *caomnacair*, seems to point to a compound *com-imm-*.<sup>5</sup> Cf. the other compound *do-choem-nacair* LU. 98<sup>a</sup> 28. In later Irish *ecmaic* is common in the sense of 'happened.' Cf. also *do-n-ecmaice* Féil. Dec. 24. With *ro-* *do-recmaic* Ir. Text. iii, 1, 188, cf. *do-r-ecmaingetar* ib. 127.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

*for-com-ang*, fieri.

*for-com-nucuir* Wb. 22<sup>b</sup> 8 (*amal*, bis), *hi-for-com-nucuir* Wb. 28<sup>b</sup>  
 28<sup>c</sup> 14 (rel.), *for-com-nucuir* 19<sup>c</sup> 3, 6, *dia for-com-nacair*  
*for-chom-nucuir* 3<sup>d</sup> 25 (rel.), *for-* Sg. 30<sup>b</sup> 3, *hi-for-com-*  
*chom-nocuir* 11<sup>c</sup> 15 (rel.), *for-com-* nactar Ml. 97<sup>a</sup> 5.  
*nacair* Sg. 148<sup>a</sup> 6, Ml. 131<sup>c</sup> 14  
 (rel.), *for-chom-nacuir* 67<sup>c</sup> 18  
 (rel.), 113<sup>d</sup> 3 (rel.), *intan for-*  
*com-nacuir* 16<sup>c</sup> 5, *for-com-naactar*  
 51<sup>d</sup> 13 (*huare*), 145<sup>d</sup> 8.

*ad-com-ang*,<sup>1</sup> icere.

*ad-com-aing* Ml. 19<sup>c</sup> 17 (gl. *pulsavit*),  
*ad-comoisset* Wb. 4<sup>d</sup> 15.

*to-ror-banim*,<sup>2</sup> prosum.

*da-ror-bai* Sg. 203<sup>a</sup> 18, *do-ror-bai*  
 Ml. 123<sup>d</sup> 5.

*ad-bath*,<sup>3</sup> mortuus est.

*ad-batha*[*tar*] Ml. 98<sup>b</sup> 8.

*an-ind-bath*, interiit.

*an-ind-bathatar* Ml. 36<sup>d</sup> 10.

*to-berim*, do.

*do-bert*<sup>4</sup> Ml. 23<sup>b</sup> 10, 58<sup>c</sup> 4, *do-m-bert*  
 23<sup>b</sup> 7 (rel.), Tur. 135, *do-s-bertar*  
 Tur. 143.

*to-air-berim*,<sup>5</sup> redigo.

*du-ar-bartha* Ml. 99<sup>d</sup> 1 (pres. *du-n-ar-*  
*barar* ib.).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Windisch s.v. *ecmoing*, *co n-ecmaingsem* Féil. Ep. 7, *ad-comaic* LU. 85<sup>b</sup> 21, 98<sup>a</sup> 27, *ad-conced* 98<sup>b</sup> 42. In Ml. 24<sup>c</sup> 17 *adcomaing* is intransitive, as in *adcomaic* LU. 80<sup>b</sup> 36.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Thurneysen, KZ. xxi, 86.

<sup>3</sup> *at-bath* Féil. Pr. 190, 165, LU. 65<sup>b</sup> 6, 8, 98<sup>a</sup> 6, LL. 252<sup>a</sup> 50, *at-bathatar* LL. 251<sup>a</sup> 31, *aid-apad* LU. 69<sup>b</sup> 29, *aid-abbad* LL. 250<sup>b</sup> 25.

<sup>4</sup> A new formation for *dorat*, cf. Thurneysen, Rev. Celt. vi, 329; *dubbert* Tir. 11, 13, 15, *co n-tubart* ib. 15, *do-bert* Hy. ii, 53, *do-breth* ib. 2, *do-bert* v. 36, 43, 70, 84, *do-bert* Féil. Ap. 14, Oc. 18, Nv. 2, LU. 68<sup>b</sup> 8, 62<sup>b</sup> 10, 97<sup>b</sup> 19, LL. 248<sup>a</sup> 16, 29, *do-bertatar* LU. 84<sup>b</sup> 33, LL. 248<sup>b</sup> 29, *do-breth* Féil. Fb. 13, LU. 67<sup>a</sup> 32, 59<sup>b</sup> 18, 74<sup>b</sup> 13, LL. 250<sup>b</sup> 29, *do-bretha* LU. 84<sup>b</sup> 34, LL. 251<sup>a</sup> 8, *ni to-brad* LU. 73<sup>a</sup> 42, *co to-brad* 74<sup>b</sup> 15. These forms are exceedingly common in the Sagas.

<sup>5</sup> But *do-r-air-bert* Trip. Life.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

to-air-canim, praedico.

*tair-chechuin* Wb. 4<sup>c</sup> 40, 4<sup>d</sup> 8, *amal nād tair-chechnatar* Wb.  
*du-nd-ar-chechainn* Ml. 66<sup>c</sup> 12, 5<sup>a</sup> 1.  
*du-n-air-cechainn* (rel.), *du-n-ar-chechainn* 64<sup>c</sup> 22 (rel.), *du-n-dir-cechnatar* Tur. 6, *do-ar-chet* Wb.  
 4<sup>d</sup> 4, 26<sup>a</sup> 11 (rel.), *do-air-chet*  
 6<sup>b</sup> 26, *do-arr-chet*<sup>1</sup> 5<sup>a</sup> 16, 6<sup>d</sup> 8  
 (rel.), *amal do-n-air-chet* 13<sup>a</sup> 36,  
*amal do-n-ar-chet* 29<sup>c</sup> 3, *a tair-chet* 15<sup>a</sup> 34, *tairr-chet* (rel.) 6<sup>d</sup> 6,  
 7<sup>a</sup> 2, *do-n-air-chet* Ml. 35<sup>b</sup> 9 (rel.),  
*tair-cheta* Ml. 38<sup>c</sup> 9 (rel.).

com-ad-celim, celo.

*con-aicelt* Ml. 49<sup>c</sup> 9.com-ad-certain,<sup>2</sup> emendo.

*con-acertus-sa* Ml. 2<sup>a</sup> 1, *con-aicertus*  
 2<sup>a</sup> 13, *o-aicert* 2<sup>a</sup> 6.

ad-cīu,<sup>3</sup> video.

*ad-ches* Wb. 23<sup>c</sup> 11 (rel.), *ad-ches nī ac-catar* Wb. 26<sup>b</sup> 11.  
 Ml. 96<sup>d</sup> 1.

imm-ad-cīu, mutuo videre.

*nī-mu-n-ac-camar* Wb. 18<sup>d</sup> 3.

ceta-ad-cīu, primum video.

*intan ad-ceta-acæ* Tur. 60.remi-di-air-cīu,<sup>4</sup> praevideo.

*an nād rem-der-cachmar-nī*  
 Ml. 80<sup>b</sup> 14.

ess-ro-coilim, destino.

*as-ro-choilsem* (MS. -*thoil*-) Ml. 22<sup>c</sup> 3 With *ro-* prefixed, *dian-d-*  
 (rel.), *as-ro-choilsid* Ml. 95<sup>c</sup> 3 *r-er-choil* Ml. 46<sup>c</sup> 7.  
 (rel.), *as-ro-choilset* 95<sup>c</sup> 2 (rel.),  
*as-ro-choiled* Wb. 27<sup>a</sup> 17.

<sup>1</sup> Does the double *r* indicate that this compound inserted *ro-* after the last preposition? If so, then some of the other compounds which have *air* as their second preposition may belong to the *ro-* class.

<sup>2</sup> *con-idn-aicert* Féil Ep. 105 (vll. *conacoicert*, *coniteocert*).

<sup>3</sup> *co n-accatar* Tir. 11, *nochon-acca-sa* LL. 248<sup>b</sup> 15, *nī accai* LU. 83<sup>a</sup> 28, *cis acca* 88<sup>a</sup> 22 sq. pass., *nī acatuir* 58<sup>a</sup> 36, *o-accatir* 55<sup>a</sup> 35, 83<sup>a</sup> 20, 22, 86<sup>a</sup> 9, *o-accas* LL. 250<sup>b</sup> 31, *nath-n-aiccas* Stowe Missal 64<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 161 note.



## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

**rēmi-ess-ro-coilim**, praedestino.

*remi-riér-choil* Wb. 4<sup>b</sup> 8.

**dī-ro-cōinim**, despero.

*do-ro-chóinsem* Ml. 89<sup>a</sup> 6, *do-ro-chóinset* 46<sup>a</sup> 17, 131<sup>c</sup> 9.

With *ro-* prefixed, *ni ru-der-choin* Ml. 44<sup>a</sup> 1.

**to-air-crenim**,<sup>1</sup> redimo.

*du-air-chiuir* Ml. 73<sup>b</sup> 5.

**aith-cūad**, narravi.

*o ad-chuaid* Wb. 21<sup>d</sup> 11, *ad-cuaid* Ml. 65<sup>a</sup> 1 (*iarsindī*), *ad-chuaid* 123<sup>d</sup> 4 (rel.), *ad-cuid* 126<sup>b</sup> 2, 110<sup>c</sup> 5 (*amal*), *intan ad-cóidemmar* Sg. 43<sup>a</sup> 6.

**dī-cūad**, ivi.

*do-chood* Wb. 17<sup>d</sup> 7 (rel.), *do-chood-sa* 18<sup>d</sup> 6 (rel.), *do-choid* 14<sup>c</sup> 20 (rel.), 14<sup>d</sup> 30 (rel.), 28<sup>b</sup> 30 (rel.), *do-coid* 21<sup>a</sup> 12 (rel.), 31<sup>d</sup> 19, *do-coith* 11<sup>a</sup> 22, *do-coid* Sg. 217<sup>b</sup> 16, *du-choid* Ml. 84<sup>c</sup> 9 (rel.), 74<sup>a</sup> 12, *do-coid* 43<sup>d</sup> 27 (rel.), 53<sup>c</sup> 19, *du-cuaid* 65<sup>c</sup> 9, *do-chotar* 124<sup>c</sup> 26, *noch da-chotar* 38<sup>b</sup> 2, *du-cuatar* 66<sup>c</sup> 16.

*ni de-chud-sa* Wb. 14<sup>c</sup> 40, *dia n-de-chuith* 16<sup>c</sup> 7, *ni de-chuid* Sg. 148<sup>b</sup> 3, Ml. 54<sup>d</sup> 7, 98<sup>b</sup> 8, *nadn-de-chuid* 54<sup>d</sup> 3, *co n-de-chuid* 65<sup>d</sup> 12, *co n-de-chummar* 63<sup>c</sup> 14, *co-nach di-gliith* Wb. 9<sup>b</sup> 19.

**to-dī-cūad**, veni.

*do-de-chuid* Wb. 17<sup>b</sup> 29 (rel.), 24<sup>c</sup> 10 (rel.), 27<sup>c</sup> 8 (rel.), *do-de-chommar* (rel.) 25<sup>a</sup> 12, *do-n-de-chommar* (rel.) 24<sup>c</sup> 17, *cía do-d-chommar* 23<sup>d</sup> 23, *du-n-dechuid* Ml. 44<sup>b</sup> 1 (rel.), *do-de-chuid* Sg. 199<sup>b</sup> 1 (rel.), Ml. 16<sup>c</sup> 5 (*intan . . .*), 46<sup>b</sup> 6 (rel.), 126<sup>b</sup> 10, *du-de-chummar* 111<sup>b</sup> 4 (rel.), *amal du-n-de-chutar* 111<sup>c</sup> 14.

*cosa tuid-ches* Sg. 199<sup>b</sup> 1.

**ceta-to-dī-cūad**, primus veni.

*ceta-tuid-chotar* (rel.) Wb. 21<sup>c</sup> 5.

<sup>1</sup> *du-air-chér* Arm. 186<sup>a</sup> 28.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

*friss-to-dī-cūad*, obviam veni.

*fris-tuid-chetar* (rel.) ML. 67<sup>b</sup> 20, 22,

*fris-tui-chetar* 21<sup>c</sup> 2.

*for-dī-cūad*, subveni.

*lase for-n-do-chud* ML. 78<sup>c</sup> 9, *for-do-chuid* 138<sup>a</sup> 7.

*remi-dī-cūad*, praeveni.

*ni rem-do-chutar* Wb. 5<sup>a</sup> 30.

*in-cūad*, indicavi.

*in-cusid* g. indicavit ML. 123<sup>d</sup> 7.

*imm-cluniur*, mutuo audire.

*immu-n-cualammar* Wb. 18<sup>d</sup> 3.

*ad-com-dare*,<sup>1</sup> vidi.

*at-chon-dare* ML. 113<sup>b</sup> 6, *intan ad-a-daire* Tur. 60, *ad-chon-daire* 141 (rel.).

*to-ellaim*, fūror.

*ma du-d-ell* Wb. 22<sup>b</sup> 7.

*ad-cotadaim*,<sup>2</sup> adipiscor.

*an ad-chodados-sa* Wb. 7<sup>a</sup> 16, *ad-cotadus* ML. 44<sup>c</sup> 18, *ad-cotad* 43<sup>d</sup> 24, *ad-cotadsam-ni* Tur. 100, *amal ad-id-chotatsat* Sg. 50<sup>a</sup> 3, *ad-chotatsat* ML. 54<sup>a</sup> 9, 123<sup>a</sup> 9, *ad-cotatsat* 67<sup>b</sup> 10.

*com-écnigim*, cogo.

*o-éicn[ig]isset* Tur. 148.

*iar-fagim*,<sup>3</sup> interrogo.

With *ro-* prefixed, *nād*

*riar-fact* Wb. 2<sup>a</sup> 18,

*nād riar-factatar* 2<sup>a</sup> 19.

*to-ar-fenim*, manifesto.

*do-air-fenus* Wb. 18<sup>d</sup> 7.

<sup>1</sup> *ad-chon-dare* Carm. ML. passim, *at-chon-dare-sa* LL. 251<sup>b</sup> 13, *at-chon-dare-sa* I.U. 87<sup>b</sup> 2, *at-chon-dare* 87<sup>b</sup> sq. passim, *at-cunnammar* 85<sup>a</sup> 37.

<sup>2</sup> *ad-cotadai* Tir. 8.

<sup>3</sup> This verb happens not to be found in the Glosses in the orthotonic form. In other texts it is regularly without *ro-*, except where *ro-*, according to the later custom, is prefixed to the whole compound.

## ORTHOTONIC.

*fo-fúar*,<sup>1</sup> *inveni*.*feib fo-n-d-uáir* Sg. 144<sup>b</sup> 3.*com-ad-gabim*, *contineo*.*con-acab* Ml. 100<sup>c</sup> 1.*ar-gabim*<sup>2</sup> (?), *teneo*.*ar-an-gabsat* Ml. 74<sup>b</sup> 2.*to-ro-gabim*,<sup>3</sup> *admitto*, *committo*.*ma du-ro-gbusa* Ml. 23<sup>c</sup> 13, *do-ro-gab ho tor-gab* Ml. 32<sup>a</sup> 23.71<sup>b</sup> 14, 111<sup>b</sup> 28 (rel.), *do-ro-gabsat*54<sup>a</sup> 36 (rel.), 98<sup>c</sup> 6 (rel.), *du-ro-**gabsat (co)*, *do-ro-gbad* 58<sup>d</sup> 1, *ho**du-ro-gbad* 32<sup>c</sup> 9.*aith-gninim*,<sup>4</sup> *agnosco*.*ad-geuin* Wb. 12<sup>c</sup> 13 (rel.), *ad-gen- ni-n-aith-geuin* Ml. 52.*ammar* 14<sup>d</sup> 28.*ess-gninim*, *cognosco*.*as-gen-su* Ml. 140<sup>b</sup> 3.*etar-gninim*,<sup>5</sup> *dignosco*.*itar-gén-sa* Acr. 9.*ni etar-geuin* Sg. 197<sup>b</sup> 10,*nach-id-etar-geuin* Ml.42<sup>c</sup> 10, *anad etar-geuin*Ml. 42<sup>c</sup> 15.*ind-gninim*, *agnosco*.*ni in-geuin* Ml. 69<sup>a</sup> 15,*connach-n-in-geuin* Ml.

52.

*ess-ibim*,<sup>6</sup> *epoto*.*ass-ibsem* Wb. 12<sup>a</sup> 17.<sup>1</sup> *fo-fuair* Féil. Nv. 7, *fo-frith* Fb. 25, Hy. v, 79, *fo-s-fuar-sa* LL. 251<sup>b</sup> 3, cf. Windisch.<sup>2</sup> If it be not rather for *ar* (= *an* 'when') *ran-gabsat*, g. cum tenuerunt eum. The compound *ar-gabim* is found with *ro-* in *con-dom-ar-r-gabad-sa* Wb. 17<sup>d</sup> 14.<sup>3</sup> *an do-ro-gbus* Féil. Pr. 18.<sup>4</sup> *aith-gen* LL. 250<sup>a</sup> 26, *ata-geuin* 250<sup>a</sup> 24, *at-geuin* LU. 71<sup>a</sup> 41: *inn aithchein* LL. 250<sup>a</sup> 26, cf. Ir. Text. ii, 1. 176 ll. 9, 10.<sup>5</sup> Present *etirgein* Ml. 24<sup>a</sup> 19, *eterngin* 102<sup>a</sup> 22.<sup>6</sup> Cf. Windisch s.v. *aibim*.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

*air-icim*,<sup>1</sup> invenio.*ara-anic* Sg. 217<sup>a</sup> 4.*fo-air-icim*,<sup>2</sup> invenio.*hore fo-n-air-nice* Wb. 16<sup>b</sup> 2.*ni far-nic* Wb. 2<sup>a</sup> 21.*imm-air-icim*,<sup>3</sup> convenio.*imme-ar-naic* Ml. 24<sup>d</sup> 5, *ma imm-id-arnactar* 17<sup>b</sup> 19.*to-air-icim*,<sup>4</sup> accedo.*do-n-ar-naactar* Wb. 7<sup>b</sup> 13.*ro-icim*, advenio, assequor.*ro-b-ánic-si* Wb. 16<sup>d</sup> 40.*ni ráncatar* Wb. 6<sup>e</sup> 31,  
*nad ráncatar* Ml. 35<sup>b</sup> 25,  
97<sup>d</sup> 7, *con ranaic* 52,  
*o r-icht* 2<sup>a</sup> 6.*com-ro-icim*, attingo.*con-raincatar* Ml. 90<sup>d</sup> 20.*to-icim*, venio.*ó do-m-ánic* Wb. 12<sup>c</sup> 9, *hóre du-n-n-dnic* 25<sup>a</sup> 21, *tánico* 30<sup>d</sup> 11, *tanico* 3<sup>a</sup> 7, 4<sup>d</sup> 26, 7<sup>c</sup> 7 (*nuis*), *tanico* Sg. 66<sup>a</sup> 17, *du-da-ánic* Ml. 123<sup>c</sup> 3 (rel.), *tanaic* 35<sup>d</sup> 1 (rel.).*ni-n-tánico* Wb. 1<sup>d</sup> 1, *o-tanic* 3<sup>a</sup> 1, *cotánic* 8<sup>a</sup> 14, *o-tanico* 29<sup>b</sup> 2, *o-danico* 3<sup>c</sup> 27, *o-dub-tanico* 5<sup>c</sup> 10, *o-d-id-tanico* 12<sup>b</sup> 34, *ni-n-tánaic* Sg. 26<sup>a</sup> 14, *nán-dun-tanaic* 26<sup>b</sup> 2, *ni-n-tanic* Ml. 37<sup>a</sup> 15, cf. 14<sup>d</sup> 4, *o-tanaic* 82<sup>d</sup> 9.*aith-com-ic*,<sup>5</sup> evenire.*at-tot-chom-nicc* Wb. 6<sup>b</sup> 13.*ess-ro-illim*, mereor.*as-roilli* Ml. 111<sup>b</sup> 28 (rel.), *indas as-ind-roillsem-ni* 119<sup>d</sup> 8, *ass-id-roillisset* 61<sup>b</sup> 17 (rel.), *ci as-id-roillisset* 77<sup>a</sup> 15, *as-roilled* 122<sup>b</sup> 13 (rel.).<sup>1</sup> *nicon-airnecht* Hy. v, 86.<sup>2</sup> *fó-s-fairnec-na* LÚ. 65<sup>b</sup> 42.<sup>3</sup> Cf. Windisch s.v. *immaircim*.<sup>4</sup> Cf. Windisch s.v. *tairicim*.<sup>5</sup> Cf. Windisch s.v. *at-chomnaic*.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

**ad-ro-illim**, mereor.*co-ad-roilliusa* ML. 75<sup>a</sup> 11, *ad-roilliset* Wb. 4<sup>c</sup> 35 (rel.), *at-roill-isset* 4<sup>c</sup> 15 (rel.), cf. ML. 46<sup>d</sup> 9, *ad-id-roill-isset* 61<sup>b</sup> 17 (rel.).*ní ar-ilsem-ní* Wb. 20<sup>d</sup> 14, *ní ar-ilaid* 21<sup>a</sup> 17, *cini-d-ar-ilset* 4<sup>c</sup> 39, *ní ar-ilset* 4<sup>a</sup> 10, *ní dir-ilset* ML. 114<sup>c</sup> 9, *nach-id-airilset* 54<sup>d</sup> 9.**to-air-com-od-lāaim**<sup>1</sup> (?), colligo.*tú-ar-com-lasat* Wb. 7<sup>a</sup> 7.**dī-air-lengim**, desilio.*do-eir-bling* Tur. 59, *do-ar-blaing* 60 (bis).**fo-lamur**, tento, suscipio.*fo-m-lamastar* Wb. 17<sup>d</sup> 4.*co n-fo-lmaissiur* ML. 50<sup>d</sup> 8.**fo-com-od-langim** (?), perfero.*fo-com-lachtar* ML. 47<sup>c</sup> 6, cf. *fo-com-allag-sa* Acr. 2.**to-air-lecim**, cedo.<sup>2</sup>*do-far-laic* Tur. 102.*nad tair-laio* ML. 131<sup>b</sup> 2.**fo-ind-ar-lod**, subintravi.*fo-ind-ar-lid*<sup>3</sup> Wb. 3<sup>a</sup> 6.**to-lod**,<sup>4</sup> ivi.*do-luid*, *d[o]luid* ML. 55<sup>c</sup> 1, Tur. 146.**in-od-lod**,<sup>5</sup> inivi.*in-olaid* ML. 25<sup>a</sup> 21 (rel.).**remi-lod**, praeivi.*remi-lloid* ML. 132<sup>c</sup> 13.**ad-midiur**, adiudico.*o-am-madar-sa* Wb. 26<sup>b</sup> 21.<sup>1</sup> *tar-com-lid* LU. 55<sup>a</sup> 1, *tar-com-latha* LL. 289<sup>b</sup> 46, *don-ar-rrchomlais* LU. 115<sup>a</sup> 20, cf. p. 116 note 4. Ascoli refers the verb to *-ól-*.<sup>2</sup> For the meaning cf. *teily traigid* LU. 82<sup>b</sup> 12 = *teich* LL. 80<sup>a</sup> 9, *dolléce traigid* LU. 82<sup>b</sup> 14.<sup>3</sup> If it be not rather for *fo-ind-ro-luid*, cf. Stokes, Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-4, p. 153. But cf. p. 135.<sup>4</sup> *con-tu-lid* Rev. Celt. xi, 450. In ML. 55<sup>c</sup> 1 *diluid* is a blunder for *dia luid*.<sup>5</sup> But according to Thurneysen, *Kelto-Romanisches* 36, the prepositions are *ind-ó-*: cf. p. 116.

## ORTHOTONIC.

**imme-ro-midiur**, pecco.

*ar im-ru-madir* Wb. 13<sup>b</sup> 31, *intan* *inn im-rui-md-otar* Ml.  
*imme-ru-medar* Tur. 17, *imme-rui-* 105<sup>a</sup> 1.  
*mdetar* Ml. 46<sup>b</sup> 23 (rel.), *olsodain*  
*imme-ro-mas* 111<sup>b</sup> 5.

**dī-ro-moiniur**, obliviscor.*nī der-menmar-nī* Ml. 64<sup>a</sup> 3.**for-moiniur**, invideo.*a for-menatar* Ml. 17<sup>b</sup> 16.**to-aith-com-nacim**, tribuo.

*ōre do-n-écom-nacht* Wb. 1<sup>a</sup> 1, *do-n-* *frisa-téicom-nacht* Wb.  
*ecom-nacht* 25<sup>c</sup> 26 (*amal*), 33<sup>d</sup> 8 19<sup>c</sup> 8.  
 (rel.), *tecom-nacht* 26<sup>d</sup> 23 (rel.),  
*dó-écom-nacht* 14<sup>c</sup> 33 (rel.), *do-*  
*ecom-nacht* Ml. 54<sup>c</sup> 26 (dedisse),  
*du-écom-nacht* 77<sup>c</sup> 5 (rel.), *do-*  
*n-ecom-nacht* 54<sup>c</sup> 23 (dedisse),  
*d[o-n]d-ecom-nacht* 69<sup>a</sup> 16 (rel.),  
*du-n-ecom-nacht-su* 56<sup>a</sup> 18 (rel.),  
*du-n-ecom-nacht* 55<sup>c</sup> 1 (rel.), 96<sup>b</sup> 5  
 (rel.).

**ess-orgim**,<sup>1</sup> caedo.

With *ro-* prefixed, *ho res-*  
*arta* Ml. 34<sup>b</sup> 13.

**to-imm-orgim**, coarto.*dan-imm-art* Ml. 14<sup>b</sup> 14.**ess-com-orgim**,<sup>2</sup> caedo.

*as-com-ort* Sg. 210<sup>a</sup> 6, *as-chom-art*  
 Ml. 34<sup>b</sup> 18 (rel.), *as-com-art* 36<sup>b</sup> 22,  
*as-chom-arta* 26<sup>d</sup> 11.

**-ess-com-orgim**, confundo.*-es-com-a[r]t* Ml. 103<sup>d</sup> 4.<sup>1</sup> *as-ort* (v.l. *asort*) Féil. Ap. 23, Oc. 7.<sup>2</sup> *as-chom-ort* Féil. Oc. 19.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

**friss-com-orgim**, offendo.

*fris-com-urt-sa* Wb. 33<sup>a</sup> 12, *fris-com-nad frith-chom-art* Ml.  
*artatar* 5<sup>b</sup> 11 (rel.), *fritum-chom-* 47<sup>a</sup> 2.  
*art-sa* 33<sup>a</sup> 12, *fris-com-art* Ml.  
 63<sup>b</sup> 11 (rel.), *air fris-com-art[atar]*  
 111<sup>b</sup> 1.

**to-imm-com-orgim**, coarcto.

*do-b-im-chom-artt* Wb. 3<sup>b</sup> 21 (rel.),  
*do-m-imm chom-artatar* Ml. 39<sup>c</sup> 32.

**to-com-orgim**, detero.

*do-com-art* Ml. 45<sup>a</sup> 11, *do-com-artatar*  
 22<sup>a</sup> 4, *du-com-art* 111<sup>b</sup> 18, *annu-*  
*dacomart* (= *an-du-da-chom-art*  
 Asc.) 36<sup>a</sup> 9.

**com-to-com-orgim**, contero.

*con-to-chm-airt-siu* Ml. 17<sup>a</sup> 2, 19<sup>c</sup> 7.

**to-air-com-racim**, congreco, colligo.

*du-ar-chom-raic-sst* Ml. 61<sup>b</sup> 17.

**to-etar-rath**,<sup>1</sup> comprehendere.

*ar du-etar-rid* Wb. 5<sup>c</sup> 13, *do-etar-rid*  
 19<sup>c</sup> 11.

**com-ad-rigim**,<sup>2</sup> alligo.

*cotob-ar-rig* Wb. 9<sup>b</sup> 19, *o-idn-ar-raig*  
 Ml. 15<sup>c</sup> 1 (rel.), *con-ar-racht*  
 123<sup>b</sup> 2.

**dī-com-air-rigim**,<sup>3</sup> exuo.

*do-choim-ar-raig* Ml. 14<sup>b</sup> 1, *do-com-*  
*ar-raig* 48<sup>b</sup> 15, *du-choim-ar-raig*  
 144<sup>b</sup> 1, *du-coim-rachtar* 100<sup>c</sup> 27.

<sup>1</sup> *do-m-etar-rid* LU. 70<sup>b</sup> 17, *ni o-tetar-raid* 73<sup>b</sup> 11.

<sup>2</sup> It is just possible that this compound contains *ro-* before the verb, and should be referred to Class III.

<sup>3</sup> So Ascoli. But is it *dī-com-eus-rigim*, with *ro-* infix according to Class III? *dī-eus-rigim* is found in *do-an-erged* LU. 60<sup>b</sup> 13. Cf., however, p. 155.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

## to-rat-.

*do-ratus* Wb. 8<sup>c</sup> 6 (rel.), *intan du-ratus* Ml. 103<sup>a</sup> 6, *do-ratais-siu* Ml. 43<sup>d</sup> 18 (rel.), 44<sup>a</sup> 14 (rel.), *do-ratis* 56<sup>a</sup> 15 (rel.), *du-ratais* 56<sup>b</sup> 24, *du-ratis* 80<sup>b</sup> 2, 92<sup>c</sup> 8 (rel.), *do-rat* Wb. 4<sup>b</sup> 10, 4<sup>c</sup> 35 (rel.), 23<sup>c</sup> 17 (rel.), 31<sup>b</sup> 19 (rel.), Sg. 23<sup>b</sup> 5 (rel.), Ml. 22<sup>d</sup> 19, 23<sup>c</sup> 7 (rel.), 25<sup>c</sup> 11 (rel.), 35<sup>d</sup> 3 (rel.), 37<sup>a</sup> 16 (rel.), 54<sup>c</sup> 16, 136<sup>c</sup> 11 (rel.), 118<sup>d</sup> 19 (rel.), *du-rat* 40<sup>b</sup> 8 (rel.), 48<sup>a</sup> 21 (rel.), 91<sup>a</sup> 21 (rel.), 94<sup>c</sup> 17 (*cia*), *do-r-rat* Wb. 14<sup>c</sup> 38, *da-r-rat* 28<sup>b</sup> 4 (rel.), *do-ratsam* 13<sup>d</sup> 15 (rel.),<sup>1</sup> *da-ratsid-si* 24<sup>b</sup> 21, *do-ratsat* Ml. 115<sup>b</sup> 8 (rel.), *amal du-ratsat* 82<sup>c</sup> 8, *do-r-ratsat* 113<sup>d</sup> 7 (rel.), *da-ratsat* 73<sup>b</sup> 17 (rel.), *do-s-ratsat* 44<sup>a</sup> 14, *do-ratad* Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 18 (rel.), 19<sup>b</sup> 15 (rel.), 21<sup>c</sup> 3, 22<sup>a</sup> 19 (rel.), 21<sup>c</sup> 17 (rel.), Sg. 31<sup>a</sup> 6, Ml. 24<sup>d</sup> 31, 34<sup>a</sup> 24 (rel.), 44<sup>b</sup> 29 (*intan*), 46<sup>b</sup> 26 (rel.), 53<sup>d</sup> 2 (rel.), 138<sup>a</sup> 6 (rel.), *do-radad* Wb. 23<sup>c</sup> 16 (rel.), *do-ratath* Sg. 7<sup>b</sup> 18, *du-ratad* Wb. 33<sup>b</sup> 8, Ml. 102<sup>c</sup> 7 (rel.), 104<sup>b</sup> 2 (*amal*), *an da-ratad* 25<sup>a</sup> 1, *do-r-ratad* 19<sup>c</sup> 6, 28<sup>b</sup> 6, 9, *do-rata* Ml. 54<sup>c</sup> 17, 59<sup>a</sup> 18 (*intan*), 90<sup>c</sup> 25 (rel.).

*friss-to-rat-*, *oppono*.

*fris-tarat* Ml. 51<sup>d</sup> 3 (rel.).

*air-od-salcim*, *aperio*.

*nicon-tarat* Ml. 36<sup>a</sup> 1, *nad tarat* 90<sup>c</sup> 18, 91<sup>a</sup> 21, *ni tart-isset* Wb. 1<sup>b</sup> 17, *ni tartsat* 24<sup>b</sup> 20, *ni tardad* Ml. 63<sup>d</sup> 5, *forsatardad* 80<sup>d</sup> 4, *s-dardad* 98<sup>b</sup> 8, *nad tarta* 40<sup>a</sup> 13.

*nicon-air-soil[c]set*<sup>2</sup> Ml. 31<sup>b</sup> 9.

<sup>1</sup> But 1 sg. *dorat-sa* LU. 85<sup>b</sup> 13 = *doratusa* 86<sup>b</sup> 36. The verb is common in the Sagas, and shows the same inflexion as in the Glosses.

<sup>2</sup> Or = *nicon-air-ro-od-s*, as other compounds take *ro-*? Cf. p. 110.



## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

**dī-ro-scagim**, *excello*.*do-ró-scaisset* Ml. 119<sup>d</sup> 3.**com-ad-scaraim**, *diruo*.*cota-scais* Ml. 91<sup>b</sup> 12, *o-a-scarsat* in *com-scar* Ml. 91<sup>c</sup> 9.87<sup>b</sup> 22, *con-a-scrad* Wb. 21<sup>b</sup> 15.**dī-ess-sed**,<sup>1</sup> *desidere*.*du-n-ess-sid* Ml. 121<sup>a</sup> 11 (rel.), *ho**desid* Wb. 3<sup>a</sup> 7.**in-dī-ess-sed**, *insidere*.*in-dessid* Ml. 20<sup>a</sup> 27, *in-destetar* 58<sup>a</sup> 2.**imm-sed**,<sup>2</sup> *circumsedere*, *obsidere*.*imma-siassair* Ml. 43<sup>b</sup> 1.**to-sennim**, *persequor*.*an du-n-da-sepfainn*<sup>3</sup> Ml. 36<sup>d</sup> 17.**com-ad-degim**,<sup>4</sup> *quaero*.*con-aitecht* Ml. 36<sup>b</sup> 5, 59<sup>c</sup> 3 (rel.), *ni comtacht-su* Ml. 60<sup>b</sup> 20,98<sup>b</sup> 6, 132<sup>d</sup> 5, *ani o-oitechtatar* Wb. *ni comtacht* 59<sup>c</sup> 3, 123<sup>c</sup> 3,8<sup>a</sup> 14, *indas o-aitechtatar* Ml. 90<sup>b</sup> *ni comtachtmar-ni* Wb.16, *con-aitechatar* 44<sup>d</sup> 27. 24<sup>b</sup> 20.**com-ad-tolim**,<sup>5</sup> *dormio*.*ma con-atil* Wb. 29<sup>d</sup> 15, *con-at-tail*

Acr. 7.

**to-com-tongim**,<sup>6</sup> *iuro*.*du-cuitig* Wb. 33<sup>d</sup> 10, *du-cuitich* Ml.78<sup>a</sup> 6.**ad-tibim**,<sup>7</sup> *rideo*.*o-ait-tibset* Ml. 110<sup>d</sup> 2.<sup>1</sup> *do-fessid* Cormac's Gloss. s.v. *lethech*, *deissiter* LL. 248<sup>b</sup> 30, *forn-destetar* LU. 83<sup>b</sup> 31.<sup>2</sup> Cf. *tarrasair* (*ni tarrastar* Acr. 72, cf. Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-4, p. 504).<sup>3</sup> *do-sephain* Hy. v. 57, *do-sephnatar* 62, *tafnatar* 60, *to-sessa* LU. 83<sup>a</sup> 28. But *do-t-roiphnatar* LU. 98<sup>b</sup> 32.<sup>4</sup> *o-atecht* LU. 97<sup>b</sup> 1, *o-atech* 97<sup>a</sup> 36, cf. *con-niacht* (= *con-diacht*) LU. 75<sup>a</sup> 10, 28, 77<sup>a</sup> 38. According to Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 74, the root may be *diag*. Is it really a compound = *dī-sag*?<sup>5</sup> Cf. Windisch s.v. *collaim*, *contultatar* Tír. 9, from *com-tolim*.<sup>6</sup> Cf. *dara-dochtaised* 'by which he should swear' Ml. 78<sup>a</sup> 4.<sup>7</sup> Cf. *colnuaitib*, Cormac's Gloss. s.v. *lethech*.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

*dū-fo-traccar*, opto.

*cia du-d-fu-tharcair* Ml. 52, *du-fu-thractar* Wb. 20<sup>c</sup> 23, 23<sup>c</sup> 23, *du-fu-tharctar* Ml. 49<sup>a</sup> 17, *do-du-thractar* 26<sup>b</sup> 1. *dia n-du-thraccar-sa* Wb. 14<sup>b</sup> 5.

*ro-ucc-*, attingo.

*ro-uiccus* Wb. 9<sup>b</sup> 6 (rel.), *ro-uic* 27<sup>a</sup> 22, *ro-uc* Ml. 99<sup>a</sup> 2, *ru-uc* 63<sup>c</sup> 18, *rd-uc* 45<sup>a</sup> 1, *ro-da-ucai* 46<sup>a</sup> 19 (rel.), 54<sup>d</sup> 16, *ra-ucsat* Wb. 26<sup>b</sup> 11, *ru-hucad* Sg. 174<sup>a</sup> 1, *rucad* 174<sup>a</sup> 1, *amal ru-n-ucad* 104<sup>a</sup> 8, *ro-uctha* (rel.) 132<sup>a</sup> 2, *rucctha* (rel.) 102<sup>c</sup> 7. *ni-n-ruc* Wb. 21<sup>b</sup> 3, *nad rucsat* Ml. 23<sup>b</sup> 5, *nach rucsat, ni-s-rucsat* 44<sup>a</sup> 15.

*to-uccim*, affero.

*do-nuccus-sa* Wb. 30<sup>a</sup> 11, *tuicais* Ml. 56<sup>a</sup> 13 (rel.), *du-uic* Ml. 84<sup>c</sup> 24, *amal do-n-uic* Ml. 10<sup>d</sup> 37, *do-n-uic* Ml. 16<sup>b</sup> 12, *huaro du-n-uic* 118<sup>b</sup> 6, *duic* (? *du-uic*) 40<sup>c</sup> 22, *du-d-uic* 67<sup>a</sup> 3, *du-dn-uic* 44<sup>d</sup> 14, *da-uic* (rel.) 50<sup>b</sup> 8, 118<sup>b</sup> 6, *da-n-uic* 38<sup>b</sup> 4, *do-da-uic* (rel.) 131<sup>c</sup> 14, *du-uc* 131<sup>c</sup> 1, *da-uc* 38<sup>c</sup> 1, 2, *tuic* (rel.) Sg. 209<sup>b</sup> 29, *tuice* Ml. 98<sup>c</sup> 11, *tuic* 67<sup>a</sup> 8, *a tuic* 84<sup>c</sup> 19, *tuc* 40<sup>c</sup> 19, *a tuc* 24<sup>b</sup> 25, *duicsem* 111<sup>b</sup> 15, *du-nn-ucsat* 92<sup>d</sup> 1 (*iar-sindi*), *d[u]ucad* Ml. 56<sup>c</sup> 11, *tuccad* (rel.) Wb. 24<sup>b</sup> 26, 28<sup>a</sup> 3, Ml. 71<sup>c</sup> 9, *thucad* (rel.) Sg. 45<sup>b</sup> 19. *ni tuic* Sg. 209<sup>b</sup> 29, Ml. 51<sup>d</sup> 2, *ni tuc* Sg. 100<sup>a</sup> 7, *foan-tuic* Ml. 35<sup>a</sup> 9, *fun-tuc* 38<sup>c</sup> 5, *ni tucsam* Wb. 29<sup>b</sup> 14, *co n-ducad* Sg. 17<sup>a</sup> 5.

*to-uccim*, intelligo.

*ni tucus-sa* Ml. 91<sup>c</sup> 1, *nad tucus* Per. 1<sup>a</sup>, *ni-tucrid-si* Wb. 12<sup>a</sup> 3, *ni tucsat* Wb. 15<sup>a</sup> 32, Ml. 75<sup>d</sup> 10, *ni thucsat* Wb. 8<sup>a</sup> 10, *nad tucsat* Ml. 75<sup>d</sup> 10.

## From other texts:—

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

**ad-agim**, adigo.

*ad-achtatar* LU. 65<sup>a</sup> 12, *ad-acht*  
Cormac's Gl. s.v. *rinens* (LBr.  
*atracht*).

**imm-agim**,<sup>1</sup> circum-ago.*imm-acht* g. iecit, Arm.**to-imm-ago**, id.

*conid-timachtatar* LU. 70<sup>b</sup>  
27.

**to-ess-com-arcim**, salvo.*donn-essm-art* Hy. iii, 8.**imm-com-arcim**, interrogo.

*im-chom-arcair* LU. 62<sup>a</sup> 7, *im-com-*  
*arctár* 24<sup>a</sup> 28, *immos-coem-arcair*  
Cormac's Gloss. s.v. *prull*, *im-*  
*choim-ras* LL. 249<sup>b</sup> 18.

**com-bongim**, frango.

*nath com-baig* Hy. v, 77, *o-bocht* LU.  
77<sup>a</sup> 27, cf. *con-bobig* RC. xi, 446,  
*du-chum-bai* 450.

**dī-canim**, cano.*dī-cachain* LU. 74<sup>a</sup> 39.**fo-cerdaim**, pono, iacio.

*fo-chaird* Tur. 146, *fo-cairt* LU.  
44<sup>a</sup> 2, *fo-chairt* 44<sup>a</sup> 5, *fa-chairt*  
RC. xi, 444, *fo-chartatár* LU.  
92<sup>b</sup> 25, 97<sup>a</sup> 13, *fo-cross* Hy. v, 48,  
72, LU. 56<sup>b</sup> 6, 84<sup>b</sup> 37, 87<sup>a</sup> 29,  
97<sup>a</sup> 18, *fo-cressa* 85<sup>b</sup> 2.

**ad-cluniur**, audio..

*ata-cualamar* Hibernica Minora, p. 72,  
*at-ehlos* LU. 71<sup>b</sup> 6, cf. Windisch  
Wb.

**for-cluniur**, audio.*ni for-cualutar* LU. 65<sup>b</sup> 36.<sup>1</sup> But in Salt. B. *imracht*.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

**for-cuirinur.***for-da-corsatar* Hy. v, 66.**dúad, comedi.**

Cf. Windisch Wb.

**to-air-ell-, venire.**Cf. *taraiill* Windisch.**do-ethaim, adeo.***do-eth* LU. 68<sup>a</sup> 27.**to-fedim, venio.***do-faid* Hy. ii, 9, 39, 47.**ad-fiadaim, narro.***ad-fet* (v.l. *at-fet*) Féil. Fb. 22, Mr. 23.Cf. from the radical *ved*, *ad-fessa*LU. 58<sup>b</sup> 13, *ad-fessa* 59<sup>a</sup> 7.**com-gabim, capio.***con-gab* Hy. v, 15, Tír. 2, 8, 12, *con-**gabsat* Arm. 175<sup>b</sup> 2.**ar-garim.***ar-gairt* Hy. v, 53.**com-ad-garim, voco.***con acrad* Cormac's Gloss. s.v. *lethoch*,cf. Windisch s.v. *conacraim*.**com-garim, voco.***cota-gart* Windisch s.v.**com-air-icim, convenio.***ni com-air-necmar* LL. 251<sup>b</sup>

11.

*co com-air-necmar* 251<sup>b</sup> 12.*co com-ar-nechtár* LU. 83<sup>a</sup>

4, 6.

**for-icim, invenio.***ni fur-echt* Hy. v, 80, 89.**fris-indlim.***fris-indled* Féil. M. 23.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

**to-aith-com-lāaim**<sup>1</sup> (?), colligo.

*do-ecmalta* LU. 55<sup>a</sup> 26, *teomalta*  
63<sup>a</sup> 16.

**to-ath-lā-**, redire.

*do-ath-lasat* LU. 84<sup>b</sup> 42.

**to-com-od-lā-**, proficisci.

*do-cum-lásat*<sup>2</sup> LU. 55<sup>a</sup> 30, *documlaisat*  
Cornac's Gl. s.v. *prull*.

**to-lēcim**<sup>3</sup>.

*do-s-leic* LU. 86<sup>a</sup> 43, cf. Windisch.

**dī-lengim**, salio.

*do-lleblaing* LL. 250<sup>a</sup> 28.

**ar-lod.**

*conid-n-ar-laid* Hy. v, 20.

**to-ar-lod.**

*do-n-ar-laid* Féil. Dc. 8, cf. *tarla*  
Wind.

**imme-lod**, circumivi.

*imme-lotar* Tír. 19, cf. I.

**to-com-nigim**, abluc.

*do-coemnactar* Féil. Jan. 4.

**ess-renim**, vendo.

*as-rir* Hy. v, 61, 87.

**to-ar-rath-**, adsequi.

*do-fairthetar* LU. 78<sup>b</sup> 9.

*ni-en-ar-raid* LU. 83<sup>b</sup> 25.

**com-rigim**, alligo.

*con-recht* RC. xi, 448, *s-reraig* LU.  
63<sup>a</sup> 17.

**to-ad-scannaim**, adeo.

*do-n-ascnai* Féil. M. 12, Oc. 25, *do-*  
*da-ascnasat* Hy. v, 31, 53.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *documlait* LL. 251<sup>b</sup> 29, 51.

<sup>3</sup> To this verb are probably to be referred the forms that Windisch puts under *leicim*.

## ORTHOTONIC.

## ENCLITIC.

com-scribaim, conscribo.

*con-a-scriph* Ir. Psalt. l. 99, *con-a-scribad* l. 102.

ar-utangim, aedifico.

*ar-do-utacht* Hy. v, 73.

fo-trucim, lavo.

*fo-truicset* Féil. M. 8.

Sporadically in the glosses, and frequently afterwards, preterites that originally had *ro-* are found without the particle.

Glosses<sup>1</sup>:—Wb. *do-foided* 32<sup>a</sup> 14, *conbigset* 19<sup>a</sup> 1; Ml. *as-bert* 16<sup>c</sup> 10, *as-m-bert* 58<sup>c</sup> 6 (*intan*), 124<sup>a</sup> 9 (*huare*), *amal as-ind-bertatar* 124<sup>a</sup> 9, *dam-bide* 58<sup>c</sup> 4, [*doc*] *orastar* 39<sup>a</sup> 3, *du-corastar* 52, *huare nadn-digni* 23<sup>b</sup> 10, cf. *nad dingne* RC. xi, 446, *du-gnitha* 73<sup>a</sup> 19, *ar-gart* 55<sup>c</sup> 1, *o-air-leicthea* 34<sup>a</sup> 21, *voscaig* 55<sup>c</sup> 1, *du-rim* 83<sup>a</sup> 6; Tur. *for-cnad* (MS. *forcuad*, corr. Zimmer) 49, *do-cer* 146, *da-cer* 147, *conocabsat* 134, *fo-selgatar* 143.

## Irish Hymns.

II. *as-bert* (ter), *ad-gladastar* 48, *connubcabsat* 66, *con-hualai* (= *-od-lai*), *forruib*<sup>2</sup> 8, *as-suith* (?) 58, 59, *conid-n-im-bert* 64, *ni-s-di-gaib* 26, 66, *con-ucaib* 64, *do-llucestar* 47.

## Félire Oenguso.

*at-balt* Ep. 318, *fo-s-dail* Jl. 15, *fo-raith* Jan. 15, *nad chum-scaigset* Fb. 6.

## Tírechán's Notes.

*as-bert* 11, 13, *co n-epert* 14, *ad-opart* 4, 13, 15, *du-foid* 14, *fúcab* 2, 8, 11, 15, *fu-s-écart* 8, *fris-gart* 11, *fur-raith* 11, *di-géni* 6.

<sup>1</sup> At Wb. 32<sup>a</sup> 9 *far-choi-grad* seems rather sec. pres. At Ml. 125<sup>a</sup> 9 Ascoli would change *cotannairlic* to *cotanrairlic*. At Ml. 83<sup>a</sup> 4 *conucbad* should probably be corrected to the secondary present *conucbada*.

<sup>2</sup> I take this to stand for *fo-n-ruim*, lit. 'he placed it, his foot,' so *forruim* Tír. 13.

## Táin Bó Fráich.

*as-bert* (always without *ro-*) 250<sup>b</sup> 24, 251<sup>a</sup> 11, 251<sup>b</sup> 8, 252<sup>a</sup> 6, *do-corastar* 248<sup>a</sup> 24, *do-gnith* 248<sup>b</sup> 45, 250<sup>b</sup> 23, 30, 251<sup>b</sup> 44 (by *cid dernait* 251<sup>a</sup> 18, active forms *doríngensam*, etc., have always *ro-*), *do-fiussig* ('awoke') 249<sup>a</sup> 36.

## Togail Bruidne Dá Derga.

*as-bert* 83<sup>a</sup> 34, 83<sup>b</sup> 27, 33, 91<sup>a</sup> 6, 92<sup>b</sup> 26, 98<sup>a</sup> 33 (but *at-ru-bart* 97<sup>a</sup> 30), *co n-epert* 84<sup>a</sup> 2, *an as-breth* 83<sup>b</sup> 33, *do-cer* 98<sup>a</sup> 22, *fris-gart* 84<sup>a</sup> 2, *do-géni* 83<sup>a</sup> 17.

## Táin Bó Cúailnge (LU.).

*as-bert* 55<sup>a</sup> 29, 55<sup>b</sup> 16, 32, 36<sup>b</sup> 2 et saepissime, *o-epert* 35<sup>b</sup> 18, 73<sup>a</sup> 13, *at-bert* 64<sup>a</sup> 20, 77<sup>b</sup> 2, *im-bert* 60<sup>a</sup> 33, *do-sm-bide* 82<sup>a</sup> 41, *do-smido* 77<sup>a</sup> 33, *ni-s-di-beirg* 67<sup>a</sup> 37, *do-cer* 64<sup>b</sup> 24, 77<sup>a</sup> 26 (*do-ro-chair* saep.) *do-chorastar* 65<sup>a</sup> 40, *do-corastar* 82<sup>a</sup> 13, *to-corastar* 70<sup>a</sup> 10, *fo-s-dáilset* 65<sup>a</sup> 11, *oid-fácab* 64<sup>b</sup> 24, *fo-dailte* 57<sup>a</sup> 8, *do-geni* 61<sup>a</sup> 19, 64<sup>b</sup> 23, 69<sup>b</sup> 24, 77<sup>a</sup> 20, *da-geini* 64<sup>b</sup> 22, *do-génsat* 65<sup>b</sup> 11 (*dorigeni* etc., saep.), *do-gnith* 57<sup>a</sup> 7, 59<sup>b</sup> 20, 63<sup>a</sup> 15, 65<sup>b</sup> 30 (*do-rónad* 59<sup>b</sup> 41, 69<sup>a</sup> 27), *fris-gart* 55<sup>b</sup> 17, *im-raidsat* 70<sup>b</sup> 1, *fo-s-ráthatar* 59<sup>b</sup> 16, *tintáisset* 65<sup>a</sup> 33.

V. COMPOUND VERBS WITH *ro-* PREFIXED.

In the Old Irish Glosses, in orthotonic forms, *ro-* is found prefixed in a couple of compound verbs, apparently because they had ceased to be felt to be compounds. Afterwards this prefixation becomes more and more common. The following occurrences may be noted from the Glosses and the other early texts referred to on p. 79.

## Old Irish Glosses.

*oom-sechim*, increpo, reprehendo.

*ma ru-d-choiscet* Wb. 28<sup>c</sup> 7, *ro-coscad*<sup>1</sup> Ml. 49<sup>a</sup> 5.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *meni ro-choeca* Wb. 28<sup>b</sup> 28, *coscitir* 22<sup>c</sup> 10, *coiscitir* 31<sup>b</sup> 25 beside the other forms cited by Ascoli, Gloss. cclxviii. These forms may have been influenced by the noun *cosc* 'reproof,' to which they may have been felt to be denominatives. Cf. *dorinchoisc* p. 120, further W. *coapi*, by *coisp*.

*to-fo-sírim*, *exploro*, *quaero*.

*ru-tuirset* *ML*. 44<sup>d</sup> 23.

To these may be added *ro-dersaig* *Ir. Psalt.* 155.

Féilire Oenguso.

*ro-s-tuirius* *Jn.* 26, *ro-thuirsiu* *Ep.* 75, *ro-túirse* *Ep.* 143;  
enclitic *na ro-tuirmed* *Ep.* 122.

Táin Bó Fráich.

*intan ra-oslacisú* 251<sup>b</sup> 13.

Togail Bruidne Dá Derga.

*ro-ath-chummad* 99<sup>a</sup> 1, *ro-dóirtéa* 97<sup>b</sup> 3, *ro-thocaibset* 85<sup>a</sup> 40,  
*ro-s-freacair* 97<sup>b</sup> 11.

Táin Bó Cúailnge (LU.).

*ro-s-ecroth* ('shook') 64<sup>a</sup> 18, *ro-con-grad* 73<sup>a</sup> 37, *ro-reacair* 57<sup>a</sup> 6,  
*o ro-chom-raicset* 76<sup>a</sup> 11, *ro-im-ráidset* 70<sup>b</sup> 47, 71<sup>b</sup> 40. With *iar-*  
*facht*, which is usually without *ro-* (cf. p. 124, note 3), *ro-iarfacht*  
65<sup>a</sup> 30.



## PART II. REMARKS.

We have now brought together a mass of material illustrative of the use of the particle *ro-* with preterital tenses in Irish from the seventh century to the ninth. It remains to try whether we cannot discover some leading principles to guide us through this maze of forms. It would, indeed, be possible to confine ourselves to the hard facts, to say that such and such was the state of matters in the earliest period of the Irish language of which we have any knowledge; how it came to be so, we neither know nor care. Such a course, however, might well seem to savour of over-caution. So while we seek to arrange and classify the facts, we will also try to suggest, so far as we can, some explanation of them; the theories will, at least, serve to bind the facts together.

Such explanations must of necessity carry us back into the prehistoric period, and it may seem a bold thing to seek to grapple with the problems of the development of *ro-* in Irish before a thorough investigation has been made of the uses of *ro-* in the sister Brythonic languages. Such an investigation is, of course, a thing greatly to be desired, and it may well be that it would cast light on some dark things in Irish. But, so far as one can judge from the material collected in the *Grammatica Celtica*, its importance for Irish might very easily be exaggerated. The fundamental functions of the particle in the two languages are undoubtedly the same, so that the beginnings of the development of *ro-* must go back to a time previous to the splitting up of the Celtic languages. In simple verbs the Brythonic glosses show some parallels to the Irish usage; e.g. *ro-credihat* 'vibratus est,' *ro-gulipias* g. *olivavit*, to which the corresponding etymological form in Irish would be *ro-fliuch*, *ro-luncas* g. *guturicavit*; further examples from the later language will be found in *Gram. Celt.*<sup>2</sup> 418 sq. But already in the glosses forms without *ro-* are more frequent—*tinsit* g. *sparsit*, *toreusit* g. *attrivit*, *linisant* *laverunt*, *strouis* g. *stravi*, *strocat* g. *tractus est*. In compound verbs the usage is altogether different: cf. *guo-deimisauch* with Ir. *fo-ro-damid*, and note the compounds *guo-teguis* g. *compiscuit*, *di-guor-mechis* *testatus est*, *ar-uuo-art hui* g. *vos fascinavit*, which in Irish, with a different preposition, is *ad-ob-ra-gart-si*. The only example

of *ro-* in the interior of a Brythonic compound that I know, if it be an instance, is *dy-ro-deis* 'he gave,' cf. Zimmer, *KZ.* xxx, 219, and here, without *dy-*, the form is regularly *rodes*. Further, in Irish the difficulties of *ro-* are to a great extent connected with its use in compound verbs, and, as we shall see, we shall have to keep in view the process of building up these compounds. Now the number of compound verbs common to Brythonic and Irish is, as a glance through Stokes' *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz* will show, amazingly small, which indicates that existing compounds were formed, for a great part, independently in the two branches after their separation. These considerations will serve to take from the importance that one would *a priori* be inclined to attach to a comparison of these languages in respect of the use of *ro-*.

We will now proceed to make some remarks on the material that has been collected, and will consider the origin and function of the particle, its presence and its absence, its position in compound verbs, its forms and its accentuation.

#### I. THE ORIGIN AND FUNCTION OF *ro-*.

Before we proceed to consider the origin and function of *ro-*, it will be well for the comprehension of what follows to say something of a distinction of *kind of action* which was inherent in the oldest phase of the Indo-Germanic verb, as it is in the Semitic, and to express which, when the meaning of the original forms have faded, new means have been devised in individual languages. I refer to the distinction between *imperfective* and *perfective* action. A full discussion of the subject will be found in two most instructive papers—Streitberg, *Perfective und Imperfective Aktionsart im Germanischen*, Paul und Braune's *Beiträge* xv, 71–177; and Herbig, *Aktionsart und Zeitstufe*, *Indogermanische Forschungen* vi, 157–269. For the Slavonic languages, in which this distinction is most palpable, Streitberg gives the following definitions:—

1. "The imperfective kind of action, called also durative or continuative, etc. It represents the action in its uninterrupted duration or continuity. Cf. Old Bulg. *lěsti* 'to mount,' 'to carry out the action of mounting,' 'to be in the act of mounting'; Eng. 'to be mounting.'

2. "The perfective kind of action, called also resultative, etc. It adds to the meaning which is inherent in the verb, further the secondary notion of being completed. It denotes accordingly the action of the verb not simply in its progress, its continuity, but always with reference to the fact of the completion, the attainment of the result. Cf. Old Bulg. *razlěsti* 'mount' (ersteigen), i.e. 'the action of mounting in reference to the moment of its completion.' Accordingly a perfective verb of necessity includes, besides the general verbal notion, which it has in common with the imperfective verb formed from the same root, the secondary notion of completion."

The further subdivisions of perfective into momentary-perfective and durative-perfective, and the classes of imperfective-iterative, like Old Bulg. *bivati* 'wiederholt schlagen,' and perfective-iterative, like Old Bulg. *ubivati* 'wiederholt erschlagen,' hardly concern us here. But it is of importance for us to note the modes in which perfective action is expressed. In Indo-Germanic the means of expressing perfectivity was the aorist (Streitberg, op. cit. 139): cf. the use of the aorist stem in Greek and Sanskrit. In individual languages, when the Indo-Germanic aorist system was broken up, or where its original force had faded away, if the distinction of imperfective and perfective were to be expressed formally, some other means had to be used. Chief among these is the use of prepositional compounds (cf. Herbig, p. 222 sq.). In Slavonic most simple verbs are imperfective; they become perfective by composition with a preposition. The preposition may retain its full meaning: Old Bulg. *nesti* 'carry' (imperfective), *stnesti* 'bring together.' Or the preposition may lose its independent existence, and its meaning may become so faded that it brings no appreciable difference of meaning to the verb, and so becomes a purely formal means for the expression of perfectivity, such as in Slovenian *po-*, in Servian *uz-* (Streitberg, p. 73). The same thing is found in Gothic. Here the union of any preposition with a verb produces a perfective meaning (Streitberg, p. 82); but the chief symbol of perfectivity is the particle *ga-*, which had so emptied itself of all independent force, that it was least likely to bring with it to the compound any new shade of signification, and so was fitted to be *κατ' ἐξοχήν* the bearer of the perfective meaning. Cf. Matth. viii, 21, *frauja uslaubei mis frumist galeiþan*

*jah gafilhan attan meinana, κύριε, ἐπίτρεψόν μοι πρῶτον ἀπελθεῖν καὶ θάψαι τὸν πατέρα μου*, Luke viii, 10, *σι saihwandans ni gasaihwaia*, i.e. 'that though they have the faculty of sight, they may not perceive' (cf. Streitberg, p. 83). Many other examples will be found in Streitberg's paper, and in Recha, *Zur Frage über den Ursprung der perfectivierenden Function der Verbalpräfixe* (Dorpat, 1893), p. 97 sq.

One point more may be noted. A verbal form in its origin perfective may come to be merely narrative (constatierend); from indicating *kind of action* it may come to indicate simply *grade of time*. Thus, in Latin the remains of the sigmatic aorist have become mixed up with those of the perfect, and are not distinguishable in meaning from them; two forms, neither of which indicated originally past time, have come to form a single category indicative of past time. And the same process is found in other languages.

It is time to return from this long digression. While to seek to force one language into the categories of another is a fatal blunder, the comparison of a language, in which certain categories are particularly clear, may help to cast light on similar things in another kindred language: witness Streitberg's brilliant exposition of the Gothic verb, suggested by Slavonic categories. And so we hope that the above considerations will furnish help towards an understanding of some points in the Irish verbal system.

Etymologically *ro-* is identical with Skr. *prá*, Gr. *πρό*, Lith. *pra-*, Slav. *pro*. In the indicative it is found in that aggregate of tenses, which corresponds closely to the Latin syncretic tense called the perfect. In simple verbs it is nearly always present; in compounds it is sometimes present, sometimes not: we shall see that certain compound verbs regularly take *ro-*, and that in others it is as regularly absent. But whether *ro-* be present or absent, the force of the tense is the same. The particle here adds nothing to the meaning of the form; it has become a mere symbol like *ge-* in the Modern High German *ge-geben*. Of course, here *ro-* must at one time have been a thing of life and blood; but if we had only these indicative tenses to reason from, it would be difficult to reconstruct its life-history before it became a shade. Fortunately, *ro-* is also found in the subjunctive mood, and with this difference, that here in the same verb subjunctive forms are found both with and without *ro-*, and that a difference

of meaning is sometimes clearly appreciable. Let us compare some of these subjunctive forms with indicative forms in the foregoing lists :—

INDICATIVE.	SUBJUNCTIVE WITH <i>ro-</i> .	SUBJUNCTIVE WITHOUT <i>ro-</i> .
<i>imm-for-laing</i> p. 110.	<i>im-for-lainge</i> Ml. 78 <sup>a</sup> 8.	<i>dia n-immoln-gaithær</i> Sg. 3 <sup>a</sup> 2, Asc. Gloss. clvi.
<i>du-intarrae</i> p. 111.	<i>tintarrad</i> Hy. ii, 18.	
<i>at-ru-balt</i> p. 92.	<i>dia n-ær-balam-ni</i> Ml. 107 <sup>d</sup> 4, <i>ar nach ér-balam-ni</i> Wb. 4 <sup>b</sup> 19.	<i>arna eplet</i> Ml. 77 <sup>a</sup> 13, cf. KZ. xxxi, 79.
<i>at-ru-bart, dia n-ér-bart</i> p. 93.	<i>ni ér-barid</i> Wb. 13 <sup>c</sup> 13, cf. Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. ii, 40.	<i>co n-epred</i> Ml. 28 <sup>b</sup> 11.
<i>ara-rui-chiuir</i> p. 96.	<i>arind-ro-chrietis</i> Ml. 85 <sup>d</sup> 1.	
<i>ad-ro-damar, inn dr-damar-su</i> p. 96.	<i>co n-ár-damat</i> Ml. 131 <sup>d</sup> 16.	
<i>fo-ro-damar, ni for-dámair</i> p. 96.	<i>nad for-damainn</i> Ml. 107 <sup>b</sup> 8.	<i>cía fu-dama</i> Ml. 68 <sup>d</sup> 14, <i>act fo-daimid</i> Wb. 23 <sup>c</sup> 7.
<i>do-r-et</i> p. 97.	<i>arin-de-roima</i> Ml. 39 <sup>c</sup> 22, <i>oid-n-de-roimed</i> 55 <sup>d</sup> 4.	<i>maní-n-dínea</i> Ml. 88 <sup>c</sup> 2, Asc. Gloss. lxxv.
<i>du-ro-gab</i> p. 98.	<i>arna der-gaba</i> Wb. 10 <sup>d</sup> 13.	
<i>ni-m-thor-gaith</i> p. 98.	<i>ni tor-gaitha</i> Wb. 25 <sup>b</sup> 5, <i>coní-n-tor-gáilar</i> 14 <sup>d</sup> 27.	<i>do-gaitha</i> Ml. 31 <sup>a</sup> 13, cf. 28 <sup>c</sup> 15, 31 <sup>c</sup> 20.
<i>do-rignius, ní dernus</i> p. 99.	<i>o-derna</i> Wb. 12 <sup>b</sup> 6, Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. ii, 102.	<i>do-gné</i> Wb. 12 <sup>c</sup> 45, Zimmer, ib. 100.
<i>con-da-ar-leg</i> p. 102.	<i>act ar-roilgithær</i> Wb. 27 <sup>d</sup> 13, <i>o-ár-legthar</i> ib., cf. 27 <sup>d</sup> 14.	
<i>do-ro-laig, ní der-laichta</i> p. 102.	<i>da-ro-lgea</i> Wb. 31 <sup>a</sup> 2, <i>ara n-der-laigthe</i> Ml. 32 <sup>c</sup> 17, Asc. Gloss. clxxv.	<i>maní dilga</i> Ml. 46 <sup>c</sup> 15, Ascoli, ib.
<i>ni tor-multi</i> p. 103.	<i>arna tor-mal</i> Ml. 119 <sup>b</sup> 6.	<i>du-melmis</i> Wb. 10 <sup>c</sup> .
<i>da-ru-nessa</i> p. 103.	<i>o-der-nessa</i> Ml. 129 <sup>a</sup> 14.	<i>co du-nessa</i> Ml. 36 <sup>a</sup> 12.

INDICATIVE.	SUBJUNCTIVE WITH <i>ro-</i> .	SUBJUNCTIVE WITHOUT <i>ro-</i> .
<i>du-dr-baid</i> p. 108.	<i>con-d-dr-bastar</i> Ml. 95 <sup>b</sup> 6, cf. 101 <sup>c</sup> 6, Sg. 211 <sup>a</sup> 10.	<i>do-n-aidbsed</i> Ml. 20 <sup>a</sup> 9.
<i>do-ro-d-bad</i> p. 119.	<i>do-ro-d-ba</i> Hy. iv, 5.	
<i>fo-rácab, nach-id-farcaib</i> p. 113.	<i>arna farcabtis</i> Wb. 31 <sup>d</sup> 13.	
<i>as-rin-gaib</i> p. 114.	<i>as-rin-gba</i> Sg. 169 <sup>a</sup> 1, 187 <sup>a</sup> 1.	<i>arna esn-gaba</i> Ml. 22 <sup>c</sup> 8.
<i>do-roid-ni</i> p. 98.	<i>do-rfoiter</i> Hy. i, 34.	
<i>da-ruich</i> p. 98.	<i>o-dérais</i> i. <i>corodigla</i> LU. 20 <sup>b</sup> 5.	<i>du-fesed</i> Ml. 33 <sup>b</sup> 12, cf. Rev. Celt. vi, 141.
<i>do-ro-shuind</i> p. 105.	<i>arna der-lind</i> Wb. 10 <sup>c</sup> 14.	

The parallelism between the indicative and the subjunctive with *ro-* here is remarkable.

Note also the following instances where *ro-* in enclisis is put at the beginning of the compound.

INDICATIVE.	SUBJUNCTIVE WITH <i>ro-</i> .	SUBJUNCTIVE WITHOUT <i>ro-</i> .
<i>ad-ru-amraigset</i> p. 92.	<i>con ro-ad-amrigther</i> Wb. 12 <sup>d</sup> 29.	<i>coad-amraigetar</i> Ml. 39 <sup>b</sup> 8.
<i>ni ro-di-micestlar</i> Ml. 119 <sup>a</sup> 10.	<i>o-ru-di-micedar</i> Ml. 129 <sup>a</sup> 14.	
<i>etar-dan-ro-scar-ni, in ru-etar-scar</i> p. 105.	<i>ma eter-ró-scra</i> Wb. 9 <sup>d</sup> 31, <i>na ru-etar-scara</i> Ml. 54 <sup>d</sup> 5.	<i>ar nach-n-etar-scara</i> Ml. 79 <sup>b</sup> 2.
<i>in-ru-samlasatar</i> p. 105.	<i>o-ro-intsamlithe</i> Wb. 17 <sup>a</sup> 13.	<i>ci in-samlar</i> Sg. 1 <sup>b</sup> 1.
<i>ad-ro-threb</i> p. 106.	<i>cor-ro-aitreba</i> Wb. 6 <sup>b</sup> 3.	
<i>nach-im-rind-arpai</i> p. 112.	<i>arnach-it-rind-arpither</i> Wb. 5 <sup>b</sup> 33.	

Once or twice in enclitic forms *ro-* makes its way to the beginning of the compound (*arna rim-folingar* Wb. 10<sup>c</sup> 14, *ni ro-chum-scigther* 30<sup>b</sup> 15), just as sometimes in the indicative; but these irregularities are few. It is plain that *ro-* in the indicative and *ro-* in the subjunctive go hand in hand, and must have had the same origin. A further proof of this is that, so far as I have

In the subjunctive, then, forms with *ro-* and forms without *ro-* are found side by side. It is here, accordingly, if anywhere, that some trace of the original force of the particle may be expected to be found. It has long been pointed out that in particular cases *ro-* gives to a present and an imperfect subjunctive the force of a Lat. future perfect indicative, and a pluperfect subjunctive (Ebel KSB. ii, 193, Gram. Celt.<sup>2</sup> 413-4, 419, 422), e.g. *act rooretoa* modo crediderit, *ma etarroscra* si secesserit, *ruiu robeimmiis etir* antequam fuisset omnino. That is to say, in these cases the subjunctive with *ro-* corresponds to the subjunctive and optative of the Greek aorist,<sup>1</sup> and to the Gothic perfective, e.g. John viii, 31 : *ἐὰν ὑμεῖς μείνητε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐμῷ, ἀληθῶς μαθηταὶ μου ἔστε jabai jus gastandiþ . . . seponjos mainai sijus* (PBB. xv, 125). To say that the Irish form in itself expresses relative time, would probably be as wrong as to assert the same of the Greek and Gothic forms. Rather, what is expressed is the perfectivity of the action; the relation of the time to the time of the main verb is determined by the nature of the notions that are brought together. According to Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. ii, 124, subjunctives with *ro-* appear with precisely the same meaning as subjunctives without *ro-*. Whether in any cases in the subjunctive, as in the indicative, *ro-* has become a meaningless symbol, would require a long investigation to determine, and does not really concern us here. But if the relation of the subjunctive with *ro-* to the subjunctive without *ro-* be that of the Greek aorist to the Greek present, the conditions determining the use of the one or the other in any given case may be so delicate, that it behoves us to be very careful in asserting that there is absolutely no difference of meaning.

We have seen now the two uses of *ro-*, one with the preterite of the indicative, where it is merely symbolical, the other with the subjunctive, where it has a perfective force. As has been

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the use of the corresponding Irish form, e.g. *ma frístossam si abiu-  
arvusius* Cod. Cam., *dia-n-d-aithersid* si correxeritis hoc Wb. 9<sup>a</sup> 23, Gram.  
Celt.<sup>2</sup> 467. The subjunctive of the *s* aorist is found use parallel to the present  
subjunctive with *ro-*, e.g. *condeusur biad ocus co ro-choltur ní díngein comlond*,  
*con ro fáysa nial caradpórsu ób maíóymai*, Ir. Text. i, 268, l. 8, cf. LL.  
101<sup>a</sup> 43 sq.

seen from the parallelism of their usage in compounds, the one use of *ro-* cannot be separated from the other; both must come from the same fundamental meaning. It may be noted further that *ro-* is not symbolic of past time generally like the Greek augment; it is found, not with the imperfect of the indicative, but with the group of tenses corresponding to the Latin perfect. Comparison with the Slavonic perfective readily suggests itself, and the similarity has long been recognized, Ebel KSB. ii, 100 sq., Zimmer Kelt. Stud. ii, 122, Thurneysen Rev. Celt. vi, 321 sq. From an original perfective meaning could be explained, on the one hand, the use of *ro-* in the subjunctive, and, on the other, the use of *ro-* in narrative tenses of the indicative, for perfective forms readily develop into an expression of past time: compare, for example, the use in Serbo-Croatian of the perfective present "as narrative present, where the aorist is no longer common," Herbig IF. vi, 191. If, then, it be asked what was the original function of *ro-* in Irish, the probable answer would be: the particle *ro-* gave the verb with which it was joined a perfective force.

The agreement between Celtic and Slavonic is rather one of general principle, and must not be pressed in detail. Indeed, when the details are considered, the divergence is striking. Celtic preserves, to some extent at least, the formal distinction between perfective and imperfective action as a living principle, but only in the subjunctive. In Slavonic simple verbs are, with certain exceptions (cf. IF. vi, 190), durative; compound verbs are perfective, whatever be the preposition they are compounded with. In Irish *ro-* is found also in compound verbs, which according to Slavonic rules would have been perfective in themselves. In certain compounds, however, *ro-* is regularly absent. The particulars we shall have later, when we shall try to discover whether any plausible reason can be given for the presence and the absence of *ro-*.

The question how it was that *ro-* developed this use in Celtic is one that does not admit of a dogmatic answer. Attention, however, may be called to some remarks by Delbrück, Vergl. Synt. p. 718 sq. He points out that in several Indo-Germanic languages compounds with *pro-* have an ingressive or effective sense approaching that of the aorist. Formally *ro-* was excellently adapted to become a symbol, for, apart from its elative use with adjectives and nouns, e.g. *mór* 'great,' *ro-mór* 'very great,' it is



found only in the verb, with a meaning so faded that the particle could fulfil its function without at the same time giving a new nuance to the fundamental meaning of the verb.

If it be asked why these *ro-* forms are not also in use in the present indicative, the answer is that real perfective action and real present time are mutually exclusive: cf. Herbig IF. vi, 200, Thurneysen Rev. Celt. vi, 322. In Slavonic verbs momentary perfectives are not used in a present sense (usually in a future); the present is expressed by the iterative perfective—*sěda* 'I will sit down,' *sědaję* 'I sit down' (Herbig IF. vi, 191). However, in Irish, if *ro-* were ever found in the present indicative of verbs that have *ro-* in the subjunctive and preterite, the category must have fallen into disuse as being unfitted to express present time, and superfluous for aught else. An isolated exception is found 8g. 198<sup>a</sup> 18 *uare asrobair* mulier, meus filius 7 *asrob-* vir mea filia, 'because a woman says *meus filius* and a man *mea filia*.' However this is to be explained (cf. Zimmer Kelt. Stud. ii, 124, Thurneysen Rev. Celt. vi, 322), little stress can be laid on such an exceptional form.

In *ro-cluiniur* 'I hear,' and *ro-lamur* 'I dare,' orthotonic forms with *ro-* alternate with enclitic forms without *ro-* in the present and in the other tenses: cf. *ro-cluinethar* Wb. 12<sup>c</sup> 22 with *ni-s-cluinethar* 'he does not hear' Ml. 21<sup>b</sup> 2, *ro-laimemmar* 'we dare' Wb. 15<sup>c</sup> 19 by *nicon-laimemmar-ni* 'we do not dare' Wb. 17<sup>b</sup> 8. Further examples will be found in Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-4, pp. 449, 450, 457, etc. A similar distinction will be found below in *ro-fetar*, *ni fetar*. How this is to be explained I do not know.

As we have seen above, a form in its origin perfective may come to express past time, and it is not in itself impossible that, as has often been assumed, a present with *ro-* might be used in the sense of a past. But examples where such an interpretation is probable in the Glosses are of the rarest. Certainly in Ml. 24<sup>d</sup> 14 *dia fessar ind aimser hi rogabthar in salm* can hardly mean anything but 'if the time be known in which the psalm was sung'; the Latin context is *si sciatur tempus in quo psalmus decantatus est*. In Wb. 30<sup>b</sup> 15 Stokes takes *ni ro-chumscigthar* in the same way. Stokes, KSB. vii, 3 sq., quotes many cases, a great part of which, however, may be explained otherwise; cf. also Verbal System of the Saltair na Rann, p. 32. It is unnecessary to pursue the subject further here.

In a number of verbs *ro-* goes through the whole verbal system:

such are *tororbanim*, *esrocoilim*, *torogabim*, *esroillim*, *immromidiur*, *diroscagin*, *rouccim*, *roicim*. Here it may be presumed that *ro-* had originally a fuller meaning. Thus Windisch, IF. iii, 73, has compared *imm-romidiur* with Skr. *pramadati*, *pramādyati*. Where both sets of verbs contain *ro-* there is, as we shall see when we come to consider the position of *ro-*, formally no difference between these verbs, and the older part of those where *ro-* is a perfective particle.

Perfective forms may express future time. But Irish had other resources. Still, *ro-* is often found in affirmative sentences with the future of the substantive verb, Gram. Celt.<sup>3</sup> 414, Verbal System of Salt. p. 49. So regularly in positive sentences with *fessur* Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-4, p. 455, otherwise isolated *do-ro-thuusa*, decidam Ml. 23<sup>c</sup> 23, *nidergenat* Ml. 80<sup>a</sup> 109, *ru-n-sluinfem-ni* Wb. 15<sup>a</sup> 4. Apparently no need was felt to develop a double type here.

In some modern Gaelic dialects, instead of *ro-* a prefix *do-* appears in the preterite. The history of the form does not concern us here. Only a couple of cases may be noted where this *do-* seems to make an early appearance. In Ml. 111<sup>a</sup> 7, 8, the forms *du-fo-dail* and *fu-n-dali* are found in two successive glosses. In Wb. 7<sup>a</sup> 11 *dofarsiged* is a doubtful word. In Féil. Oeng. Nv. 6 the MSS. agree in *do-legsat* from *légaim* 'melt.'

## II. THE PRESENCE AND ABSENCE OF *ro-*.

### A. In Simple Verbs.

In simple verbs in the earliest Irish known to us, the general rule is that *ro-* is found in preterital tenses, both active and passive, both in orthotonic and in enclitic forms. The examples will be found p. 80 sq. From the comparative frequency of the tense most of the instances come from the *s* preterite. The perfect is also represented by a considerable number of forms:—Orthotonic: Wb. *ro-m-bebe*, *ro-cechladatar*, *ro-genir*, *ro-t-gáid*, etc., *ro-m-rir*, *ro-fadatar*, *ro-ír*, *ra-midair*, sg. *ro-n-genair*, *ro-t-giuill*, Ml. *ro-bitha*, *ro-cachuin*, *ro-gáid*, etc., *ro-n-genair*, *ro-giuil*, *ro-leldatar*, *ro-memaíd*, *ro-s[ceng]atar*, *ro-tachatar*, *ru-midair*. Enclitic: Wb. *dia ru-ba*, Ml. *cona ro-gáid*, *nad ro-gáid*, *dia ro-guid*, *dia ro-gadatar*, *co-ro-genair*. In simple verbs instances of the *t* preterite are rare, and by an

unfortunate chance in the Old Irish Glosses only orthotonic forms occur:—Wb. *ra-n-anacht*, Ml. *ro-mertatar*, *ro-ort*, *ru-ort*, to which may be added *ro-gelt* from the Southampton Psalter.

Whether this represents the original state of things may be doubted. It is *a priori* probable that certain preterites, from their meaning or their form, were perfective, and, accordingly, did not originally take *ro-*. If so, then they have, for the most part at all events, been overwhelmed by the rising tide. It may be noted that, in orthotonic forms in particular, the prefixation of *ro-* would be a handy device for enabling a pronoun to be incorporated in the verb.

There are some exceptions to the general rule. With *luid* 'he went' *ro-* is regularly absent: cf. pp. 87, 89-91; further, Verbal System of Saltair na Rann (henceforth cited as VSR.), pp. 21, 22. Isolated forms in later Irish like *dia r-luid* VSR. p. 21, 347, do not affect the general usage. Another form of the same kind is *fúar* 'I found,' pass. *frith* 'was found,' cf. pp. 88, 89-91, VSR. 20, 21, 23, 36. Both of these are isolated forms, and, if because of their meaning they did not take *ro-* with the others, their very isolation may have protected them afterwards. In compounds, where *luid* serves as preterite to a present *lui*, *ro-* is sometimes found. It is possible that to these two should be added a third, which, however, occurs only in enclitic position, *ní étade* 'he did not obtain it' Ml. 111<sup>b</sup> 20, *trissan-étatsat* Ml. 57<sup>a</sup> 3, *ní hétas* LU. 89<sup>b</sup> 18, Windisch, Ir. Text. i, 144 l. 7, 120 l. 21.<sup>1</sup> Certainly these forms are not found in the earliest Glosses; but it is a curious fact that *ad-étadaim* 'obtain,' which Ascoli is probably right in regarding as a compound of *étadaim*, never takes *ro-*, and that, in the examples which he cites, neither *étadaim* nor *étaim* take *ro-* with the subjunctive.

As we saw above, there are some verbs that vary throughout between orthotonic forms with *ro-* and enclitic forms without *ro-*. Thus we find regularly *ro-cúala* but *ní chúala*,<sup>2</sup> *ro-fetar* but *ní fetar*. The latter has lived on to the present day as *ní fheadar*. It may be remarked that compounds of *cluniur* and *fetar* do not take *ro-*. From the third verb *ro-lamur* it so happens

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zimmer, KZ. xxviii, 350. With *étas*, an irregular analogical formation from *étad-*, cf. *étasts* Ml. 43<sup>d</sup> 20.

<sup>2</sup> Silvan Evans, Geiriadur Cymraeg, p. 774, quotes *ry giglef* by *ny chiglef*. How far the distinction is carried through in Welsh, I do not know.

that no preterite forms occur in the Glosses. In later texts what seem to have been the original relations are somewhat disturbed. In orthotonesis *ro-* is regular, *ro-lamair* Féil., *ro-lámair* LU. 118<sup>a</sup> 37; in enclisis by *ni lamar* LU. 60<sup>a</sup> 26, *ni lámair* 81<sup>a</sup> 41, 82<sup>a</sup> 33, *ni lomar* Trip. Life 166 l. 2, is found *nach ro-lamar* LU. 62<sup>a</sup> 29. One is tempted to imagine that similar relations may have existed in other cases—that, for example, by *ro-ort* 'he slew,' there may have stood *ni ort* 'he did not slay,' just as in compounds of *-ort* there is no *ro-*. But this, however probable in itself, cannot be established by sufficient evidence.<sup>1</sup> In the poems in the Milan Glosses occurs *ni chelt*, but this isolated form cannot be considered very decisive; a more likely case is *ni etade* above. In *mad-genatar* Ml. 90<sup>b</sup> 12, *mad-genair* Féil. Pr. 251, it is not unlikely that we have something original, cf. *mad-bocht* Hy. v.

In other cases forms without *ro-* have spread at the expense of forms with *ro-*. In the Glosses the instances are few: cf. p. 88. Of these I should certainly be inclined to reject *ches* as due to a scribal blunder, *gensat* is far from being above suspicion, *ni leis* occurs in a passage that contains also the later *asbert*, and that is found hard by another gloss containing *dambido* and *dobert*. In later texts such forms become more common, but are nowhere very numerous: cf. pp. 88, 89–91, VSR. 21, 23, 24, 26, 33. One might suppose that the spread of these forms was favoured by the fact that in certain verbs, as we have seen above, forms without *ro-* had their place from of old by forms with *ro-*. It looks more than a chance coincidence that in Ml. such instances are enclitic—*ni leic*, *ni chelt*, *ni lil*, to which should be added *ni pridched* Wb. 33<sup>d</sup> 1, *nirransam* Wb. 19<sup>d</sup> 6, if Stokes be right. One might note also *ro-loiscadh* by *ni loiscadh* Ir. Text. iii, 1, 190; this is a curious parallel to *ro-cúala* by *ni chúala*. It may be asked, too, whether the historic present may not have contributed somewhat; in enclisis it is not always easy to say what is present and what is preterite. Again, absolute forms like *gabais*, *gabaisit*, by *ro-gab* may have helped. But it is impossible to make out the development in detail.

Certain new forms never have *ro-*. This is so with the absolute forms of the *s* preterite, such as *creitis*, *creitsit*, cf. *o chreitsit* Wb. 31<sup>c</sup> 7, *cichnaigistir* Sg. 152<sup>b</sup> 2, and with pronoun suffixed

<sup>1</sup> In the Féilire occur *las-ort*, *las-orta*, but with the variants *lasort*, *lasorta*. Can the original readings have been *lasn-ort*, *lasn-orta*? If so, the forms might tell somewhat in favour of the above conjecture.

*saidsi*,<sup>1</sup> *leicsi* Ml., both in late passages, further pp. 88, 89, 90, 91. The reason of this is not far to seek. Forms like *creitsit* by *ro-creitsit* arose in imitation of the absolute present *creitit* by the conjunct *no-creitit*, and absolute forms admit of nothing before them.

So it is, too, so far as I have observed, with the passive participle when it comes to replace the preterite passive—*brethas* Ml. 52 (a late passage), *fechta* etc. Hy., *bretha* etc. Féil., *rithas* Tír., *etha* etc. p. 91. As I see now, this has been already observed by Zimmer, KZ. xxviii, 367. His two exceptions *ro-bratha*, *ro-bratta* come from a late addition to the Táin Bó Cúailnge in LL.<sup>2</sup>

### B. In Compound Verbs.

Before we proceed to consider the use of *ro-* in compound verbs, it will be convenient to arrange the material. First we will take the verbs the compounds of which are without *ro-*, then those that in their compounds have regularly *ro-*, and lastly those in which the usage varies. In each of these three classes it will be well further, for the purposes of our inquiry, to keep apart the three tenses that make up the Irish preterite—that is to say, the *t* preterite, a descendant of the Indo-Germanic aorist, the perfect, and the *s* preterite. Those verbs where *ro-* is constant throughout the verbal system may be omitted:—*to-ror-banim*, *ess-ro-coilim*, *di-ro-cōinim*, *to-ro-gabim*, *ro-ioim*, *ess-ro-illim*, *ad-ro-illim*, *imme-ro-midiur*, *di-ro-moiniur*, *to-rat-*, *dī-ro-scagim*, *ro-uccim*.

### I. COMPOUND VERBS WITHOUT *ro-*.

#### 1. The *t* Preterite.

*bath*,<sup>3</sup> *ad-*, *ess-ind-* (p. 121); *facht*, *iar-* (p. 124); *ort*, *ess-*,

<sup>1</sup> These forms with affixed pronouns like *saidsi*, *gabsus*, *morsus* seem to have been in use only during a short period. In the Glosses, as we have seen, they are found only in a late addition to Ml. (suffixed *s* is found earlier: cf. p. 88, Zeit. f. Celt. Phil. p. 11); and they are not found in the Saltair na Rann, where affixed pronominal forms in general are rare and doubtful, and at the most are found only in chevilles: cf. VSR. pp. 12, 13.

<sup>2</sup> In view of this, the examples quoted VSR. 37 require revision. I had not observed the principle then.

<sup>3</sup> Zimmer, KZ. xxx, 148, regards *ad-bath* as derived from *ad-bith*, a perfect passive to *ro-bi* 'he slew,' and *adbathatar* as an analogical formation from the singular. The difficulties in some points of Zimmer's explanation have been pointed out by Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 80. It is simpler, with Stokes, Urkelt. Spr. 159, to look upon *bath* as a non-sigmatic middle aorist from *√bhā*, like *dith* 'sucked' from *√dhāi*. Cf. also Persson, Wurzelerweiterung 286.

*to-imm-*, *ess-com-*, *dī-ess-com-*, *friss-com-*, *to-imm-com-*, *to-com-*, *com-to-com-* (pp. 128, 129); *-diacht*, *com-*, *com-ad-* (p. 131); and the isolated forms *conaicelt* (p. 122), *acht*, *ad-*, *imm-*, *to-imm-* (p. 133), *donnessm-art* (p. 133), *o-bocht* (p. 133), *ar-gairt* (p. 134), *ardoutacht* (p. 136), and perhaps *inchoissecht*<sup>1</sup> (p. 128).

## 2. The Perfect.

*ang-*, *com-*, *to-aith-com-*, *for-* (pp. 120–1); *\*cecha*, *ad-*, *imm-ad-* (p. 122); *cūala*, *imm-* (p. 124), *ad-*, *for-* (p. 133); *cūad*, *aith-*, *dī-*, *to-dī-*, *friss-to-dī-*, *for-dī-*, *remi-dī-*, *ind-* (pp. 123, 124); *daro*, *ad-com-* (p. 124); *fūar*, *fo-* (p. 125); *gēn*, *aith-*, *ess-*, *star-*, *ind-* (p. 125); *ānac*, *air-*, *fo-air-*, *imm-air-*, *to-air-*, *to-*, *aith-com-* (p. 126), *com-air-*, *for-* (p. 134); *rath-*, *to-star-* (p. 129), *to-ar-* (p. 135); *sed-*, *dī-ess-*, *in-dī-ess-*, *imm-* (p. 131); *sephainn*, *to-* (p. 131); *\*tetol*, *com-ad-*, *com-* (p. 131); *\*tetag*, *to-com-* (p. 131); *traccar*, *dū-fo-* (p. 132), *arcair*, *imm-com-* (p. 133); *caird*, *fo-* (p. 133), *dūad* (p. 134), *fess*, *ad-* (p. 134); and the isolated forms *focoemallag* (p. 127), *do-faid* (p. 134), *docoemnahtar* (p. 135), *asrir* (p. 135).

## 3. The *s* Preterite.

The only verbs with forms of frequent occurrence are *ad-cotadus* (p. 124) and *to-uccus* (two verbs, p. 132); less frequent are *con-acertus* (p. 122), *fo-lámastar* (p. 127), *cota-scráis* (p. 131). Isolated forms are *du-d-ell* (p. 124), *conēicn[ig]isset* (p. 124), *con-acab* (p. 125), *ass-ibsem* (p. 125), *dnárchom-raicset* (p. 129), *caittibset* (p. 131), *do-eth* (p. 134), *conascriph* (p. 136), *fo-truicset* (p. 136). In *adcomcisset* by *adcomaing* (p. 121) the *s* form may be based on an old perfect.

# II. COMPOUNDS WITH *ro-*.

## 1. The *t* Preterite.

*balt*, *ad-* (p. 92); *bert*,<sup>2</sup> *ad-*, *ar-*, *ess*, *for-* (pp. 92–4), *imm-* (p. 106), *ad-od-* (p. 112), *fo-od-* (p. 119); *ēt*, *com-*, *dī-* (p. 97),

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that in *in-ru-choissecht ro-* is a later addition.

<sup>2</sup> The compound *do-bert*, which never has *ro-*, is a late formation, cf. p. 121 with note. On p. 121 the solitary form *duairbartha* appears at first sight to have no *ro-*, but it is not impossible that it may stand for *to-ar-ro-bretha*. For the time of the Glosses, no weight can be laid on the form *dorairbert* in the Tripartite Life. Windisch, Wb. p. 437, quotes *cotombert* from *Fled Bricrend*, a text which is much later in language than the Glosses.

*ar-fo-* (p. 113); *gart*,<sup>1</sup> *aith-*, *ar-*, *to-* (p. 99), *friss-* (p. 107), *to-ad-*, *ess-com-*, *to-air-ind-*, *fo-od-* (pp. 114–5), *di-od-*, *to-imm-* (p. 119); *melt*, *to-* (p. 103); *macht*, *to-for-* (p. 116); *recht*, *ess-ess-*, *di-ess-* (p. 116); *sēt*, *to-ess-* (p. 118), *to-fo-ess-* (pp. 111, 118); and the isolated forms *domroisectatar* (p. 105), *conrer-ortatar* (p. 116), *arrin-sartatar* (p. 118), *darind-gult* (p. 120).

## 2. The Perfect.

*ba* (*bīu*),<sup>2</sup> *ceta-* (p. 92); *ba* (*benim*), *for-*, *imm-* (p. 106), *to-fo-* (p. 108), *etar-dī-*, *to-ess-* (p. 109), *imm-dī-* (p. 111), *ind-ar-* (p. 112), *to-dī-*, *ad-ar-*,<sup>3</sup> (p. 119), *ban-*,<sup>4</sup> *to-for-* (p. 112); *bad*, *to-ad-*? (p. 108); *cer-*, *to-* (p. 95), *com-to-* (p. 109); *cechlaid*, *fo-* (p. 95); *ciūir*, *ara-* (p. 96); *dāmar*, *ad-* (p. 96), *dāmar*, *fo-* (p. 96); *dedach*, *for-* (p. 97); *fed-* (*ducere*),<sup>5</sup> *dī-* (p. 97); *fet-*,<sup>6</sup> (*dicere*), *es-ind-* (p. 113); *feth-*, *to-ind* (p. 113); *fich-*,<sup>7</sup> *dī-* (p. 98); *\*gega*, *to-* (p. 98); *\*gegrann*, *ad-*, *ind-* (p. 101); *\*memad*, *to-* (p. 103); *nenasc*, *ar-* (p. 103); *rāth*, *ind-* (p. 104), *fo-* (p. 108), *dī-od-*, *to-imm-to-* (p. 117); *sech-*, *to-dī-od-* (p. 110), *dī-od-* (p. 120); *-tag-*, *com-od-* (p. 118). Isolated forms are *adro-gegonsa*,<sup>8</sup> (p. 97), *foro-raid* (p. 104), *doru-thethaig* (p. 106), *adroethach* (p. 108); *durin-maile* (p. 116). As to *fornar* (p. 98), which Windisch, s.v. *feirim*, puts down as a perfect, it is rather an *s* preterite = *\*fo-re-for*, as is shown by the constant absence of *i* infection in 3 sg. in the Glosses, and by the compound *conforoirisset* (p. 109).

## 3. The *s* Preterites.

The mass of the *s* preterites belongs to this class, and it would be useless to repeat them again. Some of them will be referred to under the next heading.

<sup>1</sup> The isolated forms *conacrad*, *cotagart* (p. 134) from later texts may just be mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> On this verb cf. Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, pp. 92, 93, who shows that it is a compound of *bīu*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *lasse ata-ār-ban* Ml. 65<sup>a</sup> 14, *atat-áirbined-su* g. te impellat Ml. 86<sup>c</sup> 10.

<sup>4</sup> A form of uncertain origin: cf. KZ. xxxi, p. 92.

<sup>5</sup> The 3 pl. seems to be found in Tirechán's Notes 14, *act aingil dutfidedar* (for *dutfidedar*) 'save angels who guided it.'

<sup>6</sup> The W. *gwaut* indicates that *-fid* in the unaccented syllable represents an accented *\*fāith*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 1 pl. *schimmir* LU. 133<sup>a</sup> 41.

<sup>8</sup> A momentary formation to gloss *re-pupugi*.

## III. THE USAGE VARIES.

1. The *t* Preterite.

**-nacim.** Without *ro-*, *to-aith-com-nacim* (p. 128); with *ro-*, *to-ind-nacim* (p. 116), *ad-nacim* (p. 107). Of *to-ind-nacim* the enclitic form of the preterite happens not to be found in Old Irish; the subjunctive is the *s* subjunctive without *ro-*: cf. below. Of *adnacim*, the earliest form of the enclitic form that I know is *ro-adnacht*; if this be an old form, then, as we shall see, it may point to a later addition of *ro-*.

**-sechim.** Of *inchoissecht* and *inruchoissecht* we have spoken above (p. 152).

## 2. The Perfect.

**-canim.** With *ro-*, *for-roichan*, etc. (p. 94); without *ro-*, apparently *to-air-canim* (p. 122), but, as was pointed out there, it is not certain that e.g. *tairchechuin* does not stand for *to-air-ro-cechain*. The isolated *diachain* (p. 133) may be mentioned, but it is of little weight.

**-cīu.** Without *ro-*, *ad-cīu*, *imm-ad-cīu*, *dī-air-cīu*? (p. 122); with *ro-*, *friss-ad-cīu*, *dī-aith-cīu* (?)<sup>1</sup> (p. 112). Of these, *friss-ad-cīu* bears upon it the mark of a comparatively late artificial compound. In the other instance the formation of the compound is doubtful (cf. p. 162). On p. 119 *ro-* is found in *imm-ad-cīu*, where it is absent in the Glosses.

**-crenim.** With *ro-*, *to-aith-crenim* (p. 112); without *ro-*, apparently *to-air-crenim* (p. 123), though this compound is open to the same suspicion as others that have *air* in the second place. As for *to-aith-crenim*, the very form of the compound shows that it was coined to translate *redimo*, for in an old genuinely native compound for *doradcher* we should have had *\*dorécer* or the like.

**-lengim** 'leap.' With *ro-*, *for-lengim* (p. 102); without *ro-*, *dī-air-lengim* (?) p. 127, *to-lengim* (p. 107). Perhaps *fo-lengim* (p. 102), which shows the same method of inflexion, is another compound of the same verb.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *focormallag-sa* 'pertuli' (p. 107) differs in the formation of the perfect, and has no *ro-*, but shows likewise an *s* aorist. *imm-fo-langim* 'efficio' differs in inflexion throughout. *rem-fo-langim*, which Ascoli puts under this, belongs to *fo-lengim* above, as the meaning shows; moreover, it has an *s* aorist, which *imm-fo-langim* has not.



*lod*. Without *ro-*, *fo-ind-ar-lod* (?), *to-lod*, *ind-od-lod*, *remi-lod* (p. 127), *ar-*, *to-ar*, *imm-* (p. 135); with *ro-*, *imm-lod* (p. 102), *ind-od-lod* (p. 115). As to *imm-lod*, the position of *ro-* in the enclitic forms may indicate that *ro-* is there at least of considerable antiquity; the reverse is the case with *-rindualdatar*.

*-midiur*. Without *ro-*, *o-ammadar-sa* (p. 127); with *ro-*, *to-midiur* (p. 103), *ad-midiur* (p. 107). With the latter may be compared *connarmadatar* (MS. *conacconnarmadatar*, corr. Ascoli), if it does not rather go with *ni irmadatar* Wb. 5<sup>b</sup> 2: cf. Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-4, p. 458. The meaning is different: *-ammadar* means 'I adjudged,' *ad-ro-madair* means 'he tried.' The subjunctive is from the *s* aorist without *ro-* (except in *imm-ro-midiur*, where *ro-* is constant), and this may indicate that in the preterite *ro-* is of later introduction, cf. p. 162.

*-moiniur*. Without *ro-*, *for-moiniur* (p. 128); with *ro-*, *ar-ru-muinset* (p. 103), *foruraith-minset*, *ni ru-for-aith-menair* (p. 116). Of these two last, the former shows also transition to the *s* preterite; the latter shows the same in part, and bears indications that it is a late compound. In *to-moiniur* by forms with *ro-* (p. 103) appear forms without *ro-* (p. 103 note, p. 136). The fact that the subjunctive has no *ro-* might seem to indicate that *do-ménar* is earlier than *do-ru-menar*; on the other hand, it is to be noted that in *do-ru-menar* *ro-* preserves its place in enclisis, so that it is hard to say whether *do-ménar* is historically the older or not, or whether the development may not have been *do-ménar*, *do-ro-ménar*, and then again *do-ménar*. *do-ménar* is certainly found in the oldest source, and if *ro-* in *do-ru-menar* of Ml. be of later introduction, it is possible that it retained its place in enclisis under the influence of the similar perfect from *dí-ro-moiniur*, cf. also p. 128.

*-rigim* 'bind.' With *ro-*, clearly *doretarracht* (p. 117); without *ro-*, *con-recht* (p. 172). As to *com-ad-riug* (p. 129), it is not necessary to assume that the perfect contains *ro-*, nor is it necessary to postulate *ro-* in *do-choim-ar-raig* (p. 129).

### 3. The *s* Preterite.

*-fensaim*. With *ro-*, *ad-ru-s-pén* (p. 97); apparently without *ro-*, *do-air-fenus* (p. 124), but it might = *do-air-ro-fenus*.

*-gabim*. Regularly with *ro-* (pp. 98, 107, 109, 110, 113, 114). In the face of this agreement the isolated *conacab* (p. 125), *con-gab* (p. 134) may perhaps be reckoned among the cases where *ro-* has

been lost, if they be not new compounds (cf. however, p. 164). *arangabiat* (p. 125) is probably to be explained otherwise.

-*lā* 'go.' With *ro-*, *as-ru-lūs* (p. 101), *as-ro-chum-lai* (p. 115), *con-ruala* (p. 120); without *ro-*, *do-ath-lasat*, *do-cum-lásat* (p. 135), but in later texts.

-*lā* 'put.' With *ro-*, *to-lāaim* (p. 101), and *adrochomul*, *dorinól* (p. 116), if, as seems not improbable, these come from *lā-*; without *ro-*, *tú-er-com-lasat* (p. 127), *do-eomalta*<sup>1</sup> (p. 135).

-*lēcim*. With *ro-*, *ar-lēcim* (p. 99), *fo-lēcim* (p. 107); without *ro-*, *to-air-lēcim* (p. 127) (unless *tairlaic* stand for *to-air-ro-lēic*), *to-lēcim* (p. 135).

-*salcim*. With *ro-*, *to-fo-od-salcim*, *to-od-salcim* (p. 110). On p. 130, as has been pointed out, *niconairsoil[c]set* may stand for *nicon-air-ro-od-salcsset*, with *ro-* in the same position as in the other compounds.

-*scannaim*. With *ro-*, *to-ind-scannaim* (p. 110); without *ro-*, *to-ad-scannaim* (p. 135), in later texts.

Such are the chief facts with respect to the distribution of *ro-* in preterital tenses. The explanation of these facts is not so obvious, and the following remarks are offered by way rather of tentative suggestion than of dogmatic assertion.

In the foregoing lists probably one of the first things to attract notice would be that in most of the verbs without *ro-* the preterite is the *t* preterite (a descendant of the Indo-Germanic aorist), or the perfect; the *s* preterite is rare, and is found only in a couple of verbs of fairly frequent occurrence. On the other hand, in the *ro-* class the *s* preterite is the most common formation. This division corresponds loosely to the distinction between radical and derivative verbs. Verbs with *t* preterite or perfect are old radical verbs; verbs with *s* preterite are for the most part derivative, though a number of Idg. radical verbs have also adopted this formation. This distinction brings us so far, but it is clear that we have not yet got to the root of the matter, for a large number of radical verbs with perfect or *t* preterite have *ro-* in these tenses. It is necessary, then, to carry our investigation deeper, and, in the first place, to inquire whether any plausible reason can be adduced for the different treatment of verbs of apparently the same sort.

<sup>1</sup> Others would analyze this into *to-aith-com-ellaim*.

We have seen that in all probability the original effect of the addition of *ro-* was to impart to the verb a perfective force. Now in Slavonic and in Gothic many simple verbs are in themselves perfective (cf. PBB. xv, 74, 103 sq.). Hence the suggestion readily offers itself that in Irish the verbs that do not take *ro-* were in themselves perfective (Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi, 322). But before this hypothesis can be more than an *ultimum refugium*, a despair of any further explanation, it would be necessary to show that at all events the bulk of these verbs have perfectives corresponding to them in other languages. But, so far as I know, there are only one or two where this might be plausibly alleged; *-ānac* might be compared with Gr. *ἡνεκα*, *adcondare* with Sk. *darç*, which in the R̥gveda forms only aorist and perfect tenses. On the other hand, *gabim* and *emim*, which take *ro-*, correspond to the Gothic perfectives *giban* and *niman*. So then, in almost every case, this would be reasoning in a circle; such and such a verb is perfective because it does not take *ro-*, and it does not take *ro-* because it is perfective. Still the suggestion of the antagonism between perfective forms and the particle *ro-* is a valuable one, and it may help to bring us nearer to the goal, only by a somewhat different way.

It has been shown by a number of examples that *ro-* in the indicative and *ro-* in the subjunctive to a great extent go hand-in-hand. Hence an examination of the subjunctives of verbs without *ro-* may help somewhat towards the solution of the problem. Accordingly, I give the subjunctive forms of verbs without *ro-*, so far as I have noted them. Probably the list will be complete enough for our present purpose. Subjunctives of the *s* aorist are kept apart from the others.

PRETERITE.	<i>s</i> SUBJUNCTIVE.	PRESENT AND IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.
<i>cot-anecar</i> p. 120.	<i>ona cumset</i> <sup>1</sup> Ml. 39 <sup>a</sup> 26, cf. Ascoli, Gloss. c.	<i>ona cumgailis</i> Ml. 102 <sup>a</sup> 9.
<i>teccom-nocuir</i> p. 120.	<i>doecmoised</i> Wb. 5 <sup>d</sup> 26.	
<i>ecmaic</i> p. 120 note.	<i>nad n-ecmai</i> Ml. 15 <sup>d</sup> 5, Ascoli, Gloss. cii.	

<sup>1</sup> There is also a secondary future *conicfed*; *oicfed* g. *potuisset* Ml. 14<sup>a</sup> 6, *ni cumenibed* g. *nequisset* 42<sup>c</sup> 32, *conicfimmis a digu[i]l* 'we should have been able to avenge it' Wb. 17<sup>a</sup> 10. Similarly from *to-icim*, *do-icfed*, etc., Ascoli Gloss. ciii. These forms are used in the double sense pointed out by Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 68, as imperfects of the future and in unreal conditions; they are not used in final clauses.

PRETERITE.	• SUBJUNCTIVE.	PRESENT AND IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.
<i>for-com-nucuir</i> p. 121.	<i>for-cuimsed</i> Wb. 4 <sup>d</sup> 8, Ascoli, Gloss. ciii.	
<i>ad-chess</i> p. 122.	<i>ndd n-acastar</i> Wb. 25 <sup>b</sup> 28, cf. <i>duécastar</i> , Tír. 3.	<i>ad-cod</i> Wb. 11 <sup>b</sup> 22, <i>ad-coitho</i> 19 <sup>b</sup> 6, <i>ad-ceter</i> Ml. 3 <sup>a</sup> 4, cf. Windisch s.v. <i>ad-clu</i> , Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-4, pp. 466-7.
<i>ad-chuaid</i> p. 123.	<i>at-cois</i> Féil. Pr. 182, VSR. 56.	
<i>do-chood</i> p. 123.	<i>do-odí</i> Wb. 29 <sup>a</sup> 28, Rev. Celt. vi, 142, VSR. 17, 18.	
<i>do-de-ghuid</i> p. 123.	<i>o-tuid-chiased</i> Wb. 15 <sup>c</sup> 16, <i>don-di-chaitis</i> Ml. 104 <sup>c</sup> 5.	
<i>ad-cotadus</i> p. 124.	cf. <i>étaste</i> Ml. 43 <sup>d</sup> 20.	<i>ad-cota</i> Ml. 20 <sup>a</sup> 13.
<i>iar-facht</i> p. 124.	<i>iar-fassat</i> Windisch Wb., <i>iar-fais</i> LL. 181 <sup>a</sup> 38, cf. VSR. 69, <i>iarmi-doised</i> Ml. 32 <sup>a</sup> 5.	
<i>ad-geuin</i> p. 125.		<i>aith-gné</i> LU. 71 <sup>a</sup> 34, <i>aith-gnead</i> 72 <sup>a</sup> 25.
<i>ara-anie</i> , and other compounds of <i>ie-</i> p. 126.	<i>ar-i</i> Ml. 30 <sup>d</sup> 24, Ascoli, Gloss. xciv, sg.	
<i>fo-coim-lachtar</i> p. 127.	<i>fo-chomolsam</i> Wb. 14 <sup>b</sup> 15, <i>fo-chomalsid</i> 11 <sup>b</sup> 2.	
<i>as-comort</i> , and other compounds of <i>org-</i> p. 128.	<i>du-fuarr</i> , etc., Ascoli, Gloss. cxix-cxxii.	
<i>cotasrais</i> p. 131.		<i>arnd coscrad</i> Wb. 10 <sup>c</sup> 1, <i>co-chonscarad</i> Ml. 23 <sup>b</sup> 14.
<i>du-nda-sepfainn</i> p. 131.	<i>du-sésa</i> Ml. 61 <sup>c</sup> 16, <i>du-sesáinn</i> 41 <sup>c</sup> 5.	
<i>con-niacht</i> p. 131.	<i>chon-dorin</i> Wb. 19 <sup>d</sup> 24.	
<i>du-cuitig</i> p. 131.	<i>dara-dochtaised</i> Ml. 78 <sup>a</sup> 4.	

PRETERITE.	<i>s</i> SUBJUNCTIVE.	PRESENT AND IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.
<i>du-fu-tharcair</i> p. 132.	<i>do-fu-thris-se</i> Wb. 32 <sup>a</sup> 9, <i>do-du-thris</i> 20 <sup>b</sup> 9, <i>du-thrised</i> Wb. 4 <sup>d</sup> 17, <i>mi-dúthraslar</i> Patr. Hy. 39.	
<i>do-n-uccus</i> p. 132.		<i>do-n-fuca</i> Hy. iv, 2.
<i>ní tuos</i> p. 132.		<i>ara tuice</i> Wb. 28 <sup>d</sup> 7, cf. 27 <sup>b</sup> 27, 30 <sup>a</sup> 19.
<i>in-choissect</i> p. 128.	<i>in-coissised</i> Ml. 24 <sup>c</sup> 22, cf. 28 <sup>b</sup> 10, 56 <sup>a</sup> 13, Wb. 2 <sup>c</sup> 7.	<i>in-coisged</i> Ml. 24 <sup>c</sup> 14.
<i>do-nn-essm-art</i> p. 133.	cf. fut. <i>do-da-essarr</i> Wb. 5 <sup>c</sup> 12, from another compound.	
<i>im-chom-arcair</i> p. 133.	<i>imne-choim-airsed</i> Ml. 20 <sup>b</sup> 18.	
<i>o-bocht</i> p. 133.	<i>co chotabosad-si</i> Ml. 18 <sup>a</sup> 7.	
<i>fo-chaird</i> p. 133.	cf. <i>s</i> fut. <i>fo-chichur</i> [ <i>r</i> ] Wind. Wb.	
<i>ad-fessa</i> p. 133.	cf. <i>ad-fes</i> , etc., VSR. 55.	
<i>do-coemnactar</i> p. 135.	cf. fut. <i>do-fo-nus-sa</i> Ml. 47 <sup>a</sup> 19, by <i>fo-nenaig</i> Hy. iii, 6.	
<i>as-rir</i> p. 135.		<i>as-riad</i> Ml. 36 <sup>a</sup> 29.
<i>con-recht</i> p. 135.	<i>con da-rias</i> Ml. 21 <sup>b</sup> 7.	

The most striking feature in this list is the large number of verbs, particularly of common verbs that have the *s* subjunctive. In connexion with these verbs two things may be noted—(1) the *s* subjunctive has no *ro-*; (2) the present subjunctive, where it occurs, has no *ro-*. To illustrate this further, it may be worth while to cite other verbs with the *s* subjunctive, which, however, have *ro-* in the preterite.

PRETERITE.	<i>s</i> SUBJUNCTIVE.	PRESENT AND IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.
<i>for-ru-dedach</i> p. 97.	<i>for-n-diassatar</i> Ml. 39 <sup>b</sup> 12.	
<i>du-da-ruid</i> p. 97.	<i>do-n-fe</i> Hy. i, 1.	

PRETERITE.	s SUBJUNCTIVE.	PRESENT AND IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.
<i>da-ruich</i> p. 98.	<i>du-fess</i> Ml. 44 <sup>a</sup> 9, <i>du-fessar</i> 32 <sup>c</sup> 20, cf. 33 <sup>b</sup> 12, 29 <sup>c</sup> 7.	
<i>in-roigrainn</i> p. 101.	<i>in-griastais</i> Ml. 38 <sup>d</sup> 5.	
<i>to-róimed</i> p. 103.	<i>do-ma</i> Trip. Life, p. 84, l. 9.	
<i>fo-ro-raid</i> p. 104.	<i>fu-rastar</i> Ml. 15 <sup>b</sup> 11.	
<i>in-ro-rad</i> p. 104.	<i>in-ré</i> Ml. 113 <sup>a</sup> 7, 134 <sup>d</sup> 1, <i>in-restais</i> 37 <sup>d</sup> 1.	
<i>fo-ro-raid</i> p. 108.	<i>don-foir</i> Hy. v, 89.	
<i>as-rindid</i> p. 113.	<i>as-n-indised</i> Ml. 31 <sup>a</sup> 22.	
<i>du-rin-fid</i> p. 113.	<i>mani thinib</i> Wb. 4 <sup>a</sup> 27.	
<i>du-ror-macht</i> p. 116.	<i>tór-mais</i> Sg. 208 <sup>a</sup> 2, 3, <i>tor-mastar</i> Ml. 20 <sup>a</sup> 20, <i>do-foir-maed</i> 35 <sup>a</sup> 17.	
<i>do-rind-nacht</i> p. 116.	<i>do-n-indin</i> Wb. 13 <sup>b</sup> 29, <i>tind-nised</i> 4 <sup>b</sup> 13, cf. KZ. xxx, 66.	
<i>du-rin-mailc</i> p. 116.	<i>du-in-mail</i> Ml. 50 <sup>b</sup> 1.	
<i>as-réracht</i> p. 116.	<i>es-eraitis</i> Ml. 15 <sup>c</sup> 7, 8.	
<i>du-reracht</i> p. 116.	<i>co n-deirsid</i> Wb. 25 <sup>d</sup> 27, cf. 20 <sup>b</sup> 10, Ml. 103 <sup>b</sup> 3.	
<i>con-rotaig</i> p. 118.	<i>con-utastar</i> LL. 188 <sup>b</sup> 17.	

Here I have confined myself to those verbs in which the preterite of the indicative happens to have been handed down as well as the *s* subjunctive. By including other verbs the examples might have been easily increased, but enough has already been given to illustrate the principle. To the former of the two rules that compound<sup>1</sup> verbs do not take *ro-* in the *s* subjunctive there is, so far as I have observed, only one apparent exception in the Glosses, that is *tárbastar* from *to-ad-bad-* (p. 144). And it may be questioned whether this is really an exception,

<sup>1</sup> This rule does not hold altogether in simple verbs: cf. *ar[ar]oigisitis* Ml. 131<sup>d</sup> 14, *con-roigset* Wb. 16<sup>c</sup> 23, *mani roima* Ml. 89<sup>c</sup> 11, *ro-giyed* Ml. 32<sup>d</sup> 6, *ro-n-ain ro-m-ain* Féil. Oc. 29. Pr. 18. Here we seem to have the beginning of an extension of the same kind as the spread of *ro-* in the preterite of simple verbs.

or whether there may not have been two compounds *to-ad-bad-* and *to-ar-bad-*,<sup>1</sup> just as we have *do-r-aithchiúir* and *do-air-chiúir*; cf. also the compound *du-air-fenus* 'manifestavi.' In a later text an exception seems to be found in *o-dérais* (p. 144), which seems to come from *dí-fichim*; in the Glosses the *s* subjunctive has no *ro-*. To the second rule an exception may be seen in the verb *ad-glúdur*. In the Glosses the present subjunctive is found with *ro-*: *immandrladmar* Wb. 29<sup>d</sup> 10, cf. *conidnarladur* LU. 113<sup>a</sup> 7, *connarlaidid* Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891-4, p. 497. In the Sagas are found an *s* future *adglaasmar*, ib. 497 (by a reduplicated future ib. 507) and an *s* aorist with *ro-* ib. 497. How this exception is to be explained is not clear to me, but neither it nor *dérais* can be held to invalidate the general rule.<sup>2</sup>

But how is that rule to be explained? As we have seen, the Indo-Germanic means for expressing perfectivity was the aorist. The subjunctive of the *s* aorist would then from the outset express perfectivity in itself. Consequently in Irish, in those verbs where the *s* subjunctive lived on from of old, the new method of expressing perfectivity by means of the particle *ro-* would be unnecessary.

This hypothesis seems to furnish a simple and natural explanation of the facts; indeed, so far as I see, it is the only one that will account for them. It also supplies a reason for the absence of *ro-* in the preterite in the case of most of the common verbs that do not take *ro-* in that tense, for, as we have seen, the great majority of them have the *s* subjunctive. Now it is possible to understand why we should find, on the one hand, *as-ort*, *con-diacht*, and, on the other, *as-ru-bart*, *at-ru-balt*. In the latter case the

<sup>1</sup> The fact that *a* in the perfect and the *s* subjunctive often has the mark of lengthening is hardly decisive against this. Cf. instances like *móirb* *nocepmum*, etc., Gram. Celt.<sup>2</sup> 26 (mixed with instances that are to be explained otherwise), *indrbenim*, etc., ib. 881, which seem to indicate that a short vowel before *r* + cons. was lengthened, becoming, perhaps, half-long. On a triple length of vowels, cf. O'Molloy, *Grammatica Latino-Hibernica*, p. 161; his examples represent the Modern Munster pronunciation. The subject would probably repay a thorough examination.

<sup>2</sup> In compounds of *-ciu* we find by *de-n-ecaitheir* Ml. 73<sup>c</sup> 11, *-dercaitheir* Ml. 102<sup>b</sup> 10, cf. above p. 158, and the indicative forms p. 112. The probability here is that we have to deal with different compounds, *dí-ad-ciu*, and perhaps *dí-ar-ciu*, cf. *ní-m-aircecha-sa*, *arcastar* VSR. p. 56. As to *doreacha* in Ml. cf. p. 112; the meaning is a particular one, and the analysis of the compound is uncertain.

aoist stem was either not formed or had perished<sup>1</sup>; consequently the perfective *ro-* made its way into the verbal system, while, in the former, where the Indo-Germanic perfective stem lived on, it did not.

But, it may be urged, a considerable number of verbs that form the *s* subjunctive have, nevertheless, *ro-* in the preterite. That is indeed so, as the list on pp. 159, 160 shows. How, then, is the fact to be explained? It may be observed that *ro-* has somewhat of a tendency to spread in the preterite. Compare *ni-m-un-accamar* Wb. 18<sup>a</sup> 3 with *im-r-acacha* LU. 130<sup>b</sup> 22, *do-sephain* p. 131 with *dotroiphnetar* LU. 98<sup>b</sup> 32, *du-ar-bartha* Ml. 99<sup>d</sup> 1 with *do-r-airbert* Trip. Life, *do-r-arbrad* Salt. Rann 6922, *do-anico* p. 126 with *do-ranie* Salt. Rann 5339. In all probability the explanation of *ro-* in the above-mentioned preterites is the same; *ro-* spread to them by the way of analogy. Why *ro-* should have invaded some verbs and not others, is, of course, not in every case clear. Sometimes a reason can be suggested. Thus, the compounds of *-cūad* have no present.<sup>2</sup> The compounds of *-iccim* are in very common use, and a form much used is less likely to be affected by analogy. Similar reasons could be urged for some of the others, but it is needless to go into detail. On the other hand, it may be noted that many of the compounds into which *ro-* has penetrated are of very infrequent occurrence. It may be remarked further that in the old-established compound *ad-ciu* there is no *ro-*, while the new compound *friss-accim* inserts it after the first preposition. So far, then, the results may be summed up as follows. Verbs that preserved the *s* subjunctive, the primary force of which was perfective, did not develop a perfective *ro-* formation, and in consequence are regularly without *ro-* both in the subjunctive and in the preterite; where *ro-* appears, it has come in by way of analogy.

So much for this class of verb. Of the remaining *ro-*-less verbs

<sup>1</sup> That many *s* subjunctives have been lost in Irish is certain. Indeed, so far as I can recollect, the *s* subjunctive is limited to verbs ending in a guttural or a dental, including *seinnim*, which ends in *n*. There are none from roots ending in a labial or a liquid. This can hardly be explained save on the assumption that somehow these forms were unfitted to survive in the struggle for existence. In liquid verbs the indicative of the middle aorist lives on much disguised in the *t* preterite.

<sup>2</sup> That is so in the Glosses. In VSR. p. 63 have been noted a couple of instances of a present *-digthim*, *-dichtim* to *dī-cuad*. In any case the instances are very few, and it may be doubted whether the present is not a new formation from the perfect.



one of the most common is *-gninim* in compounds. Here, again, the subjunctive *-gnē*, *-gnead* is noteworthy. It is formed not from the present stem but from the root, so that formally it might be more properly described as an aorist subjunctive. Of somewhat similar formation is the subjunctive stem of a number of verbs in *-enim*, *benim* 'strike,' *bia*; *crenim* 'buy,' *do-aith-chretis* Ml. 123<sup>c</sup> 10; *renim* 'give,' *ni riat* Wb. 28<sup>c</sup> 2, *as-riad* Ml. 36<sup>a</sup> 29, cf. Gr. *πρίωμαι* (Thurneysen KZ. xxxi, 84–8). These, again, are formally rather aorist subjunctives: cf. Thurneysen, l.c. It is to be noted that they do not take *ro-*: *nachit-rindarpither*<sup>1</sup> Wb. 5<sup>b</sup> 33, is an exception, and the position of *ro-* in this form may indicate, as we shall see, that it is a later addition. As to the preterite, *-gninim* never has *ro-*. Of compounds of *renim* only a solitary *as-rir* is found. From *-crenim* the artificial compound *to-aith-crenim* has *ro-*, in *to air-crenim* there is no clear trace of *ro-*, and it is not necessary to assume that it was ever present. In compounds of *-benim*, *ro-* is regularly present. Probably here, too, the facts may best be explained by the assumption that, where *ro-* appears in this class of verbs, it has come in by analogy.

Compounds of *-cluniur* 'I hear' have no *ro-*. It is not altogether certain whether the subjunctive *-cloor* is an *s* stem, or a formation of the sort which has just been considered: cf. Phil. Soc. Trans. 1891–4, p. 564.

A certain number of preterites are protected by their isolation. Such are *at-bath*, *ar-ind-bath*, *ad-con-darc*, *fo-fuar*, *dessid*, *imm-siannair*, *dūad*. It is instructive to compare the compounds of *fuar* and *lud*-. As we have seen, neither of them take *ro-* in the simple verb. Now in composition *fuar* is just as much isolated as in the simple form; *-lud*-, on the other hand, serves as the preterite to *-lui*. Hence *fuar* in composition does not take *ro-*, while in compounds of *lud*- there is a tendency to introduce *ro-*.

About the remaining verbs there is little to be said. Some of them have been spoken of above, p. 155. Of *s* preterites *ad cotadus*, as we saw before, has in the simple verb an *s* form. Of *do-uccus* 'I brought,' and *-tucus* 'I understood,' it can only be said that they show *ro-* nowhere; in the former verb it may be that the

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps also *ar-ind-ro-chrietis* Ml. 85<sup>d</sup> 1 is an exception. Ascoli suggests *arindochrietis*, but *-crinim* might rather be expected to go in inflexion with the above verbs. Should we read *arindrochretis*? In either case the form would be irregular.

kindred *ro-uccus* helped to keep the preterite free from *ro-*. In connection with *cola-scráis* it may be remarked that several verbs compounded with *com-ad-* do not show *ro-*. Such are *con-ascriph*, *con-acertus* (both of them probably learned words), *con-aicell*, *con-acab*, *con-acrad*, *con-aittibset*, and the perfect *con-attail*. Most of these are isolated forms, and whether any principle underlies this I will not venture to determine. Of the other isolated *s* preterites I will say nothing. In some of them, at all events, we may have instances of the later usage without *ro-*, which will have to be considered later.

After what has been said already, the preterite with *ro-* may be dismissed briefly. If it were necessary to define the fundamental use of *ro-* in the verbal system, the following statement would probably be not far from the truth—The particle *ro-* served to form a perfective form to such verbs as had no perfective (aorist) stem.<sup>1</sup> This would agree well with the facts that have been noticed already. It would also agree well with the fact that the great mass of *ro-* preterites belong to the *s* preterite, for the *s* preterite is *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, the preterite of derivative verbs which in Indo-Germanic had no extra-presential stem. Perhaps the introduction of *ro-* into the preterite may be not unconnected with the formation of a preterite to verbs of that type. The *s* preterite has not yet been thoroughly cleared up. (Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* iii, § 840.)

We must not be understood to say that every *ro-* subjunctive must go back to an old perfective stem; when once the type was established, it may have spread by analogy. In the examples given on p. 99 the perfective stem is probably old in at least a great number of those verbs in which *ro-* stands directly before the verb, and retains that position in enclisis.

Again, it would doubtless be going too far to assert that in every instance a *ro-* in the preterite goes together with a *ro-* in the subjunctive. In many cases *ro-* may have spread independently

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, to make surer, one might add 'or no perfective present stem,' for, as we saw above, it is possible for a verb to be perfective in itself. For the preterite this distinction has been of little use; whether it would be any more helpful for the subjunctive could be determined only by a thorough investigation of the syntax of that mood. Further might be added, perhaps, 'or where the perfective stem has been lost.' That would include those primary verbs which may well have inherited from the parent language an *s* subjunctive that was afterwards lost. If the loss of the *s* subjunctive were posterior to the development of the *ro-* category, it would be necessary to assume that *ro-* came in by analogy, but at an early date.

by analogy in the preterite, just as it did in all probability in the verbs that were considered above, p. 162. As we shall see afterwards, the varying position of *ro-* in compounds points to its introduction at different periods.

As to variation of usage, whereby in compounds of the same verb *ro-* sometimes appears and sometimes does not, the most that is to be said has been said already. It is clear that the usage is determined by the verb, not by the prepositions with which the verb enters into composition. The only possible instance to the contrary, so far as I know, which could be quoted, is the usage in certain verbs compounded with *com-ad-* (p. 164), and that may be a mere coincidence. Considering the great number of the verbs in question, instances of variation are really very few, and become fewer if those cases are taken away in which *ro-* may have become indiscernible after the preposition *air*. Of the others, many occur in texts later than the Glosses, and they may be regarded as new developments rather than as anything old. The instances in which the reverse is probable, namely, that the *ro-*-less forms are the older, have been noted before, cf. p. 155.

It has already been remarked that in later Irish there is somewhat of a tendency to omit *ro-* in compound verbs in which *ro-* was present in the older language. Examples of this will be found on pp. 136, 137; further, it is possible that some isolated *ro-*-less forms in the Glosses are to be explained in this way, though here the fact cannot be established with the same certainty as in those verbs in which older forms with *ro-* occur. It is impossible for me to give a detailed account of this phenomenon here. The instances in the old texts that we have examined are not very numerous, and the only other collection that I have at my disposal is VSR. pp. 20-34, 36, 37.

In the oldest Irish Glosses, as will be seen from a glance at p. 136, the examples are very few. In Ml. it may be noted that one or two of the passages in which these forms occur have other indications that they are later than the bulk of the Glosses. Thus 23<sup>b</sup> 10 shows by *-digni dobert*. In 58<sup>c</sup> 6 by *asmbert* is found *ni leic*, and in the neighbouring gloss 58<sup>c</sup> 4 *dambidc* is found by *dobert*. Further, several of the instances are found together in a longer gloss of the same kind, 55<sup>c</sup> 1, and *ducorastar* occurs in another similar gloss, 52, which contains several later forms. It is probable that some, at least, of the other passages, such as 16<sup>c</sup> 10, 39<sup>a</sup> 3, 124<sup>d</sup> 9, must be regarded in the same light.

In 83<sup>a</sup> 6 *durim* glosses *relations persequitur*, and we should probably restore the present *durimi*. In the later Turin Glosses such cases are proportionately more frequent, likewise in the other texts, pp. 136, 137, which are probably to be referred to the end of the eighth or to the ninth century. In the tenth-century text, the Saltair na Rann, the instances are, as might be expected, more numerous, but still, relatively to the total number of forms, they are not very frequent.

In the lists on pp. 136, 137, we may observe that the examples are particularly frequent from one or two verbs—*asbert*, *dogéni*, *-digni*, *dognith* (but *-dernad*), *docorastar*, *docer*—and some of the others are found more than once. It seems impossible to say why *ro-* should have been given up sooner in some verbs than in others, but some more or less plausible reasons may be adduced for the general fact of the partial omission of *ro-*. (1) The analogy of the *ro-*-less verbs, e.g. *as-bert* : *as-beir*, *at-balt* : *at-bail*, *fris-gart* : *fris-gair* = *iar faicht* : *iar faig*, *as-ort* : *as-oirg*. (2) Sometimes in enclitic forms *ro-* becomes indiscernible, e.g. *ní ar-bart* (p. 92), *ní ar-chiúir* (p. 96), *ní ar-gart* (p. 99), and the enclitic forms might easily have affected the orthotonic. (3) The loss of *ro-* might further have been helped by the historic present, which in the 3 sg. in many cases is not distinguishable from a *ro-*-less *s* preterite. Thus, *tintáiset* is the plural of *tintái*, and the latter might formally be either pres. indic. or *ro-*-less pret. of *to-ind-sóim*. The historic present and the preterite are often found together, e.g. LU. 57<sup>a</sup> 30 *dothiagat . . . co féotár* 'they go . . . and slept.' 59<sup>b</sup> 28, 30-5, etc. An instance like *do-cer*, which has no present forms, can hardly be explained in any of these ways. Probably the variation between forms with and forms without *ro-* in other cases leads to a similar variation here.

For with the development of *ro-*-less forms the corresponding forms with *ro-*, in many cases at least, did not vanish from literature. Thus, Salt. R. has only *do-ro-chair*, *tor-chair* (VSR. 22-4), while in tenth and eleventh century poems *do-cer* is frequent. In Salt. R. we find e.g. *focart* by *forfúacart*, *doraringert* by *tharíngert*, *doerinolat* by *tinólsat*, and many others. How far these double forms are due to literary tradition I have no evidence to prove.

In a couple of common verbs there is clear evidence that the *ro-*-less forms existed only for a limited time, and that the forms with *ro-* continued to live on side by side with them. From

*asbiur*, *asbert*, as we saw, begins to appear in the later Glosses, and it is the common form in the Sagas, and also in the Salt. R. (VSR. 24). But the modern *dubhairt* cannot be derived from this: it comes from *adubairt*, a later Mid. Ir. transformation of *atrubairt*. So *rinneas*, *go n-dearnas*, *rinneadh*, *go n-dearnadh* come from *dorigenus*, etc., not from *do-génus*, etc. Already in Salt. R. in this verb only forms with *ro-* are found. The mass of verbs went another way, but of that we shall have to say something under the following heading.

### III. THE POSITION OF *ro-*.

Before proceeding to details we may note two diverse principles whereby the position of *ro-* is regulated in compound verbs.

(1) In some compounds *ro-* stands next to the verb irrespective of the number of prepositions that precede, and it retains this position in enclisis. To this class belong most of the verbs on pp. 108–113, and many of those on pp. 91–108; in the latter compounds it is only the enclitic form that can determine whether the compound belongs to this class or to the following. In some compounds, however, *ro-* stands between the second and the third prepositions: *do-for-chossol* (*to-fo-com-salim*), *doforsailc* (*to-fo-od-salim*), *do-dersaig* (*to-di-od-sachim*), *do-forsat* (*to-fo-ess-saimim*). Sometimes, too, *ro-* standing after the first of more than one preposition retains its position in enclisis. These exceptions will be considered later.

(2) In other compounds the rule is that in orthotonesis *ro-* comes after the first preposition, in enclisis at the head of the compound directly after the particles *ní*, *nāđ*, etc.; in other words *ro-* follows the pretonic syllable. The accentuation of *ro-* itself in such compounds will be discussed in another section.

Considering the importance of the enclitic forms for this part of our investigation, it will be well to exhibit the two sets over against one another. Unfortunately they are all too scanty.

#### 1. Verbs compounded with one preposition.

##### *ro-* REMAINS.

*co n-der-badad*, p. 92.

*co n-or-ballatar*, p. 92.

##### *ro-* MOVES FORWARD.

*ní-r ru-foir-cnsda*, p. 95.

*níon-ru-ac-oobrus*, p. 95.

*ro-* REMAINS.

*ní ar-bart*, p. 92.  
*ní ar-burt*, p. 93.  
*o-arr-aeoratar*, p. 96.  
*inn ór-damar-su*, p. 96.  
*nad for-damar-sa*, p. 96.  
*ni-m-thor-gaith*, p. 98.  
*ni ar-gart*, p. 99.  
*ní ar-génsat*, p. 99.  
*ni der-géni*, p. 99.  
*dia for-génsam*, p. 101.  
*con-da-ar-leg*, p. 102.  
*ni der-laichta*, p. 102.  
*ní-im-ru-ldatar*, p. 102.  
*asa-to-róimed*, p. 103.  
*ni tor-mull*, p. 103.  
*ní-tor-menar-sa*, p. 103.  
*ni-n-ar-raim*, p. 104.  
*ni for-roim*, p. 106.  
*ni-n-ar-lassair*, p. 107.  
*o-érracht*, p. 108.

*ro-* MOVES FORWARD.

*in rad-chotadaiged*, p. 95.  
*ni rú-tho-churestar*, p. 96.  
*ni ru-frith-gab*, p. 98.  
*ni ru-thó-gaileam*, p. 98.  
*nad reildisem-ni*, p. 102.  
*ni ro-di-micestar*, p. 103.  
*in ru-star-scar* } p. 105.  
*du in retar-scar* }  
*nad ro-to-dlaigestar*, p. 106.  
*nad rim-gab*, p. 107.

By these may be mentioned the following subjunctives (cf. pp. 143, 144):—

*arin-de-roima*.  
*arna der-gaba*.  
*o-der-nessa*.  
*arna der-lind*.

*con ro-ad-amrigther*.  
*o-ro-intsamlihe*.  
*cor-ro-aitreba*.

## 2. Verbs compounded with more than one preposition.

(a) In orthotonesis *ro-* stands before the verb.

*nad tarbas* (? cf. pp. 160–1), p. 108.    *nad ru-chum-gab*, p. 109.  
*manid-tes-ar-bi*, p. 108.  
*con-da-túar-gabusa*, p. 110.  
*dia n-im-for-lainged*, p. 110.  
*ni thar-ilb*, p. 111.

(b) In orthotonesis *ro-* stands between the second and the third prepositions.

<i>ní ar-roit</i> , <sup>1</sup> p. 113.	<i>ní ro-im-di-bed</i> , p. 111.
<i>nach-id-farcuib</i> , p. 113.	<i>nach-im-rind-arpai</i> , p. 112.
<i>ní ern-gaib</i> , p. 114.	<i>ní ru-thor-ba-sa</i> , p. 112.
<i>con-da-forlaig</i> , p. 115.	<i>in ru-fres-cachae</i> , p. 112.
<i>ní-de-raerachtatar</i> , p. 116.	<i>ní ro-thuillissem</i> , p. 115.
<i>ní de-rua-rid</i> , p. 117.	<i>ní ru-m-com-air-leicis-se</i> , p. 115.
<i>ní com-arscaiged</i> , p. 117.	<i>nad rind-ualdatar</i> , p. 115.
<i>ní der-saig</i> , p. 120.	<i>ní ru-for-aith-menair</i> , p. 116.
	<i>ní ru-chumsanus-sa</i> , p. 117.

The tendency in Irish is for the former principle to give place to the latter, and this change has begun in the time of the Glosses. Cf. by *ar-for-chelta* p. 109, *ar-n-dam-roi-chlis-ní* p. 112; by *dan-daraig* p. 110, *do-ro-diugad* p. 118, cf. VSR. l. 680; by *do-foraet* p. 111, *do-rósat* p. 118, which is afterwards the regular form, cf. VSR. l. 474 sq.; by *do-int-arrai* p. 111, *do-rintai* p. 118, in the sense of 'translate'; by *con-to-roe* p. 131, *co-ru-thóí* p. 118. Cf. further *du-m-imm-or-chell* p. 109, with *do-rim-chell* p. 119, cf. VSR. l. 780; *do-imm-arnad* p. 108, with *do-rimnai* VSR. l. 781; *tind-ar-scan* p. 110 with *do-rinnscan* VSR. l. 673. So in enclisis by *ní-m-thor-gaith* we have *ní ru-thó-gaitsam*, in the subjunctive *ro-* retains its original position, cf. p. 143; by *ní ern-gaib* we have *nad roen-gabsat*; cf. also *nad ru-chum-gab* by orthotonic *conn-uar-gab* p. 109. In the later language the latter mode of arrangement for the most part prevails.

Of the two principles it is certain, both from *a priori* considerations and from the general course of the development of the language, that the former is the earlier. And this principle also holds good in those compounds enumerated on p. 151 in which *ro-* extends through the whole verbal system, including verb nouns;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But it is not certain that this is not for *ar-ro-ēt*, cf. Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi, 223, and *o-roitatar* above, p. 97; or *ar-em-* and *ar-fo-em-* may have become mixed.

<sup>2</sup> An exception would be found in *tororbanim* if Thurneysen's hesitating resolution of the word into *to-ro-for-fen-* be right. But it is to be noted that *do-ror-* ex hypothesi from *do-ro-for-* shows no mark of lengthening on the second syllable, and the analysis is doubtful.

in the parts in which *ro-* appears in both classes there is formally no distinction between the old perfective compounds and those compounds in which *ro-* may be assumed to have had its full prepositional force. We may, then, lay down the rule that in verbs compounded with prepositions originally *ro-* stood directly before the verb, and retained that position under all circumstances. If it be asked how *ro-* came to hold this position, it would be a fair answer, so far as concerns the perfective compounds, that the formation of a perfective stem with *ro-* started in the simple verb, and that, when the verb came to be compounded with prepositions, *ro-* retained its original place just like the augment. But what of those compounds in which *ro-* is an ordinary preposition? These puzzled me for a long time, until at last the idea occurred that this order may have been proethnic. This suspicion was confirmed by an examination of the usage in Vedic Sanskrit and in Homer. In the constant compounds (*durchgehenden Verbindungen*) enumerated by Delbrück in his *Altindische Syntax*, pp. 434–9, *prá* is always nearest to the verb.<sup>1</sup> So in Homer, *ἐπιπροίημι*, *ἐπιπροχέω*, *ἐπιπροιάλλω*, *ἀποπροίημι*, *ἐκπροκαλέω*, *ἐκπρολείπω*, *περιπροχέω*, *ὑπεκπροφεύγω*, *ὑπεκπροθέω*, *ὑπεκπρολύω*; the only exception that I have discovered is *προκαθιζόντων* B. 463, which may be regarded as the beginning of a later principle. Other Idg. languages I have not examined, but this agreement between the West and the East should be sufficient in itself.

Compounds of the earlier type containing only one preposition hardly call for any further discussion. It may not, however, be amiss to take some illustrative examples of the building up of compounds with two or more prepositions. From *ānim*, which is not found as a simple verb, the perfective stem would be *ro-ān-*. This occurs in *aith-ro-ān-*, *imm-ro-ān-*, p. 92. From the latter, with the addition of *to-*, which is often prefixed without appreciably

<sup>1</sup> Before consulting Delbrück I looked through the instances given by Grassmann in his *Wörterbuch*. If my observations be accurate, he gives sixty compounds of two prepositions from forty-one roots, in which *prá* stands nearest to the verb. The exceptions are few and isolated. In several of them *prá* stands loosely at the beginning of the sentence: RV. v, 2.9, x, 47.6, vii, 84.1, v, 49.6, ix, 64.19, ix, 103.1, viii, 58.1, vii, 1.4; on *ei duhanti prá vāndm*, iv, 24.9, cf. PBW. s.v. *duh*. The remaining instances are *yó na idám-idám purá prá váśya ānindya*, viii, 21.9, and *prāntár jśayah sthāvīrīr aśkshata*, ix, 26.3, truly a scanty remnant.



changing the meaning, comes *to-imm-ro-ān-* p. 108. From *gabim* with *ud-* would come *\*ud-ro-gab-*. This compound has not survived independently, but it forms the base of *to-ud-ro-gab-* p. 110, and *com-ud-ro-gab-* p. 109; the enclitic form of the latter is, it is true, *-ru-chum-gab-*, but the position of *ro-* in orthotonesis is sufficient evidence that this is an old compound, and *-ru-chumgab* has accordingly been put down among the instances of transition mentioned above p. 169. From *sōim* 'turn' would come *ro-sō-*, *to-ro-sō-*, which forms the base of *com-to-ro-sō-* p. 111, and possibly, though not necessarily, of *do-n-int-arrai* ib. From *selbaim* with *ad-* might come *ad-ro-selb-*, and from this again *to-ad-ro-selb-* p. 111. Other compounds of the same kind may be considered to have arisen in the same way, whether the intermediate stages happen to have been actually handed down or not.

As we have seen, p. 169, some compounds take *ro-* before the last preposition. Chief among this class are verbs with initial *s* compounded with *ud-*, where this order is regular. The examples are:—

*dunforaile*, *dorosaile* p. 110, from the stems *to-fo-ro-ud-sale-*, *to-ro-ud-sale-*. It is to be noted that *sale-* is never found in Irish without *ud-*; the base of composition was not *sale-*, but *ud-sale-*, in which the assimilation of *d* to *s* was doubtless very early.

*doriosaig* p. 120, *dandersaig* p. 110=*dī-ro-ud-sech-*, *to-dī-ro-ud-sech-*. In this root *ud-* is found only in these particular compounds.

*corosan* p. 117=*com-ro-ud-san-*. Now in orthotonesis here *ro-* stands after the first preposition, and the only enclitic form that has been preserved for us is *-ruchumsan*, so that at first sight this compound seems one of the later type. But the verb has every appearance of being an old one, and there is nothing improbable in the assumption that *-ruchumsan* has replaced an older *\*comarsan*.

*conroscaig* p. 117=*com-ro-ud-scach-*. Here the antiquity of the compound is guaranteed by the enclitic *-comarscaiged*.

Three of these verbs begin with *s* followed by a vowel, and it might perhaps be urged that e.g. *\*ud-ro-sale* became *ro-ossale* by a displacement of *ro-* to preserve the unity of the verbal system. But this consideration did not prevail in *ad-ro-selb-*, where *ro-* kept its original position even though this involved the loss of *s* in enclisis. Again, *conroscaig* cannot be explained in this way. Hence another suggestion seems more probable, namely, that in

these verbs *ro-* was introduced by analogy at a time, and this may have been very early, when *ud-* had become assimilated and was no longer felt to be a separate particle. It is not at all improbable that from old perfective compounds *ro-* spread at an early period to others, whether as the bearer of a perfective force or as a mere symbol of the preterite. Similar to the foregoing compounds, and doubtless to be explained in the same way, are *dorasset* p. 118, *doforsat* p. 111, from *to-ro-ess-sem-*, *to-fo-ro-ess-sem-*. Here, again, the base of composition is not *sem-*, but *essem-*: cf. Ascoli, Gloss. ccxliii sq. Yet another probable instance of the same kind is *doforchossol*, p. 110, if it be rightly analyzed into *to-fo-ro-com-sal*. Cf. also *forrózul*, p. 118. As for *adconrotaig*, p. 111, it is a purely artificial imitation of *ad-struxit*, and proves nothing for *conrotaig*, into which, as the verb has the *s* subjunctive, *ro-* probably came, earlier or later, by analogy.

There still remain a few forms, which do not, like the preceding instances, fall under any apparent rule: *-farcaib*, *-farlaig*, *-erngaib*, *-deraerachtar*, *-deruarid*; *arroit* is doubtful, cf. p. 169. These agree in the position of *ro-* in orthotonesis with the later type, but retain *ro-* in the same position in enclisis. That there were other compounds of the same kind, is probable, but, unfortunately, in the absence of enclitic forms it is impossible to detect them, and any explanation of these few isolated forms must be very problematic. The presence of the particle after the first preposition might be explained in two ways: either it shifted forward, as in the instances quoted on p. 169; or it stood there from the first, either because the compound was a later one, or because *ro-* was inserted by analogy in a preterite where it was originally absent. In explanation of the retention of *ro-* in enclisis there are again two possibilities: either the addition of the particle was prior to the working of the later law, or it was kept in position by the influence of old compounds beginning with the same preposition. A probable instance of such an analogical influence is *co torinscan*, Trip. Life, p. 226, l. 1 (by *tindarscan*, p. 54, l. 25), for *-torinscan* is later than the Glosses and consequently later than the working of the new principle. Such are the theoretical possibilities, certainly it is impossible to reach without further evidence. By *-farcaib* is found the subjunctive *-farcabtis*, p. 139, which may argue a considerable antiquity for the position of *ro-* there. Supposing the old preterite stem to have been *fo-ad-ro-gab-*, the orthotonic and enclitic forms would have been *\*foārgab-*, *nī fārgab-*. By these

there would have stood from *fo-gabim*, *forogab*, *ní fargab*<sup>1</sup> (perhaps with the first syllable long: cf. p. 161, note). Is it impossible that this parallelism, helped by *fo-acaib*, *-facaib*, etc., by *fo-gaib*, *-fagaib*, etc., in the present produced *foracaib*, *-farcaib*? As to *-farlaig*, it might stand directly for *-fo-ad-ro-laig*, and, assuming that *ro-* stood once next the verb, *forálaig* might be a similar transformation of *\*fóarlaig* under the influence of the present *fo-álaig*, where the second part was no longer felt to be a compound. But this is mere conjecture. In *-doraerachtar*, *-deruarid*, *ro-* has probably been added to originally *ro-*-less preterites: cf. p. 162.<sup>2</sup> *asa-ind-gabim* has the appearance of being a fresh compound, and *-érngaib* may be due to the influence of *-érbart*, *-érbalt*, and the like.

We pass now to compounds where the new order prevails—*ro-* stands after the pretonic syllable. Here, again, it is impossible to say how many of the compounds in the Glosses followed this rule, for a verb can be assigned with certainty to this class only if it shows an enclitic form. In these compounds certainly *ro-* was a mere symbol of the preterite, as, indeed, it doubtless was in some of those that have been considered above.

Whence come the compounds of this class? Either they are compounds formed at a later period, or they are transformations of old compounds after the later type. From the gaps in the record it is not always possible to refer with certainty a particular instance to the one class or to the other. Some compounds, however, betray their late origin by exhibiting forms that could not have survived the transforming influence of the Irish accent. Such are *ní rufriithgab*, in *radchotadaigset*, *ní ruthochurestar*,<sup>3</sup> in *rufrescachae*, *ní ruforaithmenair*. Some have evidently been

<sup>1</sup> Does a trace of this survive in *foragab*, *foragabsat*, with their remarkable *g*? Variation between *e* and *g* is found in *turbdíl* by *turgbíl*. From *fo-áir-gabim* the regular verbal noun would be *tergbíl* or *turgbíl*; *e* of *turbdíl* may be due to the influence of *tócbaim* of kindred meaning.

<sup>2</sup> In confirmation of the remarks made there it may be pointed out that in the list, pp. 159-163, verbs compounded with more than one preposition regularly have *ro-* after the first. Unfortunately, hardly any enclitic forms occur. In *asa-tórbéid* *ro-* keeps its position in enclisis, but this may be explained as above, p. 172. The only case, so far as I know, in which a compound containing more than one preposition from a verb that has an *aorist* seems to infix *ro-* after the last preposition, is the doubtful *do-árbaid*, on which cf. pp. 160, 161.

<sup>3</sup> According to Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. ii, 123, *ní ruthochurestar*, *ní ruforaithmenair* come from older *ro-*-less *\*ní thochurestar* *\*ní forraithmenair*. But of this there is absolutely no proof. According to the laws of the Irish accent, it is equally impossible that these two imaginary forms could be old. There is no evidence that the position of *ro-* is not as old as the compounds.

coined to translate Latin words. Thus, *-radchotadaiged* expresses *reconciliatus est*, *immeruidbed* is a literal translation of *circumciscus est* like the German *umschneiden*. Some, from the infrequency of their occurrence outside the learned literature, incur the suspicion of being learned formations. Some of the verbs are really denominatives treated as though they were compounds. Thus, *forcennim* is certainly a denominative from *forcenn*, and *adcobraim* may possibly be a re-formation from *accobur*. Cf. also *fo-ro-thaig* by *ro-fothaig* from *fothaigim*, a derivative from *fotha* 'foundation'—Trip. Life, Index, s.v. *fothaigim*.

Compounds with *frith-*, so far as I have noted, either must or may belong to this class. Cf. also *frisrocaib* p. 119 with *ro-* in the second place. This would seem to indicate that *frith-* is of later origin, and entered later into composition than other prepositions.

Examples have been given above of the shifting of *ro-* in enclisis after *ní*, etc. It shifts in precisely the same way when another preposition is added. Cf. *o-ro-thinoll* by *do-rinol* p. 116, *o-ru-thochaigessersu* by *du-ru-chaingestar* p. 117, *o-ró-taireis-siu* by *do-rárrie* p. 115.

A peculiarity is to be noted in compounds beginning with *for-*, cf. p. 94 note, *foruraithminset* p. 116, Stokes in the Academy for July 14, 1883; *ro-* is inserted *fo-ro-r-*, as though the preposition were not *for-*, but *fo-*. For other examples see Trip. Life, p. lxxi.

Of transition from the earlier type to the later, examples have already been given, p. 169. In *dorairbert* compared with *duarbartha* (= *to-ar-ro-bertha*?), p. 162 (cf. *dorúargaib* VSR. l. 675, by *do-fuargaib* l. 646), *ro-* has been introduced after the first preposition where it may have become indiscernible after the last. It is possible that this may have happened in other compounds, e.g. *dururgab* p. 113, but this cannot be put forward as certain.

In later Irish the increasing tendency is to prefix *ro-* to the whole compound, not only in enclisis but also in orthotonesis; the compound is treated as though it were a simple verb.

In compound verbs without *ro-*, or in which *ro-* is the preposition, *ro-* is sometimes prefixed in enclisis in the Glosses, *diand-r-erchoil* p. 122 (similarly after a preposition *remi-ri-erchoil* ib., a compound coined to express *prae-destinavit*), *ní ru-derchoin* p. 123, *nád r-iarfact* p. 124, *ho r-esarta* p. 134. Later also in orthotonesis, *ro-dersaig*, *ro-iarfact* p. 138, cf. VSR. l. 485. But the common verbs of this class commonly remain without *ro-*.

In the Glosses *ro-* seems to be prefixed to a compound in *ru-tuirset*, but *tuirim* may have been, or may have been felt to be, a denominative from *tuir* 'search': cf. *ro-concad*, p. 137, with note. There is undoubted prefixation in *ru-n-eillestar*, *ro-heilled*, p. 102. In the other texts, p. 138, the instances are still very rare; as to *ra-olaicis*, the only example from Táin Bó Fráich, we have seen, p. 171, that *olaicim* must from an early period have been felt to be a simple verb. By the latter half of the tenth century prefixation of *ro-* has become very common. Examples will be found, Trip. Life, pp. lxx, lxxii-lxxxii, VSR. pp. 23, 25, 26, 31, 32, 34. Transition may have been easiest in compounds where the corresponding simple verb had gone out of use. Still, in these tenth-century texts examples of the older usage are very numerous. Certain compounds seem to have had more power of resistance, such as those beginning with *ess-*, *-ērbailt*, *-ērbairt*, *-ērracht*. In the common verb *dorignius*, *ro-* has retained its original position to the present day. The details of the gradual prefixation of *ro-* do not belong to the period which we are considering.

#### IV. THE FORMS OF *ro-*.

##### 1. *ro-* appears as *ru-*.

For *ro-* is frequently found *ru-*. This variation is not confined to *ro-*, but appears in a number of other particles—*do-du-*, *fo-fu-*, etc. The proportion of *u* to *o* is different in different texts. Thus, to take the three great collections of Old Irish Glosses, *u* is very frequent in Ml., not frequent in Wb. (except in glosses from the second hand, fols. 33<sup>a</sup>–34<sup>a</sup>: cf. Zimmer, *Glossae Hibernicae*, xii) or in Sg. Zimmer, *Kelt. Stud.* ii, 85, 86, would make the accent responsible for the *u* forms; in support of this he brings forward instances in which pretonic *o* varies with accented *u*. But the case is hardly so simple. True it is that *u* is not infrequently found under the accent, but *o* is also common in that position, and, on the other hand, *u* often occurs in unaccented syllables. Hence, no doubt, other factors have to be reckoned with, such as perhaps the consonantal environment, the obscuration of the vowel sound in unaccented syllables, dialectical differences, and the like. But a thorough investigation of this question would carry us too far away from our present theme. We will accordingly content ourselves with noting some facts

about the distribution of *ro-*, *ru-* in the Glosses, and offering some tentative suggestions thereupon. It will be convenient to consider first the instances where the particle stands at the beginning of the verb, simple or compound, and afterwards the cases where the particle stands in the interior of a compound verb.

(a) *ro-* stands at the beginning:—

Here Sg. does not exhibit *ru-* except in the substantive verb, *ní rubai* 7<sup>b</sup> 3, *ní rubi* 21<sup>b</sup> 13. But the total number of occurrences is so small that this may be purely accidental. In Wb. a certain regularity may be observed. In proclisis, as may be seen from p. 80, *ru-* is found most frequently after the particles *ma* (4) and *ce*, *cia* (2); it occurs once after *an*, but here *ro-* is more frequent; two instances may be excluded as coming from that part of Wb. in which, as we have just seen, *u* prevails. Now in Wb. *u* for *o* is regular after *ma*—*ma dugnether*, *ma nubbaitsem* (in *nu* *u* is the original vowel), *ma rufesta*, *manudfol*. So after *ce*, *cia*—*ce rudglanta*, *ce nutad*, *ce dugnéu*, *ce dumelmis*, *ce dugnemmia*, *cia nubed*, *ce nuslabratar*, fols. 1–12; but here in fols. 14–20 (I have not examined further) *o* is the rule—*cia rodbatar*, *cia doberthe*, *ce nonmolid*, *ce nonairid*, *cia dorattid*, *cia dogneo*. After *an* *u* is not uncommon—*an dugniat*, *an dudesta*, *an dumelam*. Here, then, we seem to have, if not an absolute rule, at least a clearly marked tendency. The reason of the change can only be conjectured; it would be in accordance with well-known linguistic facts that a syllable standing before the main accent should become still more weakly accented when preceded by another word which had a slight accent of its own. Thus we might have *rücùalatar*,<sup>1</sup> but *mà rudchùalatar*.<sup>2</sup> In enclisis nearly all the examples of *ru-* in Wb. come after *dia n-*. We shall see below, p. 187, that it is probable that in simple verbs the accent at an early period began to pass from *ro-* to the verb, and, if this were so after *dia n-*, these instances might be accounted for in the same way as the preceding. Of the two remaining cases *ní ruanus* favours, *irrufofnastar* is not against such an explanation. In Ml. the case is somewhat

<sup>1</sup> As ' in Irish is used to indicate length of vowel, I use ' to mark the primary, " to mark the secondary accent.

<sup>2</sup> In Sg., so far as I have examined, in these cases *o* is the rule except after *ma*—*ma duellatar*, *ma duelltis*, *ma nubed*, *ma nutoltanaiged*, but *ma docoingedar*, *ma dodrumenatar*, *cia doinscana*, *ce nodfil*, *cia doberthar*, *an docoingedar*, etc.

different. As we saw above, the change of *o* to *u* has gone much further in this text. Thus, in proclisis *ru-* is found after *ois* (there seem to be no instances of *ma*) and prevalently after *am*; but it is also found in many other instances, for which no absolute rules can be laid down, and with regard to which we can only say that in other pretonic particles *u* appears under similar surroundings. As the variation between *ro-* and *ru-* in orthotonesis is so loose, it is impossible to regard the variation in enclitic forms with the same confidence in *Ml.* as in *Wb.* Certain facts, however, point in the same direction. After *nād* and after an infixed pronoun, in which cases the following syllable was most surely accented, only *ro-* is found. So, too, where the phonetic changes in the following syllable show that the accent must have fallen on *ro-*: *-rōgbad*, *-rōgnath*.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the position of the infixed pronoun in *ní ru-s-cómallasatar* indicates that the accent fell on the following *o*: cf. p. 186. Note further the forms *con ru-sleachta* and *conu ru-aigsetar*, on which see p. 187.<sup>2</sup> Finally, when *ro-* is prefixed to compound verbs, it commonly appears as *ru-* in *Ml.*: see p. 187. In this case *Wb.* prefers *ro-*.

(b) *ro-* stands in the interior:—

In this position *ru-* appears regularly in a few common verbs—*atrúbalt*, *autrúbirt*, *arrúbart* p. 92, *asrúbart* p. 93, *forrúbart* p. 94, *immarúbart* p. 106, *dorùmadir* p. 103, *imrùmadir* p. 128, *dorùmenar* p. 103.<sup>3</sup> In all these verbs *u* is followed by a labial. Is this the reason of the vocalism?<sup>4</sup> Compounds of *berim* are peculiar; the active is almost without exception *-rúbart* (= *rō-bër* < > *to*), the passive is regularly *-rōbrad* (= *rō-brito*). How is this to be accounted for? The only apparent difference is that in the

<sup>1</sup> For *ro-gnith*. The regular form would have been *-rōnad*, cf. *dorōnad* = *di-rō-gnith*, but *g* has been restored by analogy.

<sup>2</sup> It is very doubtful whether preterites preceded by *ho* should have been put among the enclitic forms. Cf. on the one hand *huasringaib* p. 114, *o adcuaid* p. 123, *ho durogbad* p. 125; on the other, *hua rindualadnu* p. 115, *ho torgab* p. 126, *ho resarta* p. 128. The explanation seems to be that *ō* was used both without and with the relative *n*: cf. GC. 713.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps another instance of the same kind may be *dorùmalt*, VSR. l. 467; in this text *ru-* is very rare, so that the form is probably an old one, though *o* also appears: cf. p. 103, Windisch s.v. *toimlim*. The passive might be expected to be *dorùmlad*, but I have no example of it.

<sup>4</sup> But what of the verb of existence, in which *o* is frequent, p. 87? e.g. *nadrōbe* = *nad rō-bōi*. In three of the verbs above the vowel of the following syllable was originally slender, and it may have been so in *atrúbalt*: cf. the subjunctive stem *ad-bel*. Contrast with *nadrōbe forrumai*, *imrubai* p. 106 = *fu-rō-bi*, *imm-rō-bi*.

former instance the particle is followed by a single, in the latter by a double consonant. One might compare perhaps *asrollenad* by the side of *asrúenta* p. 102. This explanation would not apply to *immrdmas*, but, if there be anything in the above suggestion, *ro-* might have come in by analogy in a form not in frequent use. Another common verb in which *u* is regular is *immrúlaid* (= *imm-ró-lúid*), p. 102: cf. Windisch, s.v. *immlai*, VSR. I. 398. Here we may see the timbre of the *u* which originally stood in the following syllable. Cf. *asrúluús* p. 101 = *ess-ró-láus*, where the *u* has swallowed up the preceding *a* and communicated its timbre to the *l*, which in turn affected the preceding *o*; contrast *asróla* ib. Sg. has the artificial compound *inrusamlasatar* p. 105: cf. p. 189. In Wb. the remaining instances are very few. They consist of the artificial compounds *cestaruchreisi*, *ciaturuchreitsat* p. 96, *ceaturupridach* p. 104, *forrusuidigestar* p. 105, on which see p. 189, along with *arrudérgestar*, *arrudérged* p. 117. In Ml. *ru-* is much more common. Cf. *o-ru-dole* Ml.: *con-ro-delgg* Sg., *for-ru-géll* Ml.: *for-ro-gelsam* Wb., *ad-ru-threb* (by *ad-ro-threb*) Ml.: *ad-ro-threb* Wb., Sg., *ar-ru-dibaid* Ml.: *ar-ru-dibaid* Wb., *as-ru-chumlaé* Ml.: *as-ro-chumlai* Sg., *for-ru-chongart* Ml.: *for-ro-chongart* Wb., Sg.; many other preterites occur only in Ml. It may be noted that in the vast majority of instances the vowel of the following syllable is *e* or *i*. Can this have influenced the vocalism? Cf. *rubrigach* = *\*ró-brigach* Ml. 37<sup>b</sup> passim. But *ru-* is found before consonants followed by other vowels—*forrudrub* (but *frierodunsat*) p. 78, *durusluind* (by *doroslúind*) p. 105, *etarrusuidiged*, *iarmurusuidigestar* p. 105, *asruchumlaé* p. 115, *arruthroith* p. 106, *fosruchongart* p. 114, *conrufoluassat* p. 116, *duruchoisgestar* (by *durochoisgestar*), *oruthochaisgesser* p. 117, *adruchoisnéni*, *coruthói* p. 118; before vowels *adruamraigset* p. 92, *arruáig* (by *arroæig*) p. 97. Some of these forms will be considered below, p. 189.

## 2. *ro-* becomes *ra-*

occasionally under the accent, when the following syllable contains or originally contained *a*. This is most common in *lá-* 'throw,' and *lā-* 'go.' Cf. *-rálsid* p. 83 = *-ró-lúsid*, *nacham-rálas* p. 86, *o-rál* Wb. 7<sup>a</sup> 4 (in *ní rólsat* p. 86, *cor-rólsat* p. 90, *ro-* has been restored by analogy), *do-rálad* p. 101, *immus-rála* p. 107. Otherwise it is found sporadically, *fuand-rágab*, *dia-rágbiha* p. 86,



*ní-s-rághusa*, *con-id-rágaib* p. 90, *adob-rágart* p. 99, *arna-ráscra* (= *rd-scara*) Stowe Missal, but *eter-róscra* Sg. 71<sup>a</sup>, etc. The same phenomenon is found elsewhere, e.g. *dorát* : *nád tárát* p. 130, *fogáib* : *nád fágaib*, etc. The regular development seems to have been much crossed by analogy.

### 3. *ro-* becomes *r-*

under the accent before a vowel p. 182, in post-tonic position p. 180. In Middle Irish also after *ní*, etc., e.g. *nírleic* = *ní roleic* p. 185; here *r* appears in the Glosses only in unaccented copula forms, cf. p. 87.

### 4. *foror-* in compounds with *for-*.

In verbs compounded with *for-*, *foror-* often appears in orthotonic forms of the preterite. The general condition seems to be that the verb should contain an infix pronoun. Thus, *fo-r-rarsisiu* = *fo-n-rór-āsis-siu* (but *forrásus*, etc.) p. 92, *fo-r-rorbris* = *fo-n-rórbris* p. 94, *fo-t-róirgell* (but *forrógelsam*<sup>1</sup>) p. 99, *fo-da-rórcenn* p. 95, *fo-r-rorcongrad* = *fo-n-rórccongrad* (but *forróchongart*) p. 114, cf. *fo-s-rórdingestar* VSR. I. 436. On the other hand, *forrubart* p. 94, *forruedachsu* p. 97, *forruleblangatar*, *forróebliu* p. 102, *forrunidigestar* p. 105. The rule seems not to have operated where *ro-* combined with the vowel of a reduplicated perfect to form *rói*: cf. p. 181. Thus we have *for-tan-róichan-ní*, p. 94. The exception is intelligible from the peculiar phonetic conditions. In ML 135<sup>a</sup> 1 *foruraithminset* seems at first sight an exception. But it is to be observed that this glosses *meminisse*. Now the regular way of expressing the Latin infinitive is by the use of the infix relative: cf. Zimmer, Gött. Gelehrt. Anz. 1896, p. 387. Hence we should probably restore *foruraithminset* = *fo-n-rúr-aithminset*. In ML 127<sup>c</sup> 10 *forru-m-chenad-sa* forms a real exception, but here the position of the infix pronoun (p. 189) shows that we have to deal with a new formation. In the Féilire Oenguso Prol. 173, if the MSS. be right, *fororbairt* is used where the Glosses would have had *forrubart*; it is supported by Prol. 87, where the readings seem to point to an original *fororcennnta*. Similarly *fororcongart*, Trip. Life, lxxi. But these exceptions in later documents do not invalidate the original rule.

<sup>1</sup> This is relative in meaning, but in Irish the relative particle is often unexpressed. Many examples of this will be found, pp. 80-86.

5. Post-tonic *ro-*.

After the accent *ro-*, in accordance with the general rule, loses its vowel, e.g. — *-dèrbadad* = *-dì-ro-bàded* p. 92, *dofoèrbad* = *to-fò-ro-bìth* p. 108, *-èrbart* = *-èss-ro-bert* p. 93, *doèrbai* = *to-èss-ro-bì* p. 109, *-àrdamar* = *-àd-ro-dāmar* p. 96, *-àrraim* = *-àd-ro-rim* p. 104, *connàargab* = *con-ùd-ro-gab* p. 109, *dunforsaile* = *to-n-fò-ro-ud-saile* p. 110, *duidiribset*, *nì tàirib* = *to-àd-ro-selbsat*, *nì tò-àd-ro-selb* p. 111. If the result be *rr* + cons. the double *r* is generally simplified, *-drbart* = *-àr-ro-bert* by *-drrbartatar* p. 92 (cf. *-àrrceoratar* p. 96), *-àrgart* = *-àr-ro-gart* p. 99, *-àrgènsat* = *-àr-ro-gènsat* p. 99. Cf. *garb*, if it be rightly derived from *\*garyuos*, *\*garruos*, *\*garsuos*, KZ. xxxiii, 304. Corresponding to *-ròimid* = *-rò-memaid* (cf. p. 181) we have *-tò-roimed* = *-tò-ro-memaid*. If *r* gets into a position where it is unpronounceable as a consonant, it becomes *g*, and this vocalic *r* develops according to the timbre of the following consonant. Thus, *-tindarscan* = *-tò-ind-ro-scan* p. 110, *-còmarscaiged* = *-còm-ro-ud-scaged* p. 117, *doimmarnad* = *to-imm-ro-ānad* p. 108, but *dumimmerchell* = *to-m-imm-ro-chell* p. 109. On p. 108 *tessarbai* comes irregularly from *tò-èss-ro-bōi* (the regular development would have been *tèrbai*). We may assume that *tess-* has been preserved here through the influence of cognate forms *tesbanat*, *tesbuih*, etc. How is *dointarraí* p. 111 (cf. *-tintarrad*, Hy. ii, 18) to be explained? Could it stand for *to-ind-ar-sōi* = *to-ind-ro-sōi* with *d* for *t* after *do-intai*, etc., *ro-* becoming *g* before the loss of intervocalic *s*? or could it possibly come, as Ascoli suggests, from *to-ind-to-ro-sōi*? Cf. *tarrasair* = *tò-ar-siassair*.

6. Infection of *ro-*.

If a slender vowel has been lost in the following syllable, vowel infection is regularly expressed: *-rò'lgius* = *-rò-legus* p. 83, *-rò'lgisid* p. 86, *durò'lged* = *to-rò-legad* p. 102, *dorù'mdetar* = *to-rò-mìdetar* p. 103, *immerù'dbed* = *imme-rò-dì-bìth* p. 111. Irregularly *dorodbad*, p. 119. If the following slender vowel be not lost, then, as a rule, infection is not expressed. But occasionally it is. Thus, in *adrìnim*, *torìnim*, *forìnim* it is regular in the Glosses, *adrù'rim*, *dorù'rim*, *forù'rim* p. 104. Further, *nad rò'thechtsat* by *nì-s-rò'thechtsat* p. 86, *ararù'chiuir* p. 96, *forù'génì* p. 101, *forù'illechta* = *for-rò-slechta* p. 105. On *dorignius* = *dì-rò-gēnus*, cf. Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. ii, 105, 138; Thurneysen, Rev. Celt. vi, 321. From

*-rò-léic* comes *-rèlic*, *ní rèlic*, *nach rò'leod* p. 86, *ararè'leod* p. 101.<sup>1</sup>

7. *ro-* + reduplicated perfect.

In the reduplicated perfect, when *ro-* bore the accent, the reduplicated consonant disappeared by dissimilation, and *ro-* with the reduplication vowel became *ròi-*, *ròs-*, where *oi*, *os* are genuine diphthongs: cf. Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi, 155, 323 sq.; R. Schmidt, *Idg. Forsch.* i, 43 sq. Thus, *forróichan*=*for-rò-chechan* p. 94, *foróichlaid* p. 95, *doróiga*<sup>2</sup> p. 98, *ataróigrainn*, *inróigrainn* p. 101, *foróiblang*, *forróebliag* p. 102, *-tóróimed* p. 103, *aróbróinasc* p. 103, *dorróebliag* p. 107, *adróethach* p. 108.

Apparent exceptions are *forrudedachsu*, *forrudedgatar* p. 97, *adrogegonsa* p. 101, *forruleblangatar* p. 102, *doruthethaig* p. 106. Of these *adrogegonsa* is clearly a momentary formation. Lat. *punxi* would be *rogégonsa*, so *re-punxi* is of course *ad-rogégonsa*; whether the inventor pronounced it to himself *adrogegónsa* or *adrógégonsa*, need not trouble us, though the former is perhaps the more probable. In place of *forruleblangatar* Ascoli probably rightly suggests *foruleblangatar*. For *ro-lèblangatar* is *saluerunt*, so why should not *subsaluerunt* be expressed by the simple process of prefixing *fo-*=*sub-*? As to *forrudedach*, *doruthethaig*, they, too, can only be explained as new formations. In *fortanroichechnatar*, *adroigegrannatar*, both in ML., we have an admixture of *-róichnatar*, *-róigrannatar* and *rocéchnatar*, *rogégrannatar*, whoever is to bear the blame of these monstrosities.

In *ho rumaith* p. 86, *forrochain*,<sup>3</sup> the reduplicated perfect has been replaced by another formation. In view of these forms it would perhaps be rash to assert that *inrograinn* is necessarily a clerical error for *inroigrainn*.

8. Elision and contraction of *ro-* under the accent.<sup>4</sup>

Cf. Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi, 155.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly *-tòlcei* becomes *-tèlei*. Cf. *dollcei traigid* LU. 82<sup>b</sup> 14 with *teily traigid* LU. 82<sup>b</sup> 12 = *teich* LL. 80<sup>a</sup> 9. For the meaning, cf. *ní tarleicid traigid*, etc., Ascoli, *Gloss.* clxi, on which page *to-léc-* should be substituted for *to-ae-léc-*.

<sup>2</sup> In the passive *doróigad* by the regular *dorógad*, if not a blunder, must be ascribed to the influence of the active.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *día r'maid* VSR. l. 437, *ní rochan* l. 434.

<sup>4</sup> I express myself here according to the traditional theory, cf. Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.*, l.c., but it is certainly strange that the vowel of the accented syllable should be the one to disappear. Cf. M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Rev. Celt.* xvii, 296, note. But this is not the place to discuss the matter at length.

A. *ro-* stands at the beginning after *con-*, *ní-*, etc.

(a) *ro-* + vowel.

(a) *nád rán*, *nád ràirgsiur*, *na-n-ràirgsiur* p. 83, *in ràdchotadaiged* p. 95, *nád reildisem* p. 99, *dus in-rétarscar* p. 105, *ho résarta* p. 128, *nád rimgab* p. 107, *nachim-rindarpai* p. 112, *nád rindualdatar* p. 115, *nád riarfact* p. 124: cf. *arna rimfolingar* Wb. 10<sup>e</sup> 14.

(β) *ní ru-ánus* p. 83, *cona ru-digsetar* p. 86, *nicon ru-decobrus* p. 95, *in ru-étarscar* p. 105, *ní ro-imdibed* p. 111: cf. the subjunctive forms, *con ro-àdamrigther*, etc., p. 168.

It will be observed that elision is constant after an infixed pronoun and after *nád*. The former fact is in accordance with the general Irish law that the syllable following the infixed pronoun must bear the accent. As we shall see, p. 186, displacement of the accent means displacement of the pronoun. Why *nád* should differ from *ní* and *nā*, is not so easy to conjecture. Can the difference be due to the final (pronominal?) *d*? In *ní ruanus*, *cona ruaigsetar* I take it that the enclitic form has been replaced by the orthotonic: cf. p. 188. This belief is confirmed by *ní róitea* below, for if contraction took place after *ní*, when the verb began with *f*, much more might it be expected to take place when the verb began with a vowel. In compound verbs the presence of *ro-* in this position is comparatively recent: cf. p. 173. On the accentuation of these forms, see p. 186 sq.

(b) *ro-* + *f-*.

(a) *ní róitea* = *ní ró-foitea* p. 83.

(β) *conid-rò-foilsigetar* p. 82, *ir-ru-follnastar* p. 83, *dia ru-foilsiged* p. 86, *nirru-foircneda*<sup>1</sup> p. 95, *ní ru-frithgab* p. 98, *in ru-fréscachao* p. 112, *ní ru-fóraitmenair* p. 116. Cf. subj. *con ru-fáilnither* = *fó-línathar* Wb. 1<sup>a</sup> 9. The regular development appears in the common verb. The literary *foilsigur* resists it even when the accent is enforced by the infixed pronoun. On such purely learned words, cf. Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi, 319, 323.

(c) *ro-* + *s-*.

(β) *in ru-soer*, *frissa-ru-suidiged*, *con ru-sleachtá* p. 86.

The regular development is not found in the indicative of the simple verb, but it is in the subjunctive *arndéa rò-llca* = *rò-slucca* Wb. 14<sup>d</sup> 21.

<sup>1</sup> Read *ní rufoircneda*?

B. *ro-* stands in the interior.

(a) *ro-* + vowel.

(a) 1. *ro-* + *ä*.

*ad-räichsetar* p. 91, *fris-räilsur*, *imme-räni*,<sup>1</sup> *for-räus*, *o-räirlestar* p. 92, *fris-räcacha*, *do-räcraid* p. 112, etc.

2. *ro-* + *ë*.

*ar-ud-rëig*, *do-rëllsat*, *do-rët*,<sup>2</sup> *con-id-rërp* p. 97, *imm-rëra*, etc., p. 116, *do-rëtarracht* p. 117, *do-rëssel* p. 118.

3. *ro-* + *i*.

*as-röilli* p. 126, *ad-röilliset* p. 127, *fu-röillissem* p. 101, but, when the accent moves forward, *ní drilsem*, cf. *aröissiur*, *fordërisiur* below. On the other hand, *as-rindid*, *du-rinsfid* p. 113, *im-rimgabsat* p. 114, *do-rintai*, *ar-rinsartatar* p. 118, *do-rimgart* p. 119, *da-rindgult*, *do-rinchoisc* p. 120. As *as-roillim* is doubtless a very old compound, not exposed to any influence of analogy, the development there must be regarded as regular; the others, as the position of *ro-* shows, are of later origin, and they are probably to be explained in the way that Thurneysen has suggested for *dorët*. In *-richt* p. 126, where *i* has come from an original *e*.

<sup>1</sup> How is *adroni* to be analyzed? Above I followed Ascoli in postulating a compound *aith-än-*; Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi, 137, assumes *aith-an*. But then, to judge from all the other instances, we should have expected *-ran-*. The only circumstances in which *-ron-* might be looked for would be if the verb began with a consonant or with *o*. Windisch, *Wb.*, and Stokes, *Trip. Life*, give the verb as *aithenim*, but that does not mend matters. Can the verb, whatever be its origin, have been treated as though it were *aith-nim*? Unfortunately no other parts of the verb are found in the Glosses, but cf. *W. adne*, *adneu*, which Ascoli quotes.

<sup>2</sup> According to Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi, 323, in *arroet* (disyllabic, VSR. l. 464), p. 113, *ro-+ë* has combined into a diphthong. He considers this as the regular development, while, e.g., *dorët* is due to the generalizing of the rule that accented *o* vanishes. Above, p. 169, I compared *o-roitatar* (which, however, might have been influenced by *conöi-*). The subjunctive forms *arin-deröima* *ML*. 39<sup>a</sup> 22, *oid-n-deröimed* 55<sup>a</sup> 4, might also be cited. On the whole it is better to leave the question an open one, to be decided by further evidence. The *e* of *fo-* certainly does form a diphthong with a following *e*: cf. *arföim*, *ro-föim* *Pass.* and *Hom.* p. 709, *foëaim* O'Gorman's *Mart.* ed. Stokes, *Index*, *foamhaim* O'R. But *fo-* has peculiarities of its own. It loses *o* before *e* under the accent, but not, so far as I have observed, before *e* and *i*. Cf. *do-fuissim* = *to-fö-ess-sim* with *teistiu* = *tö-ess-semtion-*, further *foendel*, *foinnell* 'roving' = *fo-indel*, *foeamh*, *foeam* (g. *föesama*, *LU*. 59<sup>a</sup> 24) = *fo-essam* (✓*ssä*). As to *arfemthar*, which Thurneysen adduces to prove the loss of *e*, it is safer to look upon it as a mixture of *ar-em-* and *ar-fo-em-*.

4. *ro-* + *ð*.

(a) *at-ròr* p. 92, *ad-ròbart* p. 112, *fo-ròcrad*, *in-rùalad* p. 115, *do-rùarid*, *con-ròscaig* p. 117, *o-ròtaig*, *o-ròtgatar* p. 118. The resulting *o* is rarely marked long, and it is hard to say how far contraction has taken place. The diphthong *aa*, where it is found, can be explained otherwise. In *do-riucart* p. 119, *do-riüsaig* p. 120, the vocalism is peculiar. Has it been influenced by that of cognate forms, *-diucair*, *-diuschi*, etc.?

## (β).

*ad-ru-amraigset* p. 92, *ar-ro-aig*, *ar-ru-aig* p. 97, *cita-ru-oirtned*. Here, again, this must be regarded as a later principle: cf. p. 189.

(b) *ro-* + *f*.(a) 1. *rò-fa-*.

*du-da-ruid* p. 97, *fo-rùireth* p. 98. I suggested above that *fo-ruar* 'efficit' came from *fo-ro-fer*, but that is more than doubtful, and I have no certain explanation of the form.

2. *rò-fi-*.

*da-rùich* (but pass. *do-ròacht*) p. 98.

3. *rò-fa-*.

*do-ròrtad* p. 107, *do-ròrpaí*, *arn-dam-roiehlis-se* p. 112, *to-ròran* p. 117, *do-ròsat* p. 118; *ro-fòí-* in *do-ròid* p. 98.

(β) *in-ru-fill* p. 98, *con-ru-foluassat* p. 116.

These are purely artificial compounds. The former is a literal translation of *im-plico*, the latter of *con-volo*.

(c) *ro-* + *s*.

(a) *ar-ròisiur* = *ar-rò-sisiur*, *fu-ròissestar* p. 105. If *for-dèrisiur* p. 111 be rightly analyzed, then *ar-ròisiur* : *fordèrisiur* = *ad-òilli* : *ní àrilli*.

(β) *ad-ro-soid*, *etar-ru-suidiged*, *for-ru-suidigestar*, *iarmu-ru-sudigestar*, *in-ru-samlasatar* p. 105.

The regular development is seen in the old compounds *ar-sisiur*, *fo-sisiur*. Under (β) the last four compounds are simply literal translations of Latin words.

V. THE ACCENTUATION OF *ro-*.

The common rule in Old Irish is that *ro-* is treated as an integral part of the verb, and is subject to the general laws that govern the Irish accent. Only two cases call for special remark—

(1) where *ro-* stands at the beginning of a verb, or of a verbal compound, after the particles *ní*, *ná*, *con*, etc.; (2) where in a compound verb *ro-* holds the second place in orthotonesis.

1. *ro-* stands at the beginning.

After the particles *ní*, *ná*, etc., the accent lights on the following syllable. Moreover, where a pronoun is infixed, the accent is on the syllable that follows the infixed pronoun (Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi, 130). Examples of this, where the position of the accent is clear, either from phonetic changes produced by the accent or from the presence of an infixed pronoun, are *ní róitea*, *ná rón*, *ná rúirgsiur*, *na-n-rúirgsiur*, *cán rólaid*, *ní rúilgius* p. 83, *ní-s-róehret*, *fua-rógbad*, *ná rónnatha*, *ní rólsat*, *nach-a-rómarb*, *ní-s-róthechtusa*, *ná rúilgisid*, *ní rélio*, *fuaand-rágab*, *nach-am-rálae* p. 86, *ní-s-rúgbusa*, *cor-rólsat*, *cor-róemid*, *ní rálá* p. 90, *in ródehotadaiged*, *ná réildisem*, *ná rímgab*, etc., p. 182.

When we come to Mod. Irish, we see that a change has taken place. Here we have always *níorchar*, *nárchar*, *gúrchar*, etc., a change which can be explained only on the assumption that *ro-* has become atonic. And this change is not of to-day or yesterday. From the evidence of the *Saltair na Rann* it is probable that the transition was practically complete before the end of the tenth century, as the following considerations will show.

(1) The vowel of *ro-* has often vanished, e.g. *diar luid*, *diar maid*, *diar lass*, *diar chois*, *cor letair*, *ní leicsetar*, etc. (VSR. pp. 21-33).

(2) Where *ro-* is still written, the metre often shows that the accent stood, not on *ro-*, but on the following syllable. Thus we have *co ro-ádnacht—gárbehacht* SR. 2228, *co ro-thógad—chódbair* 4559, *co ro-chúmscaiged—túnscaid* 6231, *co ro-thófind—tócham* 6405, *coná ro-thállai—glánnai* 7168, *co ro-thriall—dian* 2848, *dia ro-génair—gdír* 2736, *i ro génair—thúir* 3716, *o<sup>1</sup> ro-línad—dígal* 2509, *o ro-chrúdsam—forfúcsam* 1486, *o ro-áthain—áthir* 6245. The only exceptions that I have noted so far are *coná rómarbtais—ara cómaltis* 5603, *co róláid—ánad* 5100, *co róemid—fúelid* 5891, *co rólástar* 5603. And, with the exception of the first, these are peculiar forms such as would be more likely to resist change.

<sup>1</sup> But in O.Ir. the usage of *o* varies: cf. p. 177, note 2.

(3) The infixed pronoun follows *ro-*, *ni ro-s-làid* 5112, *ni ro-s-lúna* 6531, *arnd ro-n-fúapra* 6425, *co ro-s-áthim* (*odhim*) 2196, *co ro-n-éaril* 3707, *co ro-[s]-ellig* 5655, *co ro-n-giúil* (*nirbo chiuin*) 6957, *co ro-n-dúsaig* (*ro-chúrsaig*) 6690, *co r-das-cúibdig* 7862, *co ro-n-sdera* 8224, *dia ro-s-tármhell* 7387, *dia ro-t-chrúthaiged* 1793. Exceptions are *nocho-s-rála* 4110, *ni-s-rélic* 6721, again two peculiar forms. This change may best be explained by the supposition that the orthotonic forms were generalized and spread into the enclitic position, just as, conversely, in most compound verbs in the modern language orthotonic forms have been replaced by enclitic.

It is a far cry from the tenth century to the time when the Old Irish Glosses were composed, and it would be interesting, if one had the necessary collections, to trace back the history of the change. But in the absence of such collections, it must be sufficient for the present to inquire whether in the Glosses any traces are already to be discovered of the new accentuation.

We have seen above that one of the distinctive marks of the new order is that the infixed pronoun is inserted no longer before *ro-*, but after it. In the Glosses there are a couple of examples of this—*ni ru-s-cmallasatar* p. 86, *ni ru-m-chómairleiciú*<sup>1</sup> p. 115<sup>2</sup>—both from Ml. Here the accent may without hesitation be placed on the following syllable. In cases like *nicon ruaccobrus*, *ni ruthochurestar*, in *ruatarscar*, *ni roimdibed*, *ni ruthogaitsam*, *ni ruforaithmenair*, etc., pp. 167–9, where *ro-* is put at the beginning of a compound verb instead of in the interior, and in *ni ruderchoin* p. 123, where *ro-* is prefixed to a compound already containing *ro-*, Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. ii, 123, cf. Thurneysen, Rev. Celt. vi, 323, seems to be right in assuming that the accent stood on the syllable after *ro-*, *nicon ruaccobrus*, *ni ruthochurestar*, etc. The position of *ro-* in itself would not prove this; the introduction of *ro-* in this place would naturally be based on the analogy of the simple verb, and if in the simple verb the accent, without exception, fell on the particle, the same might be expected to happen in the compound verb. Nor would, e.g., the preservation of *f* in *foraithmenair* be a proof, for in a new formation *f* might very well have remained even if the accent fell on the preceding

<sup>1</sup> In Ml. 77<sup>d</sup> 6 Ascoli's correction of *indaroncomairleiciú* to *indanrocomairleiciú* seems to me far from certain, but how the form is to be regarded is not clear. It almost looks like an admixture of the old and the new.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ni ro-s-anachtatar*, p. 90.



syllable: cf. *conid-ro-foilsigetar* below. But there are other indications. (1) The form *ni rumcomairleiciise* conclusively proves this accentuation for at least one instance. (2) The preservation of the vowel of *ro-* in *nicon ruaccobrus*, etc., can hardly be explained in any other way. (3) The frequent use of *ru-* for *ro-* is perhaps best explained on this assumption. In some cases the accent undoubtedly fell on the *ro-* syllable, as is proved by the loss of the *o*—*nad ringab*, *nad reildisem*, *nád riarfact*, *nad rindualdatar*, *nachim-rindarpai*, *dian-d-rèrchoil*, in *rádchotadaiged*, *du* in *rètaracar*, *he résarta*. For the key to this we must turn to the simple verb. As we saw above, after *nád*<sup>1</sup> or an infixed pronoun *ro-* regularly loses its *o* before a vowel; e.g. *nád rdirgsiur*, *na-n-rdirgsiur* (of the treatment after *im* and *o* there is no instance). Here, then, the compound verb follows the analogy of the simple verb. In the simple verb, too, there are, as might have been expected, indications of a change of accent, though, unfortunately, the material is scanty. We have, however, as parallels to the compound forms, *ni ru-s-odmallasatar* (see above), and *ni rudnus*, *cona ruaigetar* (by *ni roilgius*, *ni roitea*, *ni relic*). It may be said, then, that after an infixed pronoun, and after *nád* (of other particles there is little evidence), the accent regularly fell on the following syllable, while after *ni* (and probably after some other similar particles) the accent had begun to be transferred to the following syllable. That this transition should be more thorough in compound verbs, is easily intelligible, for it is natural for the young generation to follow the new fashion. How far the change had gone in the simple verb after *ni*, etc., in the period of the Glosses, it is impossible to say. The instances are few, and of these many are ambiguous; the most certain instances of a change have been noted above. It would not be safe to lay any stress on the preservation of *f* and *s* in words like *dia rufoilsiged*, *friscarunaidiged*. After all, these are literary words, and in such *con-id-rofoilsigetar* shows us that contraction need not follow. Perhaps *con ru-sleachta* is stronger evidence. It is an every-day word, and, with the accent on *ro-*, we should have expected *con rillechta* or the like: cf., however, *doroslúind*, p. 189. In *Wh.* in particular the sinking of *ro-* to *ru-* may very well indicate a change of accents. As we saw, p. 176, the change

<sup>1</sup> What was the accentuation of *nad rotodlaigetar* and *nad ruchumgab*, where *ro-* is prefixed to a compound and is preceded by *nád*?

of *o* to *u* in this text is not frequent, and seems to take place only under certain conditions. In *MI*. this criterion is hardly so sure. But considering the almost unanimity with which *ru-* is here found in the forms that most certainly follow the new accent, it is not improbable that some portion at least of the *ru-* forms on p. 86 are to be accented in this way. In the Irish Psalter, l. 11, an instance of the new accentuation seems to be seen in *tresa-rochdchain*.

As was said above, the new accentuation seems to have come about through generalization of the orthotonic forms. Thus we may suppose that under the influence of *rodnus*, \**ni rānus* became *ni rodnus*, *ni rudnus*. In Middle Irish, when the atonic *o* was lost, *ni rudnus* would become again *ni rānus*. But to trace the gradual progress of this development I have no material.

## 2. *ro-* stands in the second place.

In this position *ro-* regularly bears the accent. The evidence is—(1) The phonetic changes which the accent produces: *asrùbart*, *forroichain*, and the like, p. 181, *duròchthaisset*, *dorògbad*, *duròilged*, *imneròrdus*, *inròrthatar*, *atarùirmiset*, *imnerùidbed*, *forùilechta*, *adrùichastar*, *frisrùilsur*, etc. (2) The position of the infixed pronoun: *ar-id-ròchell*, *fo-n-ròchled*, *fo-s-ròdamar*, *du-da-rùid*, *do-d-rùmenatar*, *d-a-rùnesus*, *etar-dan-ròscar*, *fo-s-ròmamaigestar*, a new verb which shows that the principle was a living one: cf. *cota-ròdele* p. 97. In the *Saltair na Rann*, so far as I have observed, the infixed pronoun, without exception, holds this place. (3) In verse evidence may be got from the metre. Cf. for the Féilire Oenguso, Stokes, *Rev. Celt.* vi, 289–90, and note from the *Saltair na Rann* instances like *dorùmensat*—*forùigensat* 3689, *imròraid*—*còbair* 1915, *doròchrobair*—*clòthchobair* 3608, *dorùmat*—*chùbat* 4243, *dorimthas*—*findchass* 5973, and at the end of a line *doròdi-ùsaig*—*diumsaig* 6935.

In the Glosses are found a few real or apparent exceptions. They are rather of the nature of incidental vagaries, and, so far as I see, are of no importance for the general development of the language.

(1) The infixed pronoun in a few cases follows *ro-*, which, in accordance with the general law, would indicate that the accent fell on the following syllable. In *Wb.* the only instance is *doron-donad-ni* p. 97, and *Zimmer*, *Gloss. Hib.* p. 107, is probably right

in conjecturing that it is a clerical error for *do-n-rodonad-ni*. In *ML*. occur *arro-t-neithius*, *araru-t-neithius* p. 104, *forru-m-chenad-sa* for what would be regularly *fo-dam-rorcenad-sa* p. 95, and probably *lass adru-s-pén*<sup>1</sup> 'when he swore by it' p. 97. The only later instance of the kind that I have to hand is *foru-s-génair* Trip. Life, 16, l. 26, but *fo-s-rùgensat*, *fo-s-rùgensatar* VSR. 784, 786.

(2) Sometimes *ro-* is preserved before a vowel. From *ML*. come *adruamraigeset* p. 92, *arroæig*, *arruæig* p. 97, but with an infixed pronoun *ar-ud-reig*. The first word is a denominative from *adamra*, coined to translate *mirror*, and treated as though it were a compound. From the later language I have no parallel instances. From the form of the words the accent should have followed *ro-*, but that is, after all, a matter of very little moment. On p. 107 *cita-ruoirtned* is somewhat different. It may be doubted whether in this artificial compound the accent of the simple verb was not retained. In favour of this view is perhaps the vocalism of *ro-* in *cetaruchreti*, *ciaturuchreitset* p. 96, *ceturupridach* p. 104, all from *Wb.*; yet we find *ceta-thuidchetar* *Wb.* 21<sup>c</sup>, and, with infixed pronoun, *cet-id-deirgni* p. 109.

(3) Certain compounds exhibit peculiar forms. About *adro-gegonsa*, *forruleblangatar*, *forrudedachsú*, *doruthethaig* something has been said already, p. 181; and as they are irregular artificial forms, the question of their accentuation need not trouble us further. In *inruifill*, *inrusamlasatar*, *etarrusuidiged*, *forrusuidigestar*, *iarmurusuidigestar* we have literal renderings of Latin words, probably formed from the simple verbs by the easy process of prefixing the appropriate preposition. The fact that *s* and *f* remain would not be a fatal objection to placing the accent on the particle, but *ru-* points perhaps rather to accentuation of the following syllable. Cf. also the artificial *conrutessaigestar* p. 106, *conrusoluassat* p. 116, *oruthochaisgesser* p. 117, *coruthói* p. 118. The equally artificial *orótaircissiu* p. 115, *adrothoirndius*, *trimi-rothoirndius* p. 117, *orotataile* p. 118, have *ro-*, but that is in itself no proof that *ro-* bore the accent. In *dodrólluind* p. 105 we have regular assimilation when the accent is reinforced by *ro-*; at the same time it is very unlikely that in *doroslúind*, etc., the accent stood on the last syllable; in *ML*. aspiration of *s* is not expressed, and so this may stand for *doroílúind*. In *adrdsoid*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. with *ess-*, *aspens* *ML*. 39<sup>b</sup> 6. Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. i, 121, analyzes into *ad-ro-as-fen*, but that should have given \**adræspen*.

p. 105 compared with *arrdissiuir*, *s* (= *s*?) is irregularly retained, for there is no good reason for accenting the word otherwise; but we do not know the age of the compound, or how far it was a learned word. Out of the Glosses I do not remember to have seen it, except in the enclitic form *astaim*, which became generalized. So, then, the exceptions to the general rule are few in the Glosses, and mostly of a peculiar character; in the *Saltair na Rann*, so far as my observation goes, there are none. It makes no difference whether the verb be an old perfective compound, or one of those into which we have assumed, p. 162, that *ro-* came later.

#### VI. ASPIRATION AFTER *ro-*.

The investigation here must practically be based on the consonants *c* and *t*: *p* occurs in loan-words and is rarely aspirated; aspiration of *s* and *f* is sometimes marked in Sg., but it is usually unexpressed; aspirated *f* and *s* are sometimes omitted—*ni rursaisset* p. 112.

In the interior of compounds, and at the beginning of words after *ni*, *add*, etc., aspiration is regular after *ro-*. The few cases in the Glosses where it is unexpressed must be put down to carelessness.

Aspiration after *ro-* at the beginning of orthotonic forms requires more careful consideration. First of all, relative forms, where the relative *n* has been lost before the following consonant, must be set aside. It may look like reasoning in a circle, but these cases are to be recognized only by the absence of aspiration.<sup>1</sup> We must also set aside the instances where *ro-* is followed by any other infixed pronoun. Having so far cleared the way, we will now consider the residuum.

In relative forms where the relative particle is unexpressed aspiration is regular. This follows from what has been said above. The examples will be found pp. 80–86.

The non-relative forms must be taken seriatim—

Wb. 24<sup>a</sup> 3 *ro-cathichsiur dars chenn cosae* 'I fought for it hitherto.' The sentence seems not to be relative, and there is no infixed pronoun.

<sup>1</sup> On the omission of the relative particle, cf. Ebel, KSB. v, 38 sq. But the rules are not in every respect hard and fast.

Wb. 6<sup>o</sup> 27 *ar ro-óes side mor n-imnith* 'for he suffered much tribulation.'

Wb. 5<sup>a</sup> 24 *rumugsat l. ro-cochladatar* 'they smothered or they dug.' There is no reason for supposing an infixed pronoun.

Wb. 26<sup>b</sup> 6 *ro-comalnisidsi an ropridchissemni* 'ye have fulfilled what we have preached.'

Wb. 17<sup>a</sup> 6 *ro-cretus dongénid* 'I believed that ye will do it.'

Wb. 25<sup>d</sup> 20 *ro-croitsidsi a forcell forrogelsamni* 'ye believed the testimony that we testified.'

Wb. 26<sup>a</sup> 23 *ro-croitsidsi do démun* 'ye believed in the Devil.'

Sg. 197<sup>a</sup> 18 *ro-cinnius*, g. *defnivi*.

MI. 137<sup>o</sup> 10 *ro-cairdnigthea*, g. *foederatae sunt*.

MI. 114<sup>a</sup> 6 *ro-fuchhraigset* i. *ro-cessa*, g. *efferati sunt*.

MI. 43<sup>d</sup> 18 l. pro i. *tarási* vicisti i. *ro-cloissiu* 'or *pro*, i.e. for vicisti i.e. *rocloissiu*,' where the word is evidently a simple translation of *vicisti*.

MI. 74<sup>d</sup> 5 *ar ro-comallus du th[im]nas* 'for I have fulfilled Thine ordinances.'

MI. 81<sup>d</sup> 5 *rocomallad* is rather relative.

MI. 55<sup>d</sup> 3 *rodumaigestar* i. *orudele són 7 ro-cutrummaigestar* 'he piled up i. he compared and made equal.'

MI. 105<sup>o</sup> 7 *ro-taitnigseorsu*, g. *placatus es*.

MI. 84<sup>o</sup> 10 *ro-techtsat*, g. *habuere*.

MI. 106<sup>b</sup> 8 *lase conidreyp* i. *ro-torasnaigestar*, g. *confidendo*.

A relative *n* may be supplied from *lase*, but it is not necessary.

MI. 121<sup>a</sup> 6 *ro-tracht som riam anuas forsin canoin se* 'he discussed this passage of Scripture before above.'

#### With aspiration—

Wb. 5<sup>o</sup> 11 i. *doriltisset som 7 ro-chrocheat Crist*, i.e. 'they denied and crucified Christ.' This cannot be taken relatively.

Sg. 9<sup>a</sup> 22 *ro-éruthaigsemmar camaiph immorro oen character* 'we have formed, however, one character.'

I have quoted these examples at length so that the reader may be able to judge for himself. If statistics are worth anything it is impossible to avoid the conclusion, from which I confess I at first shrank, that the rule in these Glosses is that in relative forms where no relative particle was introduced there was aspiration, in non-relative forms there was no aspiration. Later this rule does not hold: see the examples pp. 89–91. The couple of instances to the contrary in the Glosses may be looked upon as the beginning

of the coming change. Compare the remarks of Thurneysen on pretonic particles generally, *Rev. Celt.* vi, 313. Why should there be this difference between the two sets of forms? Was the *ro-* more strongly emphasized? did it form more of a unity with the verb in the relative forms? Cf. the usage in compound verbs whereby in relative sentences the enclitic form of the verb is permitted; a good example of this is *for geni* *ML.* 44<sup>c</sup> 9, and the fact that in simple deponents and passives the relative form is supplied by the enclitic.

In Middle Irish *h* is inserted after *ro-* in the passive before verbs beginning with a vowel: cf. Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies* 745, Thurneysen, *Zeit. f. Celt. Phil.* I, 2. In the Glosses there is no such distinction; *h* is rare and is found in both voices—*ronnhicc*, *robhicad* p. 82, *rohordan*, *ruhord* p. 85. So also in the *Saltair na Rann*: cf. *VSR.* pp. 24, 27, 36.

In Middle Irish there is also a rule that in the preterite there is aspiration after *ro-* in the active, but not in the passive: cf. Atkinson, *Introduction to the Book of Leinster* p. 47, *Passions and Homilies* 852. Of such a rule in the Old Irish Glosses there is no trace. Nor is it yet carried through in the *Saltair na Rann*: cf. *VSR.* p. 36. In modern printed books such as *Daly's Poets and Poetry of Munster*, if my memory serves me right, the rule is observed, but my friend Father Henebry tells me that in the spoken language of Munster there is no distinction in this respect between the active and the passive. Is the whole thing a refinement of grammarians, or has the language once more come round to the point from which it started?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Modern Scotch Gaelic the active and the passive are treated in the same way; both are aspirated: *bhuail mi*, *cha do bhuail mi*, *bhuailleadh mi*, *cha do bhuailleadh mi*. In early works composed in pure Irish, or strongly under the influence of literary Irish, the Irish rule is observed, e.g. in *Carswell's Prayer-book*, and for the most part in the *Book of Clanranald*, *Reliquiae Celticae*, ii, p. 148 sq. But in the *Fernaig Manuscript* (end of seventeenth century), the language of which is "practically the modern dialect still spoken in Kintail," *Reliquiae Celticae*, p. 3, aspiration is found in the passive, e.g. p. 26 *chahig* = *bhathadh* p. 41, *chahig* = *bhristeadh*, *chahig* = *chaitheadh* p. 57, *chahig* = *cheusadh*, *chuirrig* = *chuireadh*. So far as I know, there is no evidence that the Irish rule ever held good in pure Scotch Gaelic.

## CORRIGENDA.

P. 102, l. 14. On *forruleblangatar* cf. p. 181.

P. 105, note 2, ll. 2, 3. This is more than doubtful, for we should have expected *\*do-ressecht*: cf. p. 183.

P. 107, l. 2. This should be corrected to *adrochomlad* and put with *adrochomul*, p. 116. Cf. Zimmer, Gött. Gehl. Anz. 1896, p. 402.

P. 107, l. 23. But from *fo-léicim* we should expect *fo-s-relic*. If *forolaich*, which has less manuscript authority, is to be accepted, the form might perhaps come from a compound of the simple verb which is seen in *foalgim*, without the preposition *ad*. Cf. Goth. *lagjan*?

P. 116, l. 20. Cf. *dorertatar* Hy. v, 55 = *do-ro-air-ortatar*?

P. 119, l. 8. The emendation is confirmed by the reading of YBL. Facs. 94<sup>a</sup> 40 *atdobrarbadsí*.

P. 122, l. 25. Is not this a blunder for *cita-acæ*? The scribe would seem to have begun as though to write the perfect of *ad-ciu*, and then to have substituted *citaacæ* without deleting the *ad*.

P. 131, ll. 7, 8. But *desid* may be enclitic: cf. p. 177, note 2.

P. 180, l. 31. But does *dorodbad* come from *\*dorobdad* (= *di-rð-bāded*), just as Old Ir. *bibdu* becomes *bidba*? If so, then *dorodba* in the Irish Hymns would come from *\*dorobda* = *di-rð-bādes*, and in fact the word is glossed by *rodibda*.

### III.—SEMI-VOWELS, OR BORDER SOUNDS OF CONSONANTS AND VOWELS, AS EXEMPLI- FIED IN SOME OF THE ROMANCE AND GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND IN ENGLISH, GAELIC, AND WELSH. By J. H. STAPLES.

[*Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society on Friday, March 6, 1896.*]

#### EXPLANATORY REMARKS AND KEY.

I use in this paper phonetic spelling only where necessary for the subject. Being averse to fresh phonetic systems, I use the alphabetic characters in Sweet's "Primer of Phonetics," with a few alterations, which seem simpler for printer and reader, chiefly taken from M. Passy's system. Phonetic spellings and single letters intended as phonetic symbols are in brackets. Words quoted in ordinary spelling are between inverted commas, as are also single letters, when alluded to as regards their usual sound in the language referred to; thus, the French 'u.'

*Key.*—Sweet's phonetic spellings, as far as they are referred to in this paper: (a, e, i, o, u, y) represent the vowels in English "but," German "see," French "si," German "so," French "sou," "lune"; same in italics, English "father," "men," "bit," German "stock," English "put," German "schützen"; (ä) the vowel in English "sir"; (ë) German neutral-terminal vowel in "gabe"; (ï) Welsh 'u'; (ü) Ulster and Lowland Scotch and Swedish vowel in "cool" and "hus"; (ɛ) the English neutral vowel terminal in "better"; (ɪ) a Scotch sound of short 'i' as in (hɪt)="it"; (ʌ)=a Scotch Gaelic sound, *i.e.* (u) pronounced with unrounded lips; (ə) as in French "peu" and German "schön"; (ø) as in French "peur"; (ɐ) or a reversed 'a,' the Lowland Scotch broad 'a' as in "man" (mɐvɐn), also the French nasalized 'a' as in "grand"; (ɔ, ɔ̃) as in English "law," "not"; (b, d, g, f, p, t, k, l, m, n, v, z) have their usual sounds, (g) being understood always as hard; (β, ɣ, γ) are the unstopped sounds in Mid-German 'w' and in Spanish 'b' in "saber,"



English "that," and Dutch unstopped 'g' like as in German "sagen"; ( $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ ) are the voiceless correlatives to ( $\beta$ ) and ( $\gamma$ ), the latter as in Scotch "loch"; ( $s$ ) is always the voiceless 's'; ( $\int$ ,  $ʒ$ ) are English 'sh' and French 'j'; ( $j$ ) has the German value as of 'y' in "yet"; ( $w$ ) the English consonantal value as in "wet"; ( $\text{ʍ}$ ) 'wh' as in "what"; ( $c$ ,  $ç$ ) are the voiced and voiceless palatal stops with the tongue as for 'y' in "yet"; ( $ç$ ) is German 'ch' in "ich" or Scotch and Irish 'h' in "hue"; ( $\lambda$ ,  $j$ ) are palatal ( $l$ ) and ( $n$ ); ( $ŋ$ ) is 'ng' in "sing"; ( $r$ ) is the lingual or point, ( $R$ ) the back or uvula 'r'; ( $ʁ$ ) or a reversed 'h' is the French consonantal 'u' as in "huit." Voicelessness may be signified by small  $\cdot$  written underneath thus: ( $\text{r}^\cdot$ ), voiceless ( $r$ ); nasality by ( $\sim$ ) above the letter thus: ( $\tilde{a}$ ), nasal ( $a$ ). Doubling a letter signifies length, thus: ( $ee$ ), long ( $e$ ). Where necessary, varieties of position may be marked with accents thus: advanced ( $\text{r}'$ ), retracted ( $\text{r}''$ ); and stress may be marked thus: ( $\bar{u}$ ), stressed ( $u$ ). Quotations from English dialects in phonetic spelling by Ellis are, to avoid confusion, transcribed into the phonetic spelling observed in this paper. ( $\text{a}$ ), omitted above, is a broader sound of ( $\text{ä}$ ).

Since writing the paper I found my landlord in London, Mr. Parry, of 36, Eardley Crescent, to be a Welsh-speaking Denbighshire man, and he kindly gave me some lessons, and I found Welsh gave examples very suitable to my purpose. Those examples, which I have dovetailed in, I give in my tutor's pronunciation, which, from perusal of Rowland's Welsh Grammar, seems fairly representative, and is certainly purely native and indigenous. But Welsh scholars, I hope, may correct me if inaccurate or only local.

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The term semi-vowel is hardly recognized in the classifications of the modern schools of phonetists, whether English or Continental. It is alluded to by several as descriptive of the qualities of certain sounds partaking of the nature of both consonant and vowel, but as these qualities are not specially included in those which form the essential basis of the most practicable classification of speech sounds, the group, to which I shall allude as "semi-vowels," is made up of sounds which lie rather athwart any usual satisfactory classification, but having such relations and showing such developments from and to other sounds, that their special study is, I think, very fruitful to phonetists and philologists in general.

The semi-vowels most universally recognized as such, and well exemplified in English, are (w) as in "wound," and (j) as in "yield." I purposely use instances where semi-vowel-consonant, and nearest resembling vowel in English are used in juxtaposition, and so better to display the difference from the consonant preceding. The commonness of the vowels (i) and (u) attracts attention to the obvious semi-vowel character of their related consonants (j) and (w), and by many observers they only have been referred to as *semi-vowels*. Sievers, "Grundzüge der Phonetik," 1893, pp. 148, 153, only describes (j) and (w) as "halbvocal"; and Rhys, in his "Manx Phonology," also only treats of these two as semi-vowels, which he describes as such and with careful detail; but Sweet, while not using the term semi-vowel, in passages alluding to the relations of consonants to vowels, "Primer of Phonetics," pp. 39, 40, shows that (ɣ) should be included in the group along with (j) and (w), and he sets down these relations with back, mid, and front positions of these consonants, and back and front of both open and round vowels, with some minuteness. Passy, in "Changements Phonétiques," pp. 93, 94, concisely sums up the list as he finds of these relationships, alluding to them as "souvent appelées semi-voyelles," thus:

consonants (j) (w) (q) (ɣ).  
vowels (i) (u) (y) (Λ).

Practically these two authorities agree, only Sweet dwells more on some varieties of articulation. If we examine these semi-vowels, we find it depends on the degree of the squeeze whether a border sound of this kind be vowel or consonant, and the tightness of the squeeze is usually in inverse proportion to the vocal stress, so that by advancing the vocal stress English "ear" would resemble German "ja." In speech, to give the sonorous effect of vowel, voice must be given with as little friction as possible consistent with the articulation of the vowel, but the essence of consonant is the friction which it is sought to avoid in uttering a vowel. Now, though Sweet puts low vowels as related to the respective varieties of his consonants, it will be found that the vowels most near these open consonants are those in which the tongue position is high. All the four vowels that Passy enumerates come under this category. The reason is obvious. For instance, in the vowel (Λ), as may be heard in Gaelic "laogh," "baoghailta," "a-h-aon," the

first in Argyll Gaelic and all in Deeside Gaelic, the ear can hardly fail to perceive the same relation between it and (ɣ) as between (i) and (j). Now in (Λ) the passage of the voice is narrowed, almost squeezed, between the upper side of the back of the tongue and the part of the roof of the mouth nearest it, the mouth cavity being left pretty free between the tongue and the outer teeth. It will be found that the position of the organs for this sound is exactly the same as that for (u), only that the sound is not rounded as for (u) by compression of lips and cheeks. The sound of (Λ) does not, however, in Gaelic words suggest to the ear any resemblance to (u), but more to the rounded Continental sound in "peu," "peur," "schön," "gotter," only with a deeper sound, and more indistinct at first—partly in consequence of its strangeness; and here I may note that Sievers, "Grundzüge," p. 99, in commenting on the Armenian sound with which this vowel has also been identified, says "dieser letztere Laut klingt uns auch sehr ö-ähnlich," so he must have observed the same resemblance, and the Gaelic (Λ) may appear at first hearing to be practically the same as the German 'ö,' but Gaelic has really both sounds. The word "laogh" seems more universally pronounced with (Λ) than most words, but in some dialects (ø), a sound almost identical with the German one in "götter," is used instead in that word, and in Argyll and most of the west generally in "aon" (ə̃n), while in Braemar this would only be (Λn) in counting, as "a-h-aon" when used emphatically.<sup>1</sup> The fact is, the formation of the vowel by the squeezing of the tongue at the back of the mouth gives it a false resemblance to a round sound, and makes it at the same time very unstable, while a very little increase of the squeeze at once brings it into one of the positions, and the one most resembling a vowel sound of the back open consonant or semi-vowel (ɣ), just as the same process with regard to (i) and (u) results in (j) and (w). Sweet, indeed, draws the relations between the whole three of the back and front vowels respectively, and rounded and unrounded forms to the several positions of their approximate consonants, in both Handbook and Primer, but as he seems to admit in "Handbook," p. 51, the high positions are those lying on "the boundary between vowel and consonant," which cannot be drawn with absolute definiteness.

<sup>1</sup> In a sentence such as "cha'n-eil ach aon" = "there's but one," it would be (ø), or dropt forward and unrounded to (æ).

Ranging over the lists of vowels and consonants, we may see that the two sets approach one another at certain positions and constitute sounds which may belong to either of the two anciently recognized divisions of speech sounds. I propose to show that there are six such sounds, adding to Passy's four, mentioned before, ( $\beta$ )=the Mid-German 'w' in "wo" and Spanish 'b' in "saber," and the point (r).

I have dwelt somewhat on ( $\gamma$ ) and its related vowel ( $\Lambda$ ) because they are unfamiliar to English-speaking people, and the vowel almost unknown to the European world. This pair is at the extreme limit in one sense to (w) and (u), one of the most familiar pairs, and yet, in another sense, as we have seen, as regards the position of the tongue, closely related, and as far as the vowels are concerned, identical. The history of the development of several languages and the existing state of Gaelic dialects indicate there has been, so to speak, a kind of see-saw change as to these sounds, the consonantal squeeze shifting from the back of the tongue to the lips, or *vice versa*, the main position of tongue remaining the same: thus, "ubh"=egg (uv) in one dialect we may suppose through (uw), which it still is in many, and (u $\gamma$ ) in another.

Having considered these two border points between consonants and vowels, let us try what other points of contact there are, first exhausting the lip positions. Sweet, following Bell as regards nomenclature, which weighs much in classification, makes (w) a modification of ( $\beta$ ), which they term the "lip open" simply, the former "the back lip open," while (q), the semi-vowel in French "huit," is styled by Sweet the "front" or "front modified lip open," and spelt ( $\beta j$ ). Passy, more systematically, gives separate single letters for all three, spelling the French lip open by the sign I have adopted, but describing the German and Spanish sound as "une fricative bilabiale simple," agrees in principle to the classification and nomenclature of Bell and Sweet. But this, though true and practical in the main, seems to me somewhat to confuse a just estimate of the relationship of these sounds. All three have, as essential to their formation, not only lip compression, but a certain squeeze of the lips which destroys the freeness of a vowel sound and makes them rank with consonants. This feature is practically identical in all, and it may be easily observed, and is generally recognized, though not with perfect completeness, that tongue position marks the

differences; hence there is no just reason for considering one a less modified or more standard sound, or to be a simpler bilabial, than the other two, the tongue in (q) being front as for (y), in (w) being back as for (u), and in ( $\beta$ ) being neutral or mixed as for (ü); and it will be found, I venture to insist, that the same relationship in mechanical formation and in acoustic effect exists between ( $\beta$ ) and (ü) as between (w) and (u), or as between (q) and (y). This relationship, I think, has not hitherto been recognized, although both Sweet and Passy show such between the other semi-vowels and their nearest vowels. This is partly because of the comparative rareness of the vowel (ü), and partly because the consonant and vowel are scarcely found in the same language. Neither Spanish, Mid-German, nor Dutch possess (ü), but ( $\beta$ ) belongs to them. Swedish, Norwegian, Ulster, Scotch, and Devonshire own (ü), but ( $\beta$ ) is unknown to them. A very few of the numerous dialects of Scotch Gaelic may have both (ü) and ( $\beta$ ), but the relationship is only to be detected by examining the sounds; in no case does it appear so clearly traced in the development of the language as that between (u) and (w), or (y) and (q), as exhibited in French.

If we try gradually to move our organs towards a vowel from the other lip consonants, the lip stop (b) or the lip tooth (v), we find, the moment we loosen contact between lips or between lip and teeth, we pass through a sound closely resembling one or other of the three lip opens, as decided by the position of the tongue, before we arrive at a vowel.

Leaving the lip sounds and passing to the sounds formed by the tongue in different positions in the mouth, if we try in same way, by loosening the consonantal squeeze, to approach a vowel from any of the positions with lowered tongue tip—palatal positions—we find, as we found in the case of the labials having to go through a form of lip open, we have to go through a form of the front open (j) as the readiest road to a vowel. Then, if we try the turned-up tongue tip or point positions and proceed similarly, we at once find we have to go through some form of lingual or point (r). This is a very unstable sound, perhaps more so than the others, and certainly capable of passing into a much greater number of varieties, acoustically distinct, but having in common the turned-up point of tongue. Its manner of formation necessarily occasions this: the tongue tip, being free to range over a great space of the roof of the mouth, oscillating or gently

striking against some part, varies in sound according as the point of touch be further forward or backward; and if in such positions we proceed to try the nearest sound formed by slightly loosening the consonantal squeeze, we find that the vowel we reach depends on the point we depart from, because the tongue tip, if near the teeth, will leave a narrower passage between its upper surface and the roof of the mouth, and the organs will more readily form a high vowel; and if the tip be curved back, the mass of the tongue, concave above, giving greater resonance chamber, the loosening of consonantal touch takes a deeper sound, and the tongue, freed like an unbent bow, is hardly restrained from dropping into almost any mixed or back vowel, the tendency to aim at distinctness of sound choosing the latter. So that forms of lingual or point (r) are by their very nature capable, on the one hand, of assuming some of the harshest of sounds owing to their liability of being trilled, and, on the other hand, border on a larger number of vowels than any other of these semi-vowels.

Having described these semi-vowels in turn, and the grounds of considering them the border positions of consonants to vowels, I tabulate them with their nearest resembling vowels:

Consonants	(w)	(β)	(q)	(γ)	(r)	(j)
Vowels	(u)	(ü)	(y)	(Λ)	(i)(î)(ë)(ê)(ä)(ā)	(i)

Three round and three unrounded; the one set almost the counterparts to the other. These semi-vowels have possible compound or blended forms—that is, two uttered simultaneously, some of which exist in actual speech, as (w) plus (γ), *i.e.* consonantal squeeze at lips and at back of tongue at same time, so (w) plus (r) and (β) plus (r). One or other of the two latter probably represented the old English “wr” initials preserved in Aberdeenshire, (w) having been changed to (v), as (vraɪj) = “wrong.” This compound semi-vowel is well displayed in Welsh by mutation from “gwr” initials, as “y wraig,” “y wrach,” “a wrendy.” These blended semi-vowels are instructive in studying the historical development of speech, and I shall allude to them again.

If we assume the truth of Sweet’s analysis of Arian consonants (“History of English Sounds,” p. 83), (j), (r), and (w), the present English semi-vowels, were the original and only primitive ones in

**Arian.** According to the same authority, Old Germanic—parent of the Teutonic languages—had besides the Arian three, ( $\beta$ ) and ( $\gamma$ ) arising from aspirated stops becoming open. The semi-vowel ( $\eta$ ) seems only a French development from an earlier ( $u$ ). The Continental Germanic languages have on the whole preferred ( $\beta$ ) or ( $v$ ) to ( $w$ ), and ( $w$ ) does not appear to have survived among them, except as generated between lip and front vowels in Dutch, while in many Romance languages ( $w$ ) or ( $u$ ) has developed in words in which it did not exist in parent Latin, and the original ( $w$ ) sound of Latin ‘ $v$ ’ has given place either to ( $\beta$ ) or to the present lip teeth ( $v$ ). The back open ( $\gamma$ ) has died out in English and Swedish and in some German dialects, but seems still very strong in Dutch, Norwegian, Icelandic, and Danish, and has cropped up from Latin ( $g$ ) or ( $k$ ) in some Spanish dialects, and in some Parisian pronunciation replaces back ( $R$ ), which itself succeeded an ancient and still provincial and old-fashioned point ( $r$ ). The semi-vowels ( $j$ ) and ( $w$ ), more commonly than any of the others, have been developed as apparently parasitic sounds in connection with front and back vowels respectively. A Lowland Scotch form ( $jen$ ) identical with the word in some dialects of Frisian, and the usual living English ( $wan$ )=“one,” Old English “ $an$ ,” are very good instances. The northern, fronting the vowel to ( $een$ ) or ( $en$ ), took on ( $j$ ); the southern, blunting it to ( $an$ ), prefixed ( $w$ ). Then we find such forms as ( $bwai$ )=“boy,” ( $bwail$ )=“boil,” ( $kwo't$ )=“coat,” inserting ( $w$ ); and ( $gjeet$ )=“gate,” ( $gjet'n$ )=“gotten,” inserting ( $j$ ): see Ellis, “English Dialects,” pp. 46, 65, 339, 344. Most people are familiar with an old-fashioned English and living Irish pronunciation inserting ( $j$ ), as in ( $gjardn$ )=“garden” and ( $kjar$ )=“car,” but that seems more a trick of advancing the initial consonant, after which the ( $j$ ) comes as an easy glide, than a development from the vowel, which is more clearly observed in the West of England ( $jar$ )=“here,” where the ‘ $he$ ’ part of “here” has disappeared and become ( $j$ ), the true vowel part having been pulled back by the retracted ( $r$ ). In the Romance languages and dialects are rich fields where may be found examples of the development and decay of all I have enumerated as semi-vowels, thus: French ( $lwa$ ) “loi,” ( $rwa$ ) “roi,” ( $vwa$ ) “voix”; Latin “lex,” “rex,” “vox”; French ( $jær$ ) “hier,” ( $bjæ$ ) “biens,” ( $ljæ$ ) “lieu,” ( $vjæ$ ) “viens”; Latin “heri,” “bene,” “locus,” “venio.” French dialects furnish also remarkable examples, thus: Vosges dialect, noted by M. P. Passy, ( $bwj$ ),

(fwo), (fwerma), (kwejo), (kwo:d); instead of French "bon," "fort," "fermer," "caillou," "corde"; dialect of Ezy-sur-Eure, noted by same, (jo), (pjo); instead of French "eau," "peau." The Spanish words "uevo," "fuego," "bueno," "buey," "siempre," "viento," "yerba," and the Italian "uomo," "uovo," "buono," "jeri," indicate the same tendency of a special labialization growing as an initial sound before some vowels and palatalization before others, which finally results in parasite (w) or (j).

English (w), being generally replaced by (β) or (v) in the kindred Continental tongues, what in English dialects would be this parasitic (w) becomes the mixed sound of (β), as in "kwam" (kβəm) in Dutch.

Although, as I have shown, the French language is fond of generating a consonantal (w) by allowing old diphthongs beginning in (u) or (o) to have dropped the vowel quality of their initial sound, it has entirely lost the (w) sound in the old Latin combination 'qu' (kw). This combination, together with the voiced combination (gw), has a remarkable history in European languages. The Latins and the old Gaels possessed the voiceless 'qu' (kw); the Italians and Spaniards have, and the old French had the voiced 'gu' (gw); the Welsh have both (kw) and (gw), the former sparingly, the latter in great abundance. The modern Gaels generally have dropped the (w) out of the (kw), leaving simply (k) with pure vowel following; but the Manx, see Rhŷs, "Manx Phonology," have often preserved the old compound thus: Manx, "queig," "quoi," "quallian," "quaagh"; Gaelic, "coig,"<sup>1</sup> "co," "cuilean," "coimheach." In "cuimhne," in some Gaelic dialects, there is perhaps an apparently unavoidable approach to the (kw) compound, but even here one may generally notice a strong tendency to keep the (u) pure, particularly in those districts, predominant in Scotland and northern Ireland, where stress is on the first vowel thus—(küin). Like the Gaels, the modern French have discarded (w) from both (kw) and (gw) compounds. The word "quoi" (kwa), due to an intermediate use of an 'oi' diphthong, need not be regarded as an exception. Compare as to the preservation and loss of the semi-vowel the

<sup>1</sup> I cannot help alluding here to an absurd remark in McAlpine's Scotch Gaelic Dictionary under the word "coig"; after giving as a localism a pronunciation like the Manx side by side with what is thought the proper Scotch, it goes on, "but in the Islands of Argyll every word is pronounced just as Adam spoke it."



French "egal," "quand" (kǝ), "quatre" (katr), "garde," "garantir"; Italian "eguale," "quando," "quattro," "guardia," "garantire"; Spanish "igual," "cuando," "cuatro," "guarda." French dialects, besides exhibiting instances where (w) has survived, such as in patois Vosgiens (kwet) and (kwat) for French "quatre," and in same patois and, as I remember myself, in Wallon of Namur, (kweer), for French "querir," also furnish examples where (w) has survived to the rejection of, or without the development of, the initial (g), as in patois Vosgiens (wvvd), (wɛr), (wees), for French "garde," "guere," "guèpe." So we find among the Celtic group Welsh 'p' equates with old Gaelic and still Maux 'qu,' now Scotch and Irish 'c' (k), and Welsh 'gw' initials equate with Gaelic 'f,' Latin 'v' (w), and sometimes with Sanskrit (v) or (w), and that the Romance languages, as compared with the Teutonic, equate 'g' and 'gu' initials with (w), (β), or (v).

In Welsh there seems a sort of peculiar affection between (g) and (w), and between (χ) and (w), for without either 'g' or 'ch' (χ), or in comparatively few instances 'c' (k) initially, in the radical or unmutated form of a word, (w) as a semi-vowel consonant seems unknown, but when thus preceded by 'g' is so strong that it occurs as initial non-syllabic compounds with 'l,' 'n,' or 'r,' as in "gwlad," "gwna," "gwres," which become by mutation "wlad," "wna," "wres" with same consonantal (w).

It is very suggestive to compare such changes between Welsh and Gaelic initials with those between the Teutonic forms of cognate origin with Romance 'gu' initials. Leaving out English loan words from Norman or later French, these omit the 'g' and remain only mere (w) in English, and have become (β) or (v) on the Continent, as English "war," "William"; German "wehr" (βeer) or (veer), "Wilhelm" (βilhelm) or (vilhelm). We trace similar voiceless initials in the interrogatives very far back and through many Arian languages, thus: Sanskrit root forms "ka," "ku"; Latin, "quis," "quid," "quo," "quando"; Icelandic, "hverr," "hvaða," "hvat"; English, "who," "what," "where"; German, "wer," "was," "wo" (βer), (βas), (βo), or (ver), (vas), (vo); Gaelic, "co," "ciod" (kīt), "cia" (kē); Welsh, "pwy," "pa," "pan"; French, "qui," "que," "quand." The inclusive initial elements are back and lip, both so well preserved in Lowland Scotch forms of blended back and lip—(χ<sub>æ</sub>vt), (χ<sub>æ</sub>eer), (χ<sub>æ</sub>æn): see Ellis, "English Dialects," p. 688. Similar voiceless initials

are abundant in Welsh, in which, as in the Scotch examples, both elements are open, and so capable of simultaneous or blended utterance, as in "chwaer," "chwech," the first word, it may be noted, retaining the old semi-vowel as in Sanskrit "swasri," German "schwester." Spanish furnishes the same open blended initial in an instance of Latin 'j' having been pulled back, which, together with the habit of stressing the end of a word with consonant terminal, has resulted in turning "Johan-nes" into "Juan" ( $\chi\text{man}$ ).

In the actual 'qu' compounds, whether indigenous, as English "quell," German "quälen" ( $k\beta\text{eeln}$ ), or of Latin origin, as English "quantity," German "quantität" ( $k\beta\text{antiteet}$ ), we find English ( $k\text{w}$ ) is German ( $k\beta$ ), as in the other cases English ( $\text{w}$ ) and 'wh' ( $\text{m}$ ) are both German ( $\beta$ ) or ( $\text{v}$ ). In Spanish, though the speech forms ( $\text{w}$ ) or ( $\text{u}$ ), as in "bueno," out of words in which this lip sound did not exist in Latin, there seems in other cases a preference for the apparently less distinct ( $\beta$ ) to either ( $\text{u}$ ), ( $\text{w}$ ), ( $\text{v}$ ), or ( $\text{b}$ ), and Latin Paulus has become "Pablo" ( $\text{Pa}\beta\text{lo}$ ): see "Maitre Phonétique," May, 1895, p. 108. The semi-vowel ( $\text{y}$ ) is only known as existing in French, and the connection between it and the vowel ( $\text{y}$ ) is easily observed, as the consonant form is evidently, as recognized by French observers, the remains of the first part of a diphthong which has lost its vowel character through stress falling on the second part, so that the syllable changes from a rising diphthong to semi-vowel consonant plus vowel. We have an excellent example of this change in the word "juillet." There are two distinct pronunciations, ( $\text{zyje}$ ) and ( $\text{zuije}$ ). M. Passy recognizes both, and says he thinks the first usual in the north; the second, he says, is southern, see "Maitre Phonétique," June, 1893, pp. 86, 87; but from my recollection the second is also the Belgian form. In the first, stress falling on 'u' preserves its full vowel character, and the 'i' is absorbed by the 'll,' which in living French has become ( $\text{j}$ ); in the second, stress has advanced to the 'i,' which is preserved as a vowel before the semi-vowel ( $\text{j}$ ), and the ( $\text{y}$ ) having parted with stress becomes the semi-vowel consonant ( $\text{y}$ ).

As regards ( $\text{r}$ ), Southern English vernacular illustrates its intimate connection with mixed vowels into whose organic position it passes readily by infinitesimal degrees, and these vowels have a tendency to be put back, and accordingly we may note, it is sometimes, though irregularly, used in speech to prevent a hiatus

between vowels, as : "I had no idea(r) of it." The practice having arisen, it is inserted where it seems still more offensive, as : "I saw (r)'im." English and Scotch and American English pronunciation further exhibit the peculiar relationship of (r) to vowels, for, except with the back open vowel as in "far away," other vowels when lengthened take a certain mixed vowel glide between them and (r), as in words like "bearer," "cheery," "fiery," "poorer," "roarer," and an almost similar sound, marked by Sweet, mid mixed wide in "better" (bet $\epsilon$ ) and low mixed narrow in "sir" (sä), absorbs and replaces consonant (r), where no vowel follows, thus : "my better eye" (r) sounded, "my better leg" no (r) sounded. Loosen the consonantal squeeze of this English retracted point (r) and we at once hear this mixed ( $\epsilon$ ), its border vowel in English. Old-fashioned cultured Edinburgh Scotch using 'r' of different position, the generated glide is different too. Thus, "air" has very much the same sound as in old-fashioned or provincial French, using nearly the same 'r,' only the French is as purely monophthongal as possible, the Scotch using a slight glide I would set down as (i) : thus, French (eer), Scotch (e $\epsilon$ r), English (ee $\epsilon$ ), ( $\epsilon\epsilon$ ), or ( $\epsilon\ddot{\epsilon}$ ), which has a tendency to become (ea). American English and Austrian German phonetic writers testify to the same dropping of final (r) into a mixed or back vowel as regards their respective pronunciations, and Americans develop the same 'er' vowel in a short syllable of a word where a vowel follows 'r,' such as "very" (v $\epsilon$ ri)=ve'r+ri, where we would use the older front vowel. The English habit of prefixing this mixed ( $\epsilon$ ) approach to (r), when followed by long vowels, occasions their difficulty of pronouncing many foreign words. In Denbighshire Welsh also there seems to me a distinct glide approach to the 'r,' as in "gwir" (gw $\ddot{\epsilon}$ ir), contrasting with the Gaelic dialect familiar to me in the cognate word "fior" (fiir).

In Spanish we can note the apparent generation of (r) in "hambre" and "hombre," in the latter probably formed from (n) through an oblique case, so "mna" in Scotch Gaelic is pronounced (m $\ddot{f}$ ä), in some Irish dialects still (mnä) or (m $\ddot{e}$ nä).

When we consider the sounds which the semi-vowels change into, and those which change to semi-vowels, in the development of speech, we find the changes occur in two directions—one as guided by the ear for the sake of clearness to a more distinct sound, another as it would seem under an æsthetic sense of harmony or assimilation, by which vowels seem eating into and

pulling down consonants, as it were, as water pulls down solid land on the earth's surface. Moving towards greater clearness, (w), (β), and (q) may become (v) or (b), (j) becomes (z), the compound (dʒ), or even is thrown back and hardened into (g), (r) becomes (l) and (d), and (γ) becomes (g). Under the assimilating tendency semi-vowels become simply absorbed by the adjacent vowels and vanish, but we find many other consonants have become worn down as it were under this tendency to semi-vowels. This is the tendency which has caused the so-called "aspiration" in Gaelic, (b) in Irish Gaelic becoming (w) with "broad" or back vowels, perhaps an original (β) hardening into (v) with "slender" or front vowels; in Scotch Gaelic modified 'b' is in a few instances (β) with front vowels in the western dialects, but generally with all vowels the lip tooth (v), less often (w), or a pure vowel (u), or the lip sound has become completely absorbed in the adjacent vowels. The assimilating power of the vowels in Gaelic is more remarkably illustrated with the other stops, the front vowels pulling down their dental (d) and (t) into palatal (ʃ) and (ç), and, when modified or "aspirated," (j) and (ç), and the back vowels pulling "aspirated" 'd' into the back position and, as it were, melting it to (γ), thus: "iodhal" (iʃal), "modh" (moγ), loan words from Latin "idolum," "modus." Compare the change mentioned occasioned in Spanish by a back vowel making "Johannes" (χαν). Spanish phonetic writers allude to this tendency. But their vowels have not usually such an influence over consonants as to alter their position, but unstop stopped consonants, so their modified dental 'd' becomes (ð). This change is occasioned by a vowel preceding the stop, thus: (ørbe), (dom benito), (prueβa), (saβios), (soniðos de), (uso ðe), (antiγuo): see "Maitre Phonétique," 1894, pp. 31, 32; "ausencia," "cautivo," "bautizar," indicate obedience to the same rule. A change of analogous nature is shown in French where Latin 'l' when in contact with 'i' has become (j), through older-fashioned palatal (λ), thus: "meilleur" (mejʀ), "fille" (fiʝ), "famille" (famij). Italian, having rubbed down Latin 'l' to 'i' when part of an initial combination, as in "fiamma," "pieno," "chiammare," indicates its participation in a similar tendency.

There are instances of the modifying power of vowels over consonants to be detected in varieties and dialect forms of English pronunciation. There is to me a well-known drawing-room ladies' English, where "tt" in "pretty" has been worn down to an

indistinct and voiceless ( $\text{p}$ ) as ( $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{r}^{\text{h}}\text{i}$ ); and in the street vernacular of Belfast "protestant" becomes ( $\text{pr}^{\text{h}}\text{r}^{\text{h}}\text{znt}$ ), "get out of that" ( $\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{r}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{\text{h}} \text{ʒat}$ ); also there is the Irish English ( $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{r}^{\text{h}}\text{iz}$ )="potatoes." These English vulgarisms follow the old Gaelic custom of modifying, and particularly of turning stopped into open consonants by the influence of adjacent vowels, which their grammarians have termed "aspiration."

Besides this change into semi-vowels of other consonants by the wearing down influence of adjacent vowels, we find semi-vowels have been produced from purer vowel sounds, as I have alluded to before by the shifting of stress. This is very well observed in French, as in "souhait," now, according to M. Passy, in Parisian ( $\text{sw}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ ) monophthongic, but, as I remember, perhaps among very old-fashioned Belgians, ( $\text{su}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ ) diphthongic or dissyllabic; and in "juillet" ( $\text{ʒu}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{h}}\text{je}$ ) or ( $\text{ʒy}^{\text{h}}\text{je}$ ), as noticed before; "oui," ( $\text{wi}$ ) in ordinary French and ( $\text{w}^{\text{h}}\text{j}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ ) in the Wallon French of Namur. In "Noël" and "poete," according to M. Passy, the 'o' is hovering on the verge of becoming ( $\text{w}$ )—( $\text{nw}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ ), ( $\text{pw}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ )—but seems restrained by special influences. We see also that old rising (i) diphthongs, as in "science," "violence," "dieu," in French have allowed the full vowel sound of (i) to become (j). In some Scotch dialects there is a pronunciation ( $\text{j}^{\text{h}}\text{e} \text{divnt}$ )="you dont," indicating ( $\text{w}$ ) or ( $\beta$ ) as ending of "do," and the original round vowel, becoming fronted and unrounded, has hardened its termination into ( $\text{v}$ ) in emphatic speech.

Teutonic dialects exhibit some apparent vagaries in the substitution of back stops and palatal or back semi-vowels. Thus, in Dutch, Flemish, and, as I have heard, in the mouth of a Westphalian German, every 'g' is ( $\text{ɣ}$ ), and so strong is the hold of this sound over the articulation, that I remember Belgian Flemings who could use no other in French, making "main gauche" ( $\text{m}^{\text{h}}\text{e} \text{ɣo}$ ). On the other hand, there is the Berlin substitution of (j) for (g), also, as I remember, very prevalent at Aachen, in the well-known phrase ( $\text{ain}^{\text{h}}\text{e} \text{j}^{\text{h}}\text{ebr}^{\text{h}}\text{atn}^{\text{h}}\text{e} \text{j}^{\text{h}}\text{ans mit jrynen jurk}^{\text{h}}\text{en jejesn ist ain}^{\text{h}}\text{e jut}^{\text{h}}\text{e jab}^{\text{h}}\text{e jot}^{\text{h}}\text{es}$ ) "eine gebratene gans mit grünen gurken gegessen ist eine gute gabe Gottes." So Swedish "gæra" ( $\text{j}^{\text{h}}\text{æra}$ ), through an earlier combination with the front stop ( $\text{j}^{\text{h}}\text{j}^{\text{h}}\text{æra}$ ), and Lowland Scotch "gar," and English "yellow," and German "gelb." There is an example of (i) becoming (g) probably through (j), and then as pulled back through ( $\text{ɣ}$ ) in a pronunciation I have heard in the

neighbourhood of Cookstown, Ireland, in the name "Harriette" as (*Haargət*).

All these semi-vowels, like other consonants, have their voiceless as well as their voiced forms. And as vowels are much seldomer voiceless than consonants, these voiceless forms strike the ear as much more consonantal than the voiced forms, and with the exception of the back open voiceless ( $\chi$ ) the semi-vowels, like the divided consonants, 'ls,' and the nasals, are much oftener voiced than voiceless. I need not treat at any length these voiceless forms. The back voiceless ( $\chi$ ) is common in most of the Continental Germanic languages, in Icelandic, in Scotch and Ulster English, in Spanish, in some of the eastern French patois, and, as I have been told by an Italian, also in Tuscan patois. In both branches of the Celtic group it is very common. In Welsh it has the remarkable property of being as an unmutated initial only found as a blended sound with the voiceless ( $\Delta$ ), but as such is very abundant, examples of which I have given. In Gaelic it is used seemingly to avoid a hiatus between "broad" back or mixed vowels, as (*u/kəχən*) "uisgeachan," so the voiceless front semi-vowel ( $\zeta$ ) is between "narrow" or front vowels, as (*niçən*) "nithean." This voiceless front is in many languages generated by an adjacent preceding voiceless consonant in contact with a quondam (*i*) or (*e*), which, by shifting of stress, has been dried up into (*j*), and then by assimilation becomes ( $\zeta$ ) as, "tiens" (*tʃæ̃*), "pierre" (*pʃer*), in French, and "pew" (*pʃuw*), "tune" (*tʃuwn*), in English, and in the latter word becoming ( $\int$ )—(*tʃuwn*), as it has definitely in "picture" (*piktʃə*). In Southern English and French this voiceless semi-vowel seems to have no independent existence, and neither it nor ( $\chi$ ) are, except in rare instances, used as an initial in German, but in Scotch and Irish English (*h*) + (*ju*) produces a true voiceless front semi-vowel, as in "hue," "human" (*çuw*), (*çuwmən*). In Southern English this is generally substituted by the to me recently acquired articulation of (*h*) preceding (*j*), as (*hjuw*), (*hjuwmən*), unless, which is perhaps commoner, the (*h*) be dropped altogether, as (*juw*), (*juwmən*). In Gaelic this ( $\zeta$ ) is common, like ( $\chi$ ), as an independent sound in every position. The word "uisge," generally (*u/ke*), is in Islay, Prof. McKinnon told me, (*uçke*). Voiceless 'r' ( $\xi$ ) is like ( $\zeta$ ) in most languages, a sound generated by assimilation with a preceding voiceless consonant, in which circumstances it is not so easily recognized as voiceless. In Welsh, Gaelic, and

Icelandic it is still an independent sound, as in ancient Greek. In Gaelic, as an independent sound, it is generated by mutation from 'tr' or 'sr' initials, as "mo shron" (m̥ r̥on), "mo thruaighe" (m̥ r̥uəij). The voiceless 'w' (ʍ) is in English only used as an initial, and common only in the north and in Ireland. In French, like the other voiceless semi-vowels, it occurs only by the assimilating influence of a preceding voiceless consonant, and as such may be used in dialect forms of Spanish and Italian. As a Welsh sound (ʍ) exists only, as I have stated, as part of an initial blended compound with 'ch' (χ), neither sound as an unmutated initial occurring separately. In Gaelic it occurs sparingly only in some dialects of the west, where a breath on-glide may generate it between round vowels and voiceless stops, as "suipear" (suʍp̥ər). The voiceless forms of Mid-German 'w' (ϕ) and of French consonantal 'u' are rarer than the other voiceless semi-vowels. There are no instances of their independent existence in any of the languages which own their voiced forms, but in the local pronunciation of a place-name in Belgium, "Huy" (ɥij), which I remember to have been pronounced in the neighbourhood with a true voiceless semi-vowel. This (ɥ) is freely produced in French and (ϕ) occasionally in German by the assimilating influence of a preceding voiceless consonant. Thus, "puir," "suis," "cuit" in French have a distinctly voiceless (ɥ), and the voiceless (β) or (ϕ) is sometimes used in German "zwei."

I now sum up my main propositions: that the true semi-vowels in the Romance, Teutonic, and Celtic languages are (w), (β), (ɥ), (j), (r), and (ɣ), because if we try to pass gradually from any consonant to a pure vowel sound, we pass through some one of these forms of consonant or half-consonant half-vowel sound. The forms (w), (j), and (r) are said by Sweet to be the older, as they are still the commoner semi-vowels, the vowels of (w) and (j), viz. (u) and (i), being commoner than the vowels of (β), (ɥ), and (ɣ), viz. (ü), (y), and (ʌ). But I cannot help feeling a strong impression that (ɣ) is as old as the others.

The history of these semi-vowels shows—

(1) They have been produced as apparent parasites in contact with vowels resembling them. (2) They have been produced by the consonanting of their vowels, or of resembling vowels through stress moving from the changed vowel to a succeeding one. There may be reason to believe that these two steps are often the same in

principle, through an originally simple vowel becoming fractured into a diphthong, and then the first part of this diphthong becoming consonantized through shifting of stress on to the latter part, as "roi" in French and probably in the English 'u' or 'ew' words (ju), (iu), (y). (3) They have been produced through the wearing down of stops or other consonants by the influence of adjacent vowels, similarly to the methods of Gaelic so-called "aspiration." (4) Some appear to be radical sounds as far as we can trace.

Now if I may be permitted to enter into a little speculative phonetic peering into the past, the question we may put ourselves in regard to forms, for instance, like Latin "quinque," Manx "queig," and Gaelic "coig," on the one side, and "pymp," "pente," "pancán," on the other, is, which or what were the parent forms, and so with regard to Welsh "gwir," Gaelic "fior," Latin "verus," Sanskrit "vir." These also suggest the equated forms Gaelic "bo," Sanskrit "go." Of course we know that Grimm's law equates the Arian consonants amongst the different branches, and that as to some changes to the Gaelic 'c' (k) the early Gaels had the habit of turning loan words like "pascha," "purpur" to "caisg," "corcur." These latter can only be explained by the Gaelic hard breathing with voiceless stops coupled with their temporary disinclination to the voiceless 'p,' which they turned either into 'b,' as Irish "obair" from "opera," or into 'c,' pronounced (kh), and that the hard breathing of the latter they thought a sufficient imitation of what they would otherwise, but for their disinclination thereto, render by a hard-breathed (ph). These Gaelic changes are of a special and only temporary nature, but it is impossible to imagine the descendants of a people using both distinct 'ps' and 'ks' or both 'bs' and 'gs,' changing (p) for (k), (b) for (g), or *vice versa*; and after studying the development we can trace, and allowing for early writers not distinguishing between stopped and unstopped consonants, is it not legitimate to form the hypothesis of prehistoric semi-vowels blended of lip and tongue back consonantal squeezes in part surviving or reviving in those Scotch, Welsh, Latin, and Romance words, with 'chw' (χ<sup>Λ</sup>), 'gw,' and 'qu' (kw) initials constituting the parent forms from which the later very divergent ones with (p), (k), (b), or (g) have resulted by the process of aiming after distinctness? Thus, if we imagine the parent prehistoric form of the interrogatives to be a kind of interjectional



emphatic whistle, beginning with breath guttural, as ( $\chi\text{auu}$ ), and that of 'bo' and 'go' as an onomatopoeic imitation of the animal's low, but whose framers, unfettered by an alphabetic catalogue of sounds, made it not "moo" after the nursery fashion, but ( $\gamma\text{wu}$ ), we can understand how the present and historic variants could be descended from them.

#### ADDENDUM.

Critical phonetists might object that there are different varieties of speech sounds which I have classed together, and that there are sounds midway between these semi-vowels, having the same semi-vowel character, which I have not alluded to. Thus, German phonetists deny the identity of German 'w' in "wo," "wer," "was," and Spanish 'b' in "saber," and others might deny the identity of (w) in French "oui" and in English "we." It might also be asserted that there is a sound midway between (j) and ( $\gamma$ ). To this I would say that those differences in the lip sounds are not incompatible with each set as described coming under the limitations and fulfilling the conditions laid down, so that the differences are immaterial to my propositions, and that of course there is a position of lingual open consonant which is intermediate between palatal and back, but this kind of half-road position is seldom maintained in practice. National peculiarity or influence of adjacent vowels fixes it either as more or less distinct retracted (j) or advanced ( $\gamma$ ). Thus I remember the late Mr. James Lecky put down for Irish Gaelic "a ghrian" ( $\text{ɛ } \text{r}i\text{r}i\text{en}$ ) with retracted (j). In Scotch Gaelic it is certainly ( $\text{ɛ } \text{r}i\text{r}i\text{en}$ ) with advanced ( $\gamma$ ).

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## IV.—ON THE DIALECT OF WYCLIFFE'S BIBLE.

By the Rev. Prof. SKEAT, Litt.D., Vice-President.

*[Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society on Friday, June 5, 1896.]*

SOME time ago, I was investigating the old spelling of the verb *to build*, and was much surprised to find the spelling *beeld*, with a reference to Wycliffe's Bible. Mätzner gives several references to the 3rd Book of Kings and the Book of Habakkuk in the earlier version: see his Dictionary, s.v. *bulden*. This is a spelling which we should expect to find in Kentish; but these particular books do not appear to be in that dialect, so that the spelling is due to the scribes of those particular portions of the work.

I then set to work to find out what the dialect employed really is; and the task proved to be one of some difficulty, owing to an extraordinary oversight on the part of the editors, who indicate with scrupulous exactness the names of the MSS. which they collate, but practically place many difficulties in the way of the reader who wants to know the name of the MS. which is used as the text. The information can only be obtained by collating three passages in the Preface.

By another curious oversight, not one of the four splendid quarto volumes of which the work consists has any table of contents. Yet this is particularly desirable, on account of two facts. The first is, that a large number of Introductory Prologues accompanies the text; and the other is, that the Apocryphal books are mixed up with the rest in a somewhat puzzling order. It is not every one who knows that the story of Susannah forms a part of Daniel, or that the Epistle to the Laodiceans follows that to the Colossians, whilst both of these come earlier than the Book of Deeds or Acts. Accordingly, I found it absolutely necessary to make a new Table of Contents, as given below.

CONTENTS OF WYCLIFFE'S BIBLE, SHOWING THE TWENTY-ONE MSS.  
USED FOR THE TEXT.

N.B.—MSS. denoted by italic capitals all belong to the earlier version; MSS. denoted by roman capitals, to the later. The MSS. are all fully described by Forshall and Madden.

VOL. I.—General Prologue: *a* (as far as p. 57, l. 3); *e* (the rest). Prefatory Epistles of St. Jerome, in both versions; *A* and O. Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, in both versions; *A* and A.

Prologues to Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth. All from M.

VOL. II.—Earlier version of 1–3 Kings; *A*. 4 Kings—2 Paralipomenon; *B*. 1–3 Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Job, Psalms; *C*. Later version; A.

PROLOGUES: *First* to 1 Kings; M. *Second* and *third* (parallel); *A* and O. 2, 3, 4 Kings (sole); M. 1 Par.; *first*, M. *Second* and *third* (parallel); *B* and O. 2 Par. (sole); *B*. 1 Esdras; *first*, M; *the others*, *C*. 2 Esdras (sole); M. 3 Esdras; *none*. Tobit; *first*, M; *the others*, *C*. Judith, Esther, Job, Psalms; *same as* Tobit.

VOL. III.—Contains Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel (including Susannah and Bel); Twelve Minor Prophets; 1 and 2 Maccabees.

Earlier version; Prov. – Baruch, iii, 20 (p. 490); *C*. Baruch, iii, 20–Ezek. i, 26 (p. 503); *K*. Gap in *K* (Ezek. i, 26–xxxii, 23, p. 575); *A*. The rest; *K*. Later version; A.

PROLOGUES: Proverbs; *first*, M; *second*, *C*. Ecclesiastes (sole); *C*. Song; *none*. Wisdom (parallel); *C* and R. Ecclesiasticus (parallel); *C* and R. Isaiah; *first*, *C*; *second*, A. Jeremiah; *first*, M; *the others*, *C*. Lamentations; *none*. Baruch (parallel); *C* and A. Ezekiel (sole); M R (*sic*). Daniel; *same as* Ezekiel. Twelve Minor Prophets; *none*. 1 Mac. (sole); M. 2 Mac.; *none*.

VOL. IV.—Contains the four Gospels, Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., Laodiceans, 1 and 2 Thes., 1 and 2 Tim., Tit., Philemon, Heb., Deeds (Acts), James, 1 and 2 Pet., 1, 2, 3 John, Jude, Apocalypse, Appendix of extra Prologues.

Earlier Version; as far as Deeds, xxviii, 15; *K*. The rest; *M*. Later version; A. Laodiceans (*two texts*); o, w.

PROLOGUES: Mat.; *first*, *K*; *second*, A. Mark, Luke, John; *same as* Matthew. Romans; *first*, *K*; *second* (above), k; *third*

(below), *a*; *fourth* and *fifth* (parallel), *K* and *A*. 1 and 2 Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col. (parallel); *K* and *A*. Laodiceans; o. 1 and 2 Thes. (parallel); *K* and *A*. 1 Tim. (two parallel), *K* and *A*; *third*, o. 2 Tim., Tit., Philemon, Heb., Deeds (all parallel); *K* and *A*. Philemon has a *third* Prologue (only two lines); from *G V* (*sic*). James; *first*, *S*; *second*, *A*. Peter, John, Jude; *none*. Apocalypse; *first*, *S*; *second*, *A*.

Extra Prologues; *from p, y, z*.

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List of MSS. mentioned above; *a, e; A, B, C, G, K, M, S, V; a, k, o, p, w, y, z; A, M, O, R*.

Thus, the whole number of MSS. actually used in the text of the earlier version is five, viz. *A, B, C, K*, and *M*. It so happens that *C* and *K* are bound up together in one volume, though they are wholly independent; and this is why the editors say that they have used only *four* manuscripts.

The later version is all printed from *A*; except the Epistle to the Laodiceans, from *o* and *w*.

The Prologues exhibit specimens of no less than 21 MSS., viz. *a, e; A, B, C, G, K, M, S, V; a, k, o, p, w, y, z; A, M, O, R*.

Thus, the whole work actually exhibits specimens from no less than *twenty-one* manuscripts; and in many cases it is extremely difficult to find from what MS. any particular quotation is made, without careful and repeated references to the Introduction, where we must search in *three* places before we can be sure of the result. Information is given (1) in the general remarks in the Preface, p. xxxiv; (2) in the list of MSS. on pp. xxxiv–vii; and (3) in the second list of MSS. on pp. xxxix–lxiv, in which the MSS. are denoted by numbers instead of by letters, as in the former list.

The only clue to the MS. used for a prologue is given by the notice that “the source of the Prologues, *if it differ* from that of the book which follows, is noted in the margin.” If it does *not* differ, there is no note on it at all.

The list of MSS. does not say that MS. *k* is used for any part of a text; and so in other cases.

All this trouble might have been saved by the simple and obvious expedient of stating, at the beginning of each piece, the name of the MS. from which it was printed.

This preliminary investigation into the sources of the text was absolutely necessary, before any account of the dialect, or dialects, which it exhibits could be undertaken. It also appears that the first thing to be done is to investigate the dialect of the longest text edited from a single MS. This is that known as the later version, the whole of which, excluding prologues and the Epistle to the Laodiceans, is from MS. A, otherwise called 6, i.e. the MS. in the Old Royal Library, in the British Museum, marked 1 C. viii.

On this MS., written before 1420, the editors bestow high praise; it "presents in the most material points an uniform and accurate text." It is frequently correct where every other MS. is wrong. This version is usually attributed to John Purvey.

The dialect is undoubtedly some form of Midland. I select such examples as are most material; and refer, for further examples, to my 'Remarks on the Language' of this MS. already printed in my Introduction to the reprint of Wycliffe's New Testament, where references are supplied.

In substantives, the final *-e* of the dative case chiefly occurs in phrases, as in *roos fro slep-e* 'arose from sleep'; otherwise it is sometimes dropped. The plural ends in *-is* or *-es*.

In adjectives, the Chaucerian rule of marking the use of the definite adjective by adding *-e*, is seldom observed. Plural adjectives usually take this ending, but not always. The possessive pronoun *his* is usually *his-e* in the plural.

Among pronouns, *hem* is used for 'them,' *her* for 'their,' and even *herne* for 'theirs.'

The infinitive of a verb usually ends in *-e*; as *ber-e* 'to bear.'

The weak verbs regularly employ in the past tense forms ending in *-ide*, *-ede*, *-de*, *-te*, or *-e*, according to the stem: thus we have *clep-ide*, *apper-ide*, *sei-de*, *dwel-te*, *sent-e*. The plural usually adds *-n*, as in *ioy-ed-en*. The past participle ends in *-id*, *-ed*, *-d*, *-t*; as *fulfill-id*, *afrai-ed*, *seid*, *sent*. The present participle has *-ynge*; as *haw-ynge*. In the present tense singular, the ending is *-ith* or *-eth*, as *sped-ith*, *leu-eth*; the plural ending is usually *-en*, as *brek-en*.

The most distinctive marks of the dialect are the frequent use of *-ith* for *-eth*; of *-ide* in the past tense singular, and *-id* in the past participle, of weak verbs; and the very frequent use of *-en* in the plural of both present and past tenses. We may also note *-un* for *-en* in strong past participles, as *bor-un* 'born,' and the occasional use of *-us* in some adverbs, as *thenn-us* 'thence.'

The next question of interest is, how many of these peculiarities occur in the MSS. of the earlier version, in which we might perhaps expect some forms of a more northern character, owing to Wycliffe's birth in a northern county?

First, as to MS. *A*, otherwise 94, otherwise MS. No. 4 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which supplies the earlier text of Genesis. In the course of the two first chapters of Genesis, we find nearly all the dialect-marks which I have already mentioned.

Thus we find the definite adjectives *the first-e*, *the firth-e*, with final *-e*, and *the fyueþ* without one. The pronouns *hem* and *her* occur for 'them' and 'their.' Infinitives are *worch-e*, *yyu-e*. Weak past tenses are *clepide*, *comaundide*, *restide*, *deuydid*, *fourmede*, *yede*, *broughte*, *putte*; with the plural *shameden*. Past participles are *fulfillid*, *plauntid*, *fourmed*, *multiplied*, *maad*. A pres. part. is *makyng*. The present tense has *moueth* in the singular, and *mouen* in the plural.

We even find *-un* in the pp., as *grow-un*, *found-un*; and *-us* for *-es*, in the gen. sing. *mann-us*. Hence the dialect of this MS. (*A*) is indistinguishable from that of the former (*A*).

This is on the assumption that the MS. is in one hand throughout. Several of the MSS. are in many hands, but *A* appears to be uniform.

Next, as to MS. *B*, otherwise 88, otherwise MS. Douce 370 in the Bodleian Library. It is used for the text of the fourth Book of Kings.

Here, once more, nearly all the characteristics recur in the first chapter of the fourth of Kings. For we find there the definite adjective *the thridd*; plurals of substantives in *-es* or *-is*, as *word-is*, *liju-es*, and the pronoun *hem*. Infinitives in *-e*, or *-en*, or *-n*, as *lyve*, *dyen*, *seyn*. Weak past tenses: *deuouride*, *deuoured*, *trespasside*, *preyede*, *sent*; plurals, *steiyiden*, *answerden*, *seyden*. Past participles: *turned*, *counseled*; *commen*, *writen*. Pres. part. *sayinge*, *answeryng*. Pres. tense singular, *seith*; pl. *shuln*. So that this MS. appears to be in a similar Midland dialect. Unfortunately, it is said to be written by two or more hands, with corrections and erasures throughout.

If we turn to the last chapter in which this MS. is represented, viz. the last chapter of the second Book of Chronicles, we at once see that we have to do with a different scribe, who freely introduces some varieties of spelling; but the dialect still seems to be much

the same. We still find such past tenses as *translat-ide*, *regnede*; plurals of substantives in *-is*, as *prest-is*; the past tense plural *scorn-eden*; the pp. *scap-id*; the pres. pl. *dreed-en*; and pres. participles in *-inge*.

Thirdly, let us consider MSS. *C* and *K*: these two MSS. happen to be bound together; their number in the list is 87, and their common name is MS. Douce 369.

MS. *C* is written, with marginal corrections throughout, in three different hands, all before 1390. The *first* hand extends from Numbers xx, 2 to Judith vi; the *second*, to Esther ii, 4; and the *third*, to Baruch iii, 20; where it ends abruptly in the middle of a verse, with the following note—*Explicit translatioun. Nicholay de herfurd*. We are told that the *third* hand in this MS. is the same as the *fifth* hand in MS. Bodley 959; and our attention is drawn to several more Northern forms.

This MS. is not used for the text till we come to 1 Esdras; nevertheless, all three hands occur in the part of the text that is taken from it. So it is necessary to look at each of these separately.

I first turn to the first two chapters of 1 Esdras, in the *first* hand. Here we still find that the dialect is, formally, Midland, if we go by the rule that the present plural ends in *-en* or *-e*; we find *dwell-en*, *offr-e* at once. We also find the pt. t. *comaund-ede*, *bild-e*, the pt. t. pl. *help-iden*, the pp. *offr-id*; the plural sbs. *knyu-es*, *cupp-is*, and other marks found in MS. A. But we also notice such forms as the pres. pt. in *-ende*, as *sei-ende*; and the pl. sb. in *-us*, as *thing-us*, *son-us*; hence we must be prepared to find some variations from A throughout this portion of the MS.

As a specimen of the *second* hand, we may take Judith, ch. vii. Here I still find the pt. t. s. *comaundide*, the pt. t. pl. *maden*, the pl. sbs. *son-es*, *ask-is*; the pr. s. *goth*, the pr. pl. *defenden*, and the like. But we again find the pres. part. *putt-ende*, *tak-ende*, *kep-ende*; and the pl. sbs. *son-us*, *knyght-us*.

As a specimen of the *third* hand, we may take Esther, ch. iii, where all the same characteristics recur. Hence the change of hand does not materially affect the dialect, and we may take the note of the editors to refer to the whole of MS. *C*. They observe that the present participles end in *-ende* or *-ande*; that the infinitives commonly end in *-en*, retaining the *n*; and that *them* and *ther* occur, generally, for *hem* and *her*. These are signs of a Western dialect, not unlike that of William of Palerne. I do

not know whether they are characteristic of Herefordshire; as the name "Nicholas of Herfurd" seems to suggest.

MS. *K*, the second part of the same volume, is in two hands. The first hand extends to Mark v, after which follows "a thicker and clumsier hand, which same hand has corrected the former part." There is a gap in the MS. in the Book of Ezekiel, which has been supplied from MS. *A*.

This MS. first comes to our notice in the text of the latter part of the 20th verse of the third chapter of Baruch, and goes on (except in the gap) to Deeds xxviii, 15. It therefore supplies an important part of the text, viz. the four gospels and the epistles of St. Paul, in the earlier part of vol. iv.

Wherever we open this volume near the beginning we observe that this text coincides very closely with that in the later version. The characteristic suffixes *-ide* in the past tense and *-ith* in the present occur repeatedly. Practically the dialect agrees very closely with that of *A* (the later text), and it is not much affected by the change of hand in Mark v.

MS. *M* supplies the last part of the earlier text, from Deeds xxviii, 15, onwards. This is MS. No. 4, named l B. vi in the Royal Library in the British Museum. It is written with great care and neatness, and its date is about 1400. It is best to examine the first chapter of James, which follows the Book of Deeds. We observe in it all the usual characteristics, such as the pres. t. sing. in *-ith*, the pres. pl. in *-en*, the pt. t. s. in *-ide*, the weak pp. in *-id* or *-ed*, and the strong pp. in *-un*.

The sum of the whole matter is that, as far as the Texts are concerned, i.e. excluding the Prologues, nearly all the MSS. agree in exhibiting one uniform dialect of a Midland character, the chief characteristics of which are the pt. t. s. in *-ide*, the pp. in *-id*, the pres. t. s. in *-ith*, and the occasional strong pp. in *-un*. The one clear exception is MS. *C*, of the earlier version, which presents several curious variations, as already noted, and extends from l Esdras to Baruch iii, 20. This is the MS. which contains the name of Nicholas de Hurford.

The conclusion to be drawn from the facts is, that there must have existed a rather large school of professional scribes in some Midland town; and I think we may go so far as to say that this town was not London, because the familiar suffixes of *-ede* in the past tense, *-eth* in the present, and *-ed* in the past participle, are comparatively scarce. I should be glad to learn to what part



of the Midland district the peculiarities to which I have referred are to be attributed.

It is of some importance to observe that the earlier version is not, generally speaking, distinguished from the later one by any difference of dialect. A full investigation of the dialect of the Prologues might perhaps prove tedious, owing to the great variety of the MSS. employed. Nevertheless, after a rather hurried examination, I believe I am right in saying that the MSS. marked *a*, *ε*, *M*, *O*, *R*, *G*, *V*, *a*, *k*, *o*, *p*, *w*, *y*, and *z* all agree, in their general characteristics, with those which have already been considered; and that only *one* MS., viz. that marked *S*, varies from them. Moreover, the chief variation in *S* is the use of present participles in *-ende*, a variation which has already been noted in the case of MS. *C* above.

Hence we have, finally, the remarkable result that no less than nineteen MSS. all exhibit the same variety of Midland; and that only two, viz. *C* and *S*, offer any important variation; and even these are also Midland, but from another locality. Not one of all the nineteen MSS. used in the texts or in the prologues can be pointed out as possessing decided marks either of a Northern or a Southern dialect. We find, in fact, a uniformity quite beyond anything that we might expect; and it would be very interesting and instructive to find the exact cause of this close agreement.

It would be very useful to fix the locality of this weak past tense in *-ide*, which characterizes nearly every one of these Wycliffite MSS. The only text in which I have noticed them as yet is Pecok's "Repressor," which reproduces nearly every peculiarity of the Wycliffite dialect, except that its forms are a little later; i.e. it only differs in date, and not in locality. Pecok has the weak pt. pl. *preisiden*, pl. sbs. in *-is* and *-es*, the pp. in *-id* or *-ed*, the pr. pl. in *-en*, the pr. s. in *-ith* or *-eth*; and so on. Pecok was a long while at Oxford, being for some years a Fellow of Oriel, and it is notorious that he was a diligent student of Wycliffite literature; so that, as at present advised, I incline to hazard the guess that the locality of the scriptorium whence the Wycliffite MSS. were issued may actually have been that famous city. It will be remembered that there is a scriptorium there at the present day.

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V.—SOME GHOST-WORDS IN POEMS ONCE  
ATTRIBUTED TO CHAUCER. By the Rev.  
Prof. SKEAT, Litt.D., Vice-President.

[Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society on Friday, June 5, 1896.]

**Momblishness.** Bailey's Dictionary has: "*Momblishness*, 'talk, muttering'; *O*." Here "*O*" means "Old Word"; and most of his Old Words are taken from Speght's Glossary to Chaucer. The word occurs in st. 9 of *The Assembly of Ladies*, first printed by Thynne in 1532. It is important to note that Thynne has no *h* in the word. The stanza mentions certain flowers, the first mentioned being daisies; and it goes on to say—

"And howe they [the daisies] were accompanied with mo  
Ne *momblynesse* and *souenesse* also;  
The poure penses were not disloged there;" etc.

In the last line *penses* may well mean pansies; but the second line is hopeless as it stands. There is nothing to suggest the sense of "talk" or "muttering" which has been assigned to *momblynesse*.

Fortunately, there is a manuscript, viz. MS. Addit. 34,360, in the British Museum, which I gladly consulted. It presents a slight difference. The word *souenesse* is, in the MS., spelt *souenez*. The other word may be variously read, but the third letter is *n* or *u*, not *m*, and there is no *s* in the second syllable. The MS. has *moubliennes*, as it would at first sight appear; but the *nn* is vague enough, as it might be *uu*, or *im*, or *mi*. However, the right reading is not very difficult to discover; the word is certainly *moubliemies*, and the whole line is—"Ne moubliemies and souenez also."

The interpretation is curious: *Ne moubliemie*, standing for *Ne m'oublie mie*, is O. Fr. for "forget me not"; and *souenez* is O. Fr. for "remember." These are two flower-names. As to "forget-me-not," there is no difficulty, as the translated name has been adopted into English. And similarly, *souenez* answers to the name "remember-me," which is given as a Northern English name of the germander speedwell in Britten and Holland's Plant-names. The whole passage may be explained thus: "And how they [the daisies] were accompanied with other flowers also, viz. forget-me-

nots and remember-me's; and the poor pansies were not dislodged (from their places) there." It is worth notice that, in st. 13 below, the MS. again has the word *souenez* in another connection, where Thynne's print has the inferior reading *stones*. The lines are—

"Her gowne was wele embrowded certainly  
With *souenez*, after her owne deuyse."

It will be observed that *souenez* suits the scansion, whereas *stones* ruins it. It is clear that Thynne did not know what *souenez* meant.

**Setrone.** This remarkable word, of which I can find no notice in glossaries, occurs in Lydgate's *Flour of Curtesye*, l. 195; of which there is no copy except that printed by Thynne in 1532. The passage runs thus:—

"In constaunce eke and faythe, she may attayne  
To Cleopatre, and therto as *setrone*  
As was of Troye the whyte Antigone."

Anyone who remembers the constant confusion of the letters *e* and *t* in MSS. of the fifteenth century will see through this very easily; for the rime tells us that the word does not end in *-one*, but in *-ee*; that is, the right reading is obviously *secree*, a word which is usually carefully introduced into descriptions of fair ladies. It is clear that the author of this singular blunder read *Antigone* as a word of *three* syllables only, with a mute *e* final; and he was obliged, in consequence, to alter *secree* into *seerone*; after which, the change of *e* to *t* produced *setrone*; a form which certainly "goes one better" as a fine specimen of a ghost-word.

**In partyng.** Even so well known a poem as "The Complaint of the Black Knight" exhibits, at l. 419, an extraordinary misreading. Morris's edition, following the Fairfax MS., agrees with Thynne in giving us this passage—

"Peril of dethe, nother in se ne londe,  
Hungre ne thrust, sorowe ne sekenesse,  
Ne grete emprises for to take on honde,  
Shedyng of blode, ne manful hardinesse,  
Nor ofte woundyng at sawtes by distresse,  
Nor in *partyng* of lyfe, nor dethe also,  
Al ys for noghte, Love taketh non hede therto."

Everything is clear except in *partyng*, which mars the sense completely. In this absurd reading nearly all the copies agree. However, one, the Douce MS., has the variant *iupardy*; and with this hint the correction is obvious. We have only to restore the original form *iupartyng*, and we have all we want. It is the old story of misreading *u* as *n*; after which the single word was made into two.

**Lombes.** In a ballad, or rather poem, first printed by Stowe, which is descriptive of "*Women's Doublesse*," we find this stanza: see ed. 1561, fol. 340, back, col. 2—

"So wel fortunèd is their chaunce  
The dice to tourne uppe-so-doune,  
With sise and sincke they can auaunce;  
And than, by reuolucion,  
They set a fel conclusion  
Of *lombes*, as in sothfastnesse;  
Though clerkes make mencion  
Their kinde is fret with doublesse."

I was much puzzled by the word *lombes*, till at last I bethought me of Chaucer's Prol. to his Man of Lawes Tale, in which he contrasts the high throw of the dice, represented by *sis cink*, with the low throw, represented by *ambes as*, or double aces: see Chaucer, C. T., B 124. With this hint, it is easy to see that Stowe (or some scribe before him) could make nothing of *ambes*, and so turned it into *lambes* or *lombes*, after which a comma was introduced, which turned the plural sb. *as* into a familiar conjunction. That this solution is right, is fortunately quite certain; for I afterwards found this very reading in the Fairfax MS., which has preserved a copy of the whole poem.

**Probatif.** The word *probatif*, answering to a modern E. *probative*, occurs in a poem by Lydgate, where it is certainly out of place. It occurs in his Balade in Commendation of our Lady, printed in Thynne, which is addressed to the Virgin Mary. He bestows on her a great many epithets, such as 'star of stars,' 'star of the sea,' and the like; and one of these epithets, in l. 127, is 'probatif piscyne.' There is a single MS., but it gives the same reading.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I read this on June 5; the next day, by help of the Index of First Lines, I found an unknown and better copy of the poem in MS. Sloane 1212, wherein the actual reading is *probatyk*; so that my conjecture was proved to be correct within twenty-four hours of the time of its enunciation.

The solution is not easy to guess; but I at once discovered it by looking out the word *probatif* in Cotgrave and Godefroy. They do not give this word, but they give another which only requires the change of a single letter. The final *f* should be *k*; and the very phrase *probatik piscyne* is borrowed from the Vulgate version of John v, 2: 'Est autem Ierosolymis *probatica piscina*, quae cognominatur hebraice Bethesda.' Hence the sense is 'sheep-cleansing pool,' with express reference to the famous pool of Bethesda; so that the word *probatik* has nothing to do with the Lat. *probare* 'to prove,' but is derived from *πρόβατον* 'a sheep.'

LYDGATE'S QUOTATION FROM CHAUCER'S "ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE."

I also wish to draw attention to the fact that Lydgate actually quotes Fragment A of the *Romaunt of the Rose* in a manner that, by extraordinary good luck, is quite indubitable. His poem of the Complaint of the Black Knight, written, according to Schick, about 1402, has many passages near the beginning which, as Ten Brink has expressly pointed out, are unmistakably copied from the *Romaunt of the Rose*, by which Ten Brink means the French original. But Lydgate got at it in a much simpler way, viz. by keeping before him an English text coinciding with Fragment A, which he doubtless read with extreme care because he believed it to be Chaucer's own. The fact that he has the words *costey* and *atempres* (ll. 36 and 57) where Chaucer has *costeyng* and *atempre* (ll. 134 and 131) is not conclusive, because the original has *costoiant* (note the *oi*, not *ei*) and *atempree* (note the change in spelling). But these examples raise our suspicions; and the matter is definitely settled when we find him quoting a phrase which occurs in Chaucer only, and is entirely absent from the French.

This occurs at l. 80 of the Black Knight: cf. l. 1401 of the French and l. 1419 of Fragment A. The French has no more than "Poignoit l'erbe freschete et drue," i.e. The grass, all fresh and thick, put forth its blades.

But Fragment A has an added line here—

"Sprang up the gras, as thikke y-set  
And softe as any veluēt."

And Lydgate has—

"And softe as veluēt the yonge gras  
That therupon lustily cam springing."

This is quite a clear case, and proves two facts: (1) that Fragment A is older than 1402; and (2) that Lydgate thought it worthy of imitation, which goes a long way towards a proof that Chaucer wrote it.

Observe further that, as *costey* occurs in l. 134 of the Fragment, and *softe as velvet* in l. 1420, Lydgate's testimony practically covers the first 1420 lines of the Fragment. And the whole Fragment is only 1705 lines long. In this connexion, it is worth notice that Lydgate's borrowing from 'the Rose' extends still further, viz. to the death of Narcissus, which takes us on to l. 1536 of the English version, or 116 lines further, at which point his imitations cease. For, although at a later passage he speaks of "floures inde," this really goes back to a place near the beginning. Fragment A has "floures inde" in l. 67. The word *inde*, meaning dark blue, does not occur elsewhere in Chaucer.

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TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,  
1896-7.

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VI.—ON THE USES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD  
IN IRISH. By J. STRACHAN.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society, June 4, 1897.*]

IN dealing with this subject I have preferred to treat it from the practical standpoint, to register as completely as I could the various uses of the subjunctive mood in early Irish literature. It would no doubt be a more interesting task to strive to deduce the uses of the subjunctive in Irish from the Indo-Germanic uses of the subjunctive and optative moods, which in Irish have become syntactically fused in the subjunctive. But before this can be attempted, it is necessary to determine as accurately as may be the facts of the Irish usage, and to essay to combine the two would probably be attended with more confusion than profit. Moreover, before the Irish subjunctive could be successfully attacked from the comparative standpoint, some other investigations are necessary which we have not as yet. In the first place, we still want a thorough comparative examination of the uses of the moods in other branches of Indo-Germanic, such as we may expect to find in the forthcoming volume of Delbrück's *Vergleichende Syntax*. Again, it would be dangerous to compare the Irish usage with the usage of other kindred branches, until from a comparison of Breton, Cornish, and Welsh the usage of the subjunctive in the sister Brythonic group has been deduced, and the Irish usage has been first compared therewith. Here a beginning has been made by Professor Atkinson's paper on the Welsh subjunctive in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, but investigations into the uses of the subjunctive in Breton and Cornish are, so far as I know, still lacking. The present paper, then, may be regarded

as an attempt to fix the uses of the subjunctive mood in the oldest stage of the Irish language of which we have any knowledge, and at the same time thereby to furnish material for a comparison of the Irish subjunctive with the corresponding mood in the Brythonic languages, and ultimately with the Indo-Germanic subjunctive and optative.

In treating of the various uses of the subjunctive, my method of procedure has been to collect in each case a number of illustrative examples, for in this way it seemed that the subject could be made most clear. In such a practical inquiry, not the least important thing is to exhibit the difference of usage between the subjunctive on the one hand and the other moods, particularly the indicative, on the other. With a view to this, where I have found the subjunctive and another mood, above all the indicative, used in clauses of a similar form, a number of instances of each have been set in array over against one another on opposite pages. At least, the main types of the subjunctive will be found fully illustrated in the following pages. For some of the rarer usages I could have wished to secure more examples, and it may be that wider reading may bring to light some uses that have escaped my notice. Unfortunately, limitations of time have prevented me from reading as widely as I could have wished.

In such an investigation it is of course necessary to start with the earliest literature. In Irish this consists of the collections of Old Irish Glosses: these have been subjected to repeated examination, and here I trust that little of moment has been overlooked. To supplement the collections derived from them I have gone through a number of other texts in which the old verbal system is not yet broken down. In these later texts one must always be on one's guard against neologisms. Thus in the *Saltair na Rann*, l. 5776, is found *si b'f'ich d'ib' ceann' f'ail'and*, "there was not found one man of them who could endure." Here, according to the Old Irish usage, we should have had, not the secondary future *f'ail'and*, but the past subjunctive *f'ail'ad*. Here, then, is clearly either a syntactical innovation or a confusion between old forms. In LBr. 249<sup>b</sup> 21, *ceas na b'f'ich' f'ic*, stands for *ceas na b'f'ich' pres. subj.*: here it may be noted that the *f'* of the future probably ceased to be pronounced at an early period. In LU 124<sup>b</sup> 22, *si f'ic' na ceas na b'f'ich' f'ail'and*, "I have not found hitherto a man who could keep up conversation with me in a reverent in this



way," the O.Ir. *folósad* has been replaced by a new form *folongad*, formed analogically from the present stem. An examination of the history of the subjunctive in later Irish should be an interesting one, but it lies outside the scope of this paper.

In arranging the examples considerable difficulty has been experienced, for it is not easy to fit the usage of living speech into the Procrustes-bed of grammatical terminology. Nor was it found feasible to arrange the different classes according to their supposed order of historical development. Finally, I determined to be guided by considerations of practical utility and intelligibility. Thus the relative clauses have been placed last, because they show affinities with various other classes of clauses, and can be most easily understood when these other classes have first been discussed. On such a point opinions are sure to differ, and one can only say, σοὶ μὲν ταῦτ' ὁκοῦντ' ἔστω ἐμοὶ δὲ τάδε.

As it is necessary frequently to refer to the various tenses of the indicative, it has seemed better to point out briefly at the outset their main uses. In the grammatical terminology some innovations will be found. To the tense indicating repeated action in past time, commonly known as the secondary present, and which is most generally used to translate the Latin imperfect, the name imperfect is given, not that it adequately indicates the full meaning of the tense, but because it seems less open to objection than any other. The aggregate of tenses corresponding morphologically partly to the Indo-Germanic perfect, partly to the aorist, which in Irish have fallen syntactically together, may best be designated by the name of preterite. For the tense which is used partly as a past tense to the future like the Greek future optative, partly in the apodosis of conditional sentences, the name secondary future has been retained as being better on the whole than that of conditional. Viewed not morphologically but syntactically, the subjunctive mood has only two tenses, a primary and a secondary; these are here distinguished briefly as present subjunctive and past subjunctive.

Some points in the syntax of the subjunctive have been already discussed by Professor Atkinson in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. For the Würzburg Glosses free use has been made of the excellent translation by Dr. Whitley Stokes, to whom I am further indebted for his kindness in reading the proofs. But for the views expressed, unless anything be stated to the contrary, the writer is alone responsible.

The following are the principal abbreviations used :—

- Wb. = Würzburg Glosses, ed. Stokes.  
 Ml. = Milan Glosses, ed. Ascoli.  
 Sg. = Saint Gall Glosses, ed. Ascoli.  
 Acr. = Carlsruhe Glosses on Augustine, ed. Stokes.  
 Bcr. = Carlsruhe Glosses on Bede, ed. Stokes.  
 Tur. = Turin Glosses, ed. Zimmer.  
 Psalt. Hib. = Fragment of an Irish Psalter, edited by Meyer in his *Hibernica Minora*.  
 Tir. = Tirechan's Notes in the Book of Armagh.  
 FéL. = Féilire Oenguso, ed. Stokes.  
 Trip. Life = Tripartite Life of Patrick, ed. Stokes.  
 SR. = Saltair na Rann, ed. Stokes.  
 VSR. = Verbal System of the Saltair na Rann, Phil. Soc. Trans. 1895.  
 Ir. Text. = Irische Texte, vol. i, ed. Windisch; vols. ii, etc., ed. Stokes and Windisch.  
 Hy. = Irish Hymns.  
 LU. = Facsimile of the Lebor na hUidre.  
 LL. = Facsimile of the Book of Leinster.  
 LBr. = Facsimile of the Lebor Brecc.  
 YBL. = Facsimile of the Yellow Book of Lecan.

Important words in the Irish are indicated by black type. As a rule, the expansions of Irish contractions are not marked; where it has seemed desirable to indicate them, roman type is used. By ( ) is indicated the conjectural restoration of letters illegible in the MS., by [ ] the conjectural restoration of letters omitted in the MS. In writing Latin words the normal orthography has been restored, where this tended to clearness.

## I. THE TENSES OF THE INDICATIVE.

### The Present.

1. In addition to the general use of the tense of present or universal time, which requires no illustration, the following special uses may be noted.

#### (a) The Historic Present.

This is very common in narrative prose. It is often continued by a preterite.

LU. 56<sup>b</sup> 14, *tic Medb iar n-descin in t-sloig 7 asbert ba n-espa do chách dul in t-sloigaid*, Medb came after surveying the host, and said that it will be useless for all to go on the hosting.

LU. 57<sup>b</sup> 20, *sudit iarom co tánic in slóg 7 aruspsettet a n-és ciuil. dosberat il-láim Fergusa maic Róich inn id; arléga side inn ogum bóí isind id. Asbert Medb iar tiachtain, cid frissinn-anaid and?* Then they sit till the host came, and their musicians play to them. They give the collar into the hand of Fergus mac Róich; he reads the ogam that was on the collar. Medb on coming said, "What are you waiting for there?"

LU. 71<sup>b</sup> 28, *doguiat corai iarom Munremur 7 Curui 7 téit Cúruí dia thig 7 Munremur do Emain Macha. 7 ní thanic Munremur co lá in chatha. ní thánic dano Cúruí co comrac Firdiád.* Then Munremur and Cúruí make peace, and Cúruí goes to his house, and Munremur to Emain Macha. And Munremur came not till the day of the battle. Cúruí, however, came not till the combat of Ferdiad.

LU. 71<sup>a</sup> 39, *téit iarom in drúth cuci 7 ind ingen lais. 7 ba di chein arlastar Coinculaind. teit Cú dia saigtin. ecmaic atgeoin sium for erlabrai ind fir co m-bo druth. arethis liic telma bóí ina láim fair, con-esscaind ina cend, oo tuc a incind ass. tic dochum na ingini, benaid a di trilis di 7 sadid liic triana brat 7 triana lénid, 7 sadid corthe tria medon in druith . . . . . facbais Cuchulaind fón cruth-si iát. tiagair o Ailill 7 o Medb do iarmóracht a m-muntiri.* Then the fool comes to him and the maiden with him. And it was from afar that he addressed Cúchulaind. Cú comes to him. It chanced that he knew by the man's speech that he was a fool. He cast a sling-stone that was in his hand against him, so that it sprang into his head and brought out his brain. He comes to the maiden, cuts from her her two plaits of hair, and thrusts a stone through her mantle and through her smock, and thrusts a pillar through the middle of the fool. Cúchulaind left them thus. Men go from Ailill and from Medb to seek their folk.

(b) Present of a state or action continuing into the present.

LL. 249<sup>b</sup> 3, *otú-sa issin dún-sa, issed laithe inso a[s] siam limm,* Since I have been in this dún, this is the day that has seemed longest to me.

LL. 249<sup>b</sup> 11, *atát tri laa 7 teora aidchi and,* They have been there three days and three nights.

(c) Present in Future sense.

Of this I have only a very few examples, chiefly of *tiagu*.

ML. 58<sup>c</sup> 6, *intan asmbert side tiag-sa o-tall a chenn,* When he said, "I go to take off his head."

LU. 133<sup>a</sup> 23, *tiag dum daim, dufail in matin bánglain*, I go to my house, the white pure morning is at hand.

LU. 70<sup>a</sup> 13, *tiaga-sa co n-ecius dóib a fil lim di foilgib, 7 dorag-sa* (fut.) *co n-derna-so mo dichennad*, I (will) go to tell them what I have of rings, and I will come that thou mayest behead me. Cf. also Wb. 17<sup>b</sup> 20, LL. 251<sup>a</sup> 34, 282<sup>a</sup> 4.

LU. 74<sup>a</sup> 44, *timorc-sa in cethri forsind áth dodochum-sa. léicfe-sa oloich duitiu asin tailm*. "I (will) drive together the cattle upon the ford towards thee." "I will cast a stone at thee out of the sling."

Cf. further SR. 2434, 2531, 8113, 8117.

2. The Imperfect (Secondary Present) denotes repeated or customary action in past time. In the Glosses it is the tense commonly used to translate the Latin imperfect.

ML. 83<sup>a</sup> 4, *intan conucbada* (MS. *conucbad*) *in nél nobith immunn airc*, *migrabant filii Israhel hisuidiu*; *intan dano nunanad in nél hisin, nogabitis som dunad hisuidiu*, When the cloud that was about the ark was raised, then *migrabant filii Israhel*; when, however, that cloud rested, then they encamped.

ML. 90<sup>d</sup> 17, *inna aithissi dombeirtis som fornni batir athissi sidi dano daitiu a Dæ*, The insults that they used to put upon us were insults to Thee, O God.

ML. 22<sup>a</sup> 4, *in loc dia m-bu thabarthi ermitiu feid 7 imbu choir frecur céil Dæ, atléntais (s)om adi 7 dognitis cech n-dochrad* (leg. *dochrud*) *and*, The place to which reverence should have been paid, and in which it was meet to worship God, they used to pollute, and they used to do every foul thing there.

Sg. 28<sup>a</sup> 10, *dagnítis dano int Sabindai anisin .i. nosuidigtis nomina Romanorum ante nominibus suis*, The Sabines used to do that, i.e. they used to place *nomina Romanorum ante nominibus suis*.

Wb. 15<sup>a</sup> 18, *dognithe a n-asbered Moysi, l. doárbas* (pret.) *gloria oc tindnacul legis*, What Moses used to say used to be done, or, *gloria* was shown at the giving of the Law.

ML. 55<sup>c</sup> 19, *cid intan nombith inna ligiu ba<sup>1</sup> oc imradud chloine nobith*, Even when he was in his bed he used to be meditating iniquity.

<sup>1</sup> In addition to its other uses *ba* seems to represent the imperfect of the copula: cf. Gramm. Celt.<sup>2</sup> 496, VSR. 47, so pl. *batar, batir*.

LU. 60<sup>b</sup> 6, *intan ba hain phuill dognitis, rolinad* (better *nolinad*) *som in poll dia liathrotib 7 ni chumcaitis in maic a ersclaige; intan batir heseom ule dobi[d]etis in poll, arachliched som a óenur oná teged cid óen liathróit ind. intan bá n-intrascrad dognítis, dorascrad som na tri coecta mac a oenur, 7 ni chomraiced imbisom lin a trascartha. intan dano bá n-imdirech dognitis, doanerged som uli co m-bitis tornochta, 7 noco ructais seom immorro cid a delg asa brot som nammd.* When they were engaged in driving hole, he would fill the hole with his balls, and the boys would not be able to ward him off; when it was they who were throwing at the hole, he would ward them off himself, so that not a single ball would go into it. When they were engaged in throwing one another, he alone would throw the thrice fifty boys, and there would not gather about him a number sufficient to overthrow him. When, moreover, they were engaged in stripping one another, he would strip them all so that they would be stark-naked, and they, moreover, would not take even his brooch from his mantle.

LU. 43<sup>a</sup> 1, *oenach dognithe la Ultu cocha bliadna . . . issed erot nobitis Ulaíd insin im-Maig Murthemni.* A feast used to be made by the men of Ulster every year. That is the time that the men of Ulster used to be in the plain of Murthemne.

LU. 69<sup>a</sup> 30, *intan notheiged tar carrce noscarad a leth olailiu, intan ba réid orictis affrissi,* When he went over rocks, one half would part from the other; when it was smooth, they would come together again.

Many examples will be found in Cormac's Glossary, s.v. *Nescoit*, and Ir. Text. iii, i, 185–202, *passim*.

## 3.

## The Preterite,

which corresponds morphologically partly to the Perfect, partly to the Aorist, has three main uses.

## (a) Perfect.

LU. 72<sup>b</sup> 7, *dodeochad-sa o Findabair ar do chend-so co n-dechais dia haccallaim,* I have come from Findabair for thee, that thou mayest go to speak with her.

ML. 22<sup>d</sup> 7, *ho-rudeda ind féil fornaib cnamaib, citabiat iarum in chnamai in fochaid,* When the flesh has decayed upon the bones, then the bones feel the affliction.

## (b) Preterite.

ML. 16<sup>c</sup> 5, *intan forcomnacuir in gnim-so crochtha Crist 7*

*dodechuid temel tarsin gréin, asrubartatar fir betho, tiagar húaín dochum Ili[ru]salem*, When this deed of the crucifixion of Christ happened and darkness came over the sun, the men of the world said, "Let some one go from us to Jerusalem."

MI. 49<sup>a</sup> 16, *air roptar sonartu maicc Israhel in tain sin*, For the Sons of Israel were stronger then.

MI. 58<sup>c</sup> 4, *dia luid Duaid for longaís trí glenn Iosofád dambide Semei di chlochaib oca techt 7 dobert maldachta foir*, When David went into exile through the valley of Jehosaphat, Shimei pelted him with stones as they went and heaped curses upon him.

(c) Pluperfect.

MI. 73<sup>b</sup> 10, *runuaibrigestar, g. profanauerat*.

MI. 87<sup>b</sup> 22, *conascarsat, g. diruerant*.

MI. 107<sup>a</sup> 12, *asrindid, g. adseruerat*.

LU. 57<sup>b</sup> 17, *arigsitár in geilt geltatár ind eich*, They perceived the grazing that the horses had grazed.

LU. 64<sup>b</sup> 23, *bá sdéth laiss a n-dogéni Cuchulaind*, He was vexed at what Cúchulinn had done.

4. The Future.

Here the chief thing that seems to call for remark is that the Irish future also translates Latin tenses indicating future completed action.

MI. 34<sup>d</sup> 8, *lase donaithfoicherr, g. cum—fuerit reuersus*.

MI. 78<sup>c</sup> 6, *lase nundundaingnichfe, g. cum—nos—munieris*.

MI. 43<sup>a</sup> 23, *intain noscairuib, g. cum uacuero*.

MI. 57<sup>c</sup> 7, *intan luaithfider, g. cum—agitari coeperit*.

MI. 69<sup>c</sup> 6, *lase donatalcfe, g. cum—deleniueris*.

It may also be noted that the Irish future serves to translate Latin periphrastic expressions with *-turus*.

MI. 48<sup>b</sup> 12, *honerbera biuth, g. qua—usurus sit*.

MI. 28<sup>a</sup> 12, *hona cumachtaigfet, g. quo non—sint—potituri*.

MI. 28<sup>b</sup> 6, *ni nad todoichfet, g. non quia non sint futura*.

5. The Secondary Future has a double function.<sup>1</sup>

(a) It serves as a secondary tense to the future.

MI. 123<sup>c</sup> 1, *rocretset dungenad Dia aní durairngert*, They believed that God would do what He had promised.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the double use of the Sanskrit conditional.

Wb. 7<sup>a</sup> 2, *is diimsa tairrchet adcichitis genti* . . . per me,  
It is of me it was prophesied that the Gentiles would see *per me*.

ML. 100<sup>c</sup> 7, *duadbat som—inna debthi nobetis la Israheldu iartain*,  
He shows the dissensions that should be among the Israelites  
afterwards.

ML. 124<sup>b</sup> 6, *adraigsetar nondabértais iterum in captivitatem*,  
They feared they would carry them again into captivity.

LU. 64<sup>a</sup> 39, *bágais Cuchulaind hi Methiu, port iarsin i n-acciged Ailill nó Medb, fochichred cloich asa thábaill forru*, Cúchulainn declared in Methe, that wherever afterwards he saw Ailill or Medb, he would cast a stone from his sling upon them.

LL. 65<sup>a</sup> 27, *atsbert Conchobor a-ticfad uathad a dóchum*, Conchobor said that he would come to him with few.

(b) In a conditional sense by itself, or in the apodosis of a conditional sentence.

ML. 128<sup>a</sup> 2, *ni tochuiribthe*, g. non adscisceretur.

ML. 42<sup>c</sup> 32, *ni cumcaibed*, g. nequisset.

Wb. 9<sup>c</sup> 8, *mar-rufeste, ní gette na brithemnachla becca erriu*, If ye had known it, ye would not take the little judgments from them.

For other examples see §§ 41, 44.

## II. THE TENSES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

6. Syntactically the Irish subjunctive may be said to have two tenses, a present tense corresponding loosely to the Latin present and perfect, and a past tense corresponding loosely to the Latin imperfect and pluperfect. Cf. Thurneysen, *KZ.* xxxi, 68 sq.
7. Morphologically the forms are more numerous. We have an *ā* subjunctive identical in formation with the Lat. *feram*, with its corresponding past tense, e.g. 3 sg. pres. *-bera*, 3 sg. past *-berad*. We have also a subjunctive of the sigmatic aorist, with its corresponding past tense, e.g. *asind*, 'he may set forth' = *ess-ind-fetst*, past *asindissed*. But it is a general rule of economy that each individual verb has one or other of these formations, but not both; if a verb have the *s* subjunctive, then the *ā* subjunctive has an imperative force—thus, *tiagam* 'let us go,' *ara tiasam* 'that we may go.' In

the Glosses there is an exception to the rule in compounds of the verb *-ciu* 'I see.' Here in the present, by the side of deponent *ā* subjunctives like *addéicider* Ml. 43<sup>a</sup> 19, *coní accadar* Ml. 53<sup>a</sup> 6, etc., Deponent Verb in Irish, pp. 23, 24, we have passive *s* subjunctives like *doécastar* Sg. 188<sup>a</sup> 6, *maní accastar* Ml. 50<sup>a</sup> 5, *arndábaraccaister* LU. 85<sup>a</sup> 4. If my observations be correct, the two formations are here used to get distinct forms for the deponent and the passive. In the past subjunctive of this verb (a tense which has no deponent forms) I have noted no examples of the *s* formation; an instance of the *ā* passive is *co adceithe* Ml. 77<sup>d</sup> 8. In no other verb in the old literature have I met with the double subjunctive.<sup>1</sup>

8. The following examples from the Glosses will illustrate how an Irish present and past subjunctive may correspond to a Latin perfect and pluperfect.

Present.

Sg. 151<sup>a</sup> 1, *ma tēnaigidir*, g. *si inueterauerit*.

Ml. 3<sup>a</sup> 13, *ol ma duintaesiu*, g. *quod—si transtuleris*.

Ml. 46<sup>c</sup> 15, *maní berba*, g. *nisi decoxerit*.

Cf. LBr. 194<sup>a</sup> 39, 249<sup>a</sup> 50.

Past.

Wb. 19<sup>d</sup> 24, *cía chondesin far súli dosimbérthe dom*, though I had asked for your eyes, ye would have given them me, Lat. *si fieri potuisset, oculos uestros dedissetis mihi*.

Cf. Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, p. 69. More examples will be found later.

9. Since the Irish subjunctive, then, has practically only two tenses, it is clear that it is formally much less explicit than

<sup>1</sup> In Ml. 24<sup>c</sup> 14, *incoiged* forms a gloss on *indicare uideatur*, where one would at first sight be tempted to take *incoiged* as a subjunctive. But the regular subjunctive from this verb is *incoisissed*, so that all the probabilities are in favour of translating *incoiged* by *indicabat*. And this translation is supported by the following gloss *atcoiged amal bíd hi frendaire nobeth*, when the Latin contains nothing that would justify a subjunctive. So I would take *dunaidbdtis*, Ml. 39<sup>c</sup> 35; it glosses *uideantur*, but the clause is not final but consecutive, so that in Irish the indicative is required, cf. §§ 60<sup>a</sup>–64<sup>a</sup>. So, too, in Ml. 36<sup>a</sup> 20, *is maith les á firlugae nothongad each frialaile* may be rendered, "he respects the oath that each used to swear to the other." In Ml. 43<sup>d</sup> 20 *étaste* seems to be sec. fut.; cf. fut. *étastar*, Trip. Life, 118, l. 23.



the Latin, that much that in Latin is expressed by the tense must in Irish be inferred from the context. Thus, for example, in Irish it is impossible to distinguish between *si legeret* and *si legisset*. It has been held (Gramm. Celt.<sup>3</sup> 447, 481, 493) that the addition of the particle *ro-* may give to a present and a past subjunctive the syntactical value of a perfect and a pluperfect. The question of the force of *ro-* with the subjunctive is a very difficult one; some discussion of it will be found below, p. 349 sq. The uses of the two tenses of the subjunctive will be most satisfactorily illustrated under the various uses of the subjunctive mood.

### III. CONGRUENCE OF TENSES.

10. In the indicative, if the verb of a subordinate clause refers to the same time as the verb of the main clause, it is put in the same tense. This principle is clearly seen in translation from Latin.

Ml. 36<sup>d</sup> 2, *te persequente* pereunt, g. *anundagreinn-siu* (pres.), when Thou pursuest them.

Ml. 44<sup>b</sup> 32, *auersaris iniustos cum adnueris* uotis piorum, g. *lase fortéig* (pres.), when Thou helpest.

Ml. 39<sup>d</sup> 11, *me laudibus efferentes* beatum dicebant, g. *a n-condammucbaitis-se* (impf.), when they extolled me.

Ml. 17<sup>b</sup> 16, *scribae uero inidentes* dixerunt, g. *a formenatar* (pret.), when they envied.

Ml. 34<sup>b</sup> 18, *angelo caedente* deleta sunt, g. *aschomart* (pret.), who slew.

Ml. 80<sup>a</sup> 13, *inimici talia sustenendo* rex noster lactabitur, g. *lase folilsat* (fut.), when they endure.

Note also the following instances.

Ml. 69<sup>b</sup> 1, *is and rofessatar* (fut.) *ata* (pres.) *n-dóini aprisci* 7 *is and molfait* (fut.) *Dia intan dumbéartar* (fut.) *fochaidi forru*, Then will they know that they are frail men, and then will they praise God, when afflictions are brought upon them.

Ml. 51<sup>b</sup> 10, *sechis ardi sôn dombêra* (fut.) *Dia do neuch nodneirbea ind 7 génas* (fut.) *triit*, That is, it is a sign that God will give to everyone who trusts in Him and acts through Him.

Ml. 111<sup>d</sup> 3, *nach gnim dungenam-ni bid soinmech*, Every deed that we do shall be prosperous.

Wb. 12<sup>d</sup> 27, *rofestar* (fut.) *each m-belre intain bérthar* (fut.) *i n-dóiri*, It will know every tongue, when it is carried into captivity.

LU. 19<sup>a</sup> 2, *nách fer dib donecucus-sa co handiaraid, atbélat a beóil*, Each man of them whom I look at angrily, his lips shall die.

Wb. 10<sup>a</sup> 5, *al-liles* (fut.) *dind ancretmiuch bid* (fut.) *ancretmech*, What cleaves to the unbelieving will be unbelieving.

#### 11. But if the sense require it, the tenses are different.

Ml. 26<sup>d</sup> 12, *ní con-bia* (fut.) *cumscugud for pianad bithsuthin innani ingrennat* (pres.) *inna firianu*, There will be no alteration to the everlasting punishment of those that persecute the righteous.

Ml. 50<sup>d</sup> 10, *amal durigni* (pret.) *inna gnimu sechmadachtai, dugena* (fut.) *dano innahí tairngir* (pres.) *isa todochide*, As He did the past deeds, He will do moreover in the future what He promises.

Ml. 53<sup>c</sup> 3, *tuetur supplicem, g. cech óin gesnid, i. giges* (fut.) *Dia*, Every suppliant, that is, who shall supplicate God.

Ml. 43<sup>d</sup> 1, *intan asrubart sum frimmaccu Israhel imbói* (pret., read *ambói*) *di oinachdaib leu robeth* (sec. fut.) *for dib milib ech*, When he said to the sons of Israel that what of horsemen they had would be upon two thousand horses.

Ml. 46<sup>c</sup> 20, *intí huainni adaichfedar* (fut.) *in coimdid, rosuidigestar* (perf.) (l. *suidigfith* (fut.)) *Dia recht n-do*, Whosoever of us shall fear the Lord, God hath established (or will establish) a Law unto him.

Wb. 4<sup>d</sup> 6, *ar ticfea* (fut.) *indsom briathar foirbthigedar* (pres.) *in duine i n-dírgi cáingnima*, For into it will come the Word that perfects man in the righteousness of well-doing.

#### IV. SEQUENCE OF TENSES.

##### 12. In the sequence of tenses the historic present counts regularly as a past.

LU. 77<sup>a</sup> 6, *léicid* (pres.) *som cloich asa tailm co mebaid* (pret.) *a súil ina cind*, He let fly a stone from his sling so that her eye broke in her head.

LU. 83<sup>a</sup> 7, *tiagait* (pres.) *la Ingeal corrólsat* (pret.) *a n-dibeirg lais*, They went with Ingeal and made their plundering with him.

LU. 59<sup>a</sup> 37, *iadais* (pret.) *indara súil oná-rbo lethiu indás cró snáthaiti*, *asóilgg* (pres.) *alaile co m-bo móir béolu midchúach*, He shut one eye so that it was not broader than the eye of a needle; he opened the other so that it was as large as the lips of a mead-goblet.

LU. 61<sup>b</sup> 20, *cotnéicnigidar* (pres.) *Cuchulaind iar suidiu o-darled* (past subj.) *forsin slige do chelebrad dona maccaib*, Cúchulainn compelled him to go on the road to bid farewell to the boys.

LU. 72<sup>b</sup> 12, *fonascar* (pres.) *fair can tudecht forsín slog co tísad* (past subj.) *aroen fri Ultu*, He was bound over not to go against the host until he should come along with the men of Ulster.

LU. 20<sup>b</sup> 37, *teit* (pres.) *techtá o Ailill 7 Meidb a dochum o-digsed* (past subj.), Messengers came to him from Ailill and from Medb that he should come.

### 13. The treatment of the historic present as a primary tense is exceptional.

LL. 281<sup>b</sup>, *cuinnegar* (pres.) *tra baile co rofalmaigther duib* (pres. subj.), A place then was sought that it might be emptied for them.

### 14. After a primary tense the subjunctive is more usually in the present.

LU. 20<sup>b</sup> 5, *tair limsa co n-dérais*, Come with me that thou mayest avenge.

LU. 72<sup>b</sup> 7, *dodeochad-sa o Findabair ar do chend-so co n-dechais dia haccallaim*, I have come for thee from Findabair that thou mayest come to speak with her.

LU. 69<sup>a</sup> 4, *ni scarfom in cruth-sa, ol Etarcomol, cor-ruc-sa do chen(n)-su nó co farcabsa mo chend latsú*, We shall not part thus, said Etarcomol, till I carry off thy head or till I leave my head with thee.

Wb. 23<sup>b</sup> 24, *ni imned lim act rop Crist pridches et immerada cách*, I deem it no tribulation, provided it be Christ that everyone preaches and meditates upon.

Wb. 2<sup>b</sup> 12, *nítta ní inditmoíde*, There is nothing for thee to boast in.

Ml. 19<sup>d</sup> 6, *intí díib bes tresa orcaid alaile*, He who is stronger slays the other.

Wb. 5<sup>e</sup> 20, *chech irnigde dogneid i tuil Déa bed dlichthech*, Let every prayer that ye make in God's will be lawful.

15. But a primary tense may also be followed by a past subjunctive. The following examples may serve as types of this.

(a) Wb. 4<sup>d</sup> 17, *fri Gent'i asbeir som anisiu arna tomnitis nád carad som Iudsiu et nad duthrised a n-icc*, He says this to the Gentiles that they might not think that he did not love the Jews and that he did not desire their salvation.

Ml. 130<sup>b</sup> 6, *ni molat Dia i n-ifurnn co n-etaitis dilgud ho suidiu tri sodin*, They praise not God in Hell, so that they might obtain forgiveness from Him thereby.

Ml. 89<sup>b</sup> 15, *Deus iudicium tuum regi da, .i. co m-bad frián a briithemnacht*, That His judgment might be righteous.

Ml. 61<sup>a</sup> 5, *lase sechminella .i. conna erchissed don bocht*, When he passes by, i.e. that he should not pity the poor.

Wb. 26<sup>d</sup> 17, *ató oc combaig friss im sechim a guine 7 im gabail desinrechte de o-roissinn cutrummus friss et agni som frimsa oc suidiu*, I am contending with Him as to imitating His deeds and as to taking example from Him, so that I might attain equality with Him, and He works with me in this.

For other examples see § 64.

Sometimes the present subjunctive and the past are found in the same sentence.

Ml. 112<sup>b</sup> 20, *is airi cotnoat som arnachrisat* (pres.) *fochaidi demuin, o-idcloitis* (past) *asind noibi hi m-bí* (pres. ind.), It is therefore that they protect him, that the tribulations of the Devil reach him not, to drive him from the holiness wherein he is.

In final sentences the present subjunctive evidently expresses the direct purpose; the past subjunctive is less direct, it corresponds to 'might' rather than to 'may,' and it may be compared with the potential use of the past subjunctive in doubtful statements.

(b) Imram Brain p. 15. *tinscan iuram tar muir n-glan, dúa in rista tír na m-ban*, Begin a voyaging over the bright sea, if perchance thou mightest possibly reach the Land of Women.

LU. 74<sup>b</sup> 45, *tabram fianlæch cach n-aidchi do seile fair dus in tairsimmis a begul*, Let us put him a troop every night to hunt (?) him to see whether we might get a chance at him.

Cf. § 33.

(c) ML. 107<sup>b</sup> 8, *nihil adffictionis superest cuius iam experimenta non caperem, g. ni oíl frithorcain nachamthised sa 7 nad fordamaínn*, There is no affliction that might not come to me and that I might not endure.

ML. 124<sup>a</sup> 8, *ni fl degnimu linnai trisnansoirthæ*, There are no good deeds with us through which we might be delivered.

LU. 68<sup>b</sup> 28, *ní fetar ní ardottáigthe*, I know no reason why thou shouldst be feared.

For additional examples see § 73c. The tense use is of the same kind as in (a).

(d) Wb. 9<sup>c</sup> 20, *cid attobaich cen dígud each ancrídi dognethe frib*, What impels you not to forgive every injury that may have been done to you?

Tir. 11, *toisc limm fer oenséitche dunaructhæ acht oen tuistiú*, I desire a husband of one wife to whom has not been born but one child.

Cf. § 75.

#### 16. After a secondary tense the past subjunctive is regular.

Rev. Celt, xi, 446, *birt roth leiss ond oclaich ara ressed amal an roth sin tar leth in maigi*, He took a wheel with him from the warrior that he might run like that wheel over half of the plain.

Wb. 17<sup>a</sup> 13, *ní bo ar seirc móidme act o-robad torbe dúibsi triit, .i. o-rochrete-si et o-rointsamlithe mo béu-sa et oná ruchrete-si do neuch act nech dogned na gnímu-sin*, It was not for love of boasting, but that there might be profit to you through it, that is, that ye might believe and that ye might imitate my customs, and that ye might believe no one save him who did those deeds.

ML. 125<sup>c</sup> 2, *asrubart Dia—ara sechitis a thimnas*, God said that they should follow His ordinances.

Wb. 33<sup>d</sup> 10, *ni robe nech bad huasliu tara toissed*, There was no one more exalted by whom He could have sworn.

#### 17. After a secondary tense the present subjunctive is very rare.

Hy. ii, 35, *Patraic pridchais do Scottaib, rochés mór sath il-Lethu, immi co tísat do bráth in cách dosfuc do bethu*, Patrick preached

to the Scots, he suffered great tribulation in Letavia, that there may come about him to Judgment all whom he brought to life. Here the writer seems to be contemplating the Day of Judgment from the standpoint of his own time, not from St. Patrick's.

## V. THE USES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

### 1. THE SUBJUNCTIVE OF WISH.

18. A wish regarded as capable of realization is expressed by the present subjunctive. The negative is *ní*.

Wb. 31<sup>a</sup> 2, *darolgea Dia doib*, May God forgive it them.

Wb. 18<sup>b</sup> 23, *roerthar dúib uili*, May it be given to all of you.

Hy. iv, 3, 4, *ronsoera Brigit sech drungu demna*; *roroena reunn catha cach thedma*, May Brigit deliver us past crowds of devils; may she break before us the battles of each plague.

Hy. iv, 2, *donfe don bithfáith*, May she lead us to the everlasting kingdom.

LU. 85<sup>b</sup> 10, *ní thucca Dia and in fer-sin innocht*, May not God bring that man there to-night.

Wb. 23<sup>b</sup> 41, *imb i céin, fa i n-accus beo-sa, niconchloor act for cáinsedl*, Whether I be far or near, may I not hear but good of you.

Trip. L. i, 78, l. 22, *nimtairle do mallacht*, May not thy malediction fall on me

Hy. vi, 12, *nimthairle éc na amor, nimthair mortlaid na galar*, May not death or misery light upon me, may not plague or sickness come to me.

LU. 7<sup>b</sup> 13, *nimreilge il-lurg na n-demna*, May He not leave me in the track of the devils.

Zeit. f. Celt. Phil. i, 497, *doroimliur in fleid dot méis, nimfargba dott éis a Dé*, May I enjoy the feast from Thy table, mayest Thou not leave me behind Thee, O God.

Cod. St. Paul, i, 4, *rop ith 7 mlicht adcear*, May it be corn and milk that I see.

19. In a passage of Sg. a Latin past subjunctive in wish is expressed by an Irish past.

Sg. 148<sup>a</sup> 6, *ut si filio meo Romae in praesenti degente optans dicam, utinam Romae filius meus legisset auctores propter quos etc., .i. forconnacair buith a maice som hi Róim; affamenad som didiu nolégad a macc inn heret sin i m-bói, et robu anfiss dosom in*

[continued on p. 242.]

18\*. A wish may be expressed otherwise.

Hy. i, 2, for a *foessam dún innocht*, May we be under His protection to-night (lit. under His protection to us).

Hy. vi, 24, *ar guin, ar guasact, ar gabud, a Crist*, for *do snádud dún*, Against wounding, against danger, against peril, Christ, may we be under Thy protection.

Hy. viii, 4, in *Spirut Noeb d'aittreb ar cuirp is ar n-anma, diar snádud co solma ar gabud ar galra*, May the Holy Spirit dwell in our body and our soul, may He defend us swiftly against peril, against diseases (lit. the Holy Spirit to dwell in . . . , to protect us).

19\*. An impossible wish is commonly expressed otherwise, e.g. :

LU. 61<sup>a</sup> 2, *mease immorro nímadairgenus fleid*, As for me, however, would that I had not prepared a feast (lit. not well did I prepare a feast). Similarly,

SR. 1346, *nimanfacamar th'uboll*, Would we had not seen thine apple.

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*roleg fanaco, dég rombu éndairco do 7 afamenad rafesed in roleg,* His son happened to be in Rome; would, then, that his son had read that time that he was, and he did not know whether he had read or not, because he was absent and would that he had known whether he had read.

*abamin* and *affamenad* may be verbal in origin; the latter form looks like a past subjunctive, but the explanation of the forms is not clear to me.

## 2. THE SUBJUNCTIVE OF WILL.<sup>1</sup>

20. The second persons of the present subjunctive are often found in commands, particularly in negative sentences.

Ml. 61<sup>c</sup> 15, *soira-siu*, g. liberato.

Ml. 32<sup>a</sup> 3, *conoscaige-siu*, g. admoueto.

Ml. 101<sup>a</sup> 1, *concela-siu*, g. dissimulato.

Ml. 78<sup>c</sup> 6, *intuailngighthid fortéis-siu*, g. dignanter adnuito.

Ml. 58<sup>d</sup> 14, *cotatoscaighther-su*, g. commouere.

Wb. 5<sup>d</sup> 39, uince in bono malum .i. *dogné-su maith frissom et bid* (fut.) *maid som iarum*, Thou shalt do good to him, and he will be good afterwards.

LU. 64<sup>a</sup> 20, *ber* (ipv.) *latt sin*, or *Cú, 7 tési don dúnud amlaid*, Carry it with you, said Cúchulinn, and go to the camp thus.

LU. 58<sup>a</sup> 17, *cure airdmius dún tarsin slóg, ol Cúculaind*, Make an estimate of the host for us, said Cúchulinn.

LU. 62<sup>a</sup> 25, *nimdersaige fri úathad, nomdiusca immorro fri sochaide*, Thou shalt not awake me for one; thou shalt awake me, however, for a number.

Ml. 55<sup>a</sup> 19, *ní astae-siu*, g. ne suspendas.

Wb. 10<sup>a</sup> 21, *ce chonlis cor do sétche uáit, níiscoilther, act indnite* (ipv.) *dús im-comchélbuid dúib*, Though thou canst put away thy wife, thou shalt not put her away, but wait to see if ye can agree.

Wb. 3<sup>b</sup> 11, *sed neque exhibeatis membra uestra, .i. ní tidbarid far m-bauúu*, Ye shall not exhibit your limbs.

Ml. 74<sup>d</sup> 13, *ní berac-siu hua Duaid in salm-so*, Thou shalt not take this psalm from David.

<sup>1</sup> It is not easy in every case to distinguish this from the potential.



SR. 1858, *nimmanfacamar do gnúis*, Would we had not seen thy face.

LU. 58<sup>a</sup> 15, *nímáloimar* (pret.) *dó, ol Cúculaind, námertamar* (pret.) *Ultu*, Would that we had not gone, said Cúchulinn, that we might not (?) have betrayed Ulster. Cf. LL. 59, l. 10.

LL. 64<sup>a</sup> 9, *amas a ócu, bar Conchobur, nimatancamar d'ól na fedi-se*, Alas! my men, said Conchobur, would we had not come to drink this feast.

20\*, 21\*. The following are examples of the imperative. The negative is *nd*.

Wb. 6<sup>b</sup> 11, *manducantem non iudicet*, .i. *na taibred dimiccim fair*, Let him not put disrespect upon him.

Wb. 6<sup>b</sup> 3, *induite uos Dominum*, .i. *bed imthuge-si Domino*, Be ye raiment *Domino*.

Wb. 6<sup>b</sup> 18, *unusquisque in suo sensu abundet*, .i. *anas maith la cách dénad* si pro Domino, What each deems good let him do.

Wb. 9<sup>a</sup> 14, *imitatores mei estote*, .i. *bed adthramli* .i. *gaibid comarbus for n-athar*, Be father-like, i.e. take the inheritance of your father.

Wb. 12<sup>b</sup> 8, *pro inuicem sollicita sint membra*, .i. *cobrad cach ball alaile*, Let each member help the other.

ML. 46<sup>b</sup> 26, *absolue*, .i. *nonsoerni*, Deliver us.

ML. 55<sup>a</sup> 1, *noli in tua patientia sustinere*, .i. *na dens ainmnit*, Show not patience.

LU. 68<sup>a</sup> 1, *airgg mad ferr laiss in mag-sa i n-rohalt*, Offer, if he prefer it, this plain in which he was reared.

Further examples will be found in Gramm. Celt. 443, 444, 474, 495; VSR. 14, 15, 35, 47.

MI. 74<sup>d</sup> 13, *ní derlegae-siu in titul roscribais huasin chroich*, Thou shalt not destroy the inscription that thou didst write above the Cross.

Wb. 13<sup>e</sup> 13, *nolite seduci*, .i. a seodoprofetis, *ní érbairid autem uerba asbeir in t-óis anfoirbthe*, Ye shall not utter *verba* that the imperfect folk utter.

LU. 64<sup>a</sup> 14, *ní agithir ní*, Fear nothing.

LU. 70<sup>a</sup> 5, *fochichur-sa* (fut.) *aurchor duit*, or *Nadcranntal*, 7 *nínimgeba*. *nínimgeb* (fut.) *acht i n-arddai*, or *Cuchulaind*. "I will make a cast at thee," said Nadcranntal, "and thou must not avoid it." "I will not avoid it save in the air," said Cúchulinn.

LU. 74<sup>a</sup> 15, *ní ruba é nachamfdeba-sa cen bráthair*, Slay him not, that thou mayest not leave me without a brother.

Many more examples will be found in the maxims in LU 46<sup>b</sup> = Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, i, 213-4.<sup>1</sup>

### 21. Of the other persons I have not many examples.

Wb. 11<sup>a</sup> 24, *neque tentemus Christum, sicut quidam eorum*, .i. *ní gessam-ní níi bes chotarsno diar n-icc*, We should pray for nothing that is opposed to our salvation.

MI. 105<sup>a</sup> 8, *excipiat* .i. *arfema*.

Wb. 8<sup>b</sup> 2, *nip and nobirpaid*, Not therein shall ye trust. So Wb. 5<sup>d</sup> 14, 25<sup>a</sup> 10, 28<sup>b</sup> 14, 30<sup>d</sup> 24, Sg. 158<sup>a</sup> 2.

LU. 66<sup>a</sup> 5, *níp machdad lat cid cian co tisor*, Wonder not though it be long till I come.

LU. 46<sup>b</sup> 7, *ní iadat iubaili for étechtu ail*, Prescription shall not close in an illegal manner (?).

## 3. THE POTENTIAL SUBJUNCTIVE.

### Present.

22. Sg. 171<sup>b</sup> 1, *rollámar*, g. *ausim*.

Wb. 20<sup>b</sup> 9, *doduthris*, uelim.

Wb. 32<sup>a</sup> 9, *quem ego uolueram mecum retinere*, g. *dofuthris-se a buith im gnaís fein ara hireschi*, I could wish that he were with myself for his faithfulness.

MI. 34<sup>a</sup> 4, *muriis-si far n-dochum*, I might soon come to you.

MI. 22<sup>d</sup> 5, *cid na inneda forodamar-sa cose romferat dom aitherriuch*, Even the troubles that I have suffered hitherto might be sufficient to me for me for my reformation.

<sup>1</sup> In MI. 42<sup>a</sup> 8, *dumgne-se* glosses *me facies*, but we should probably read *dumgène-se*.



## 23. Here probably belong the following negative sentences.

Wb. 11<sup>o</sup> 17, *ciasu airegdu in fer*,—*ní rubi nechtar de cen alail*[*e*], Though the man is nobler, neither of them may be without the other.

Ml. 20<sup>d</sup> 4, *cia rubé cen ní diib, ní rubai ceniaib huli*, Though he be without some of them, he may not be without all of them.

Wb. 22<sup>d</sup> 3, *ar is frendirc side dia mogaib, ní dernat síd ní nad fiastar síde*, For He is present to His servants; they could do nothing that He will not know.

Ml. 51<sup>o</sup> 14, *ní ruguigter gnimai Dæ*, The works of God may not be falsified.

Ml. 94<sup>b</sup> 23, *air meit ind huachta ní ru*[*tréb*]*bthar indib*, For the greatness of the cold no one may dwell in them.

Wb. 30<sup>b</sup> 15, *ní rochumscigther sôn beos*, It may not be moved yet.

Sg. 209<sup>a</sup> 3, *ní rubai anisin in nominatiuo*, That could not be in nominatiuo.

24. In a number of instances this subjunctive is preceded by the adverb *bés*.

Acr. 78, *nisi forte animum dicis etiam si moriatur animum esse*, g. *bés asbera-su as n-ai*[*n*]*m dosom animum ciatbela*, Maybe thou wouldst say that *animus* is its name even though it die.

Ml. 51<sup>b</sup> 8, *dobeir Dia aithesc cid as denti no cid as imgabthi do retaiib ata chosmaili fri fir la doine 7 bes ní bat fra la Dia*, God gives an answer what is to be done or what is to be avoided of things that are like truth in the eyes of men, and maybe they are not true (just) in the eyes of God.

Wb. 5<sup>b</sup> 39, *béss risat ade aní asa-torbatha*, Maybe they may reach that out of which they were cut.

LL. 269<sup>a</sup> 20, *bés rosia ní uaimsea hé*, Perhaps something from me may reach him.

Fél. Ep. 417 *bes nip aill do dainib*, Perhaps it may not please men.

*bés* is also found with a past subjunctive.

## (a) In oratio obliqua.

LU. 133<sup>b</sup> 4, *asbert Mongán fria arna had brónach, bás dosnised cobair*, Mongán told her not to be sad, perchance help might come to them.

## (b) In a conditional sentence.

Sg. 202<sup>a</sup> 7, *mad ego nammá asberad, bes nobed nach aile leis oc ind aircbellad amal todain*, If he had said *ego* only, perchance some other might have been with him at the taking away in that case.

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24\*. *bés* is also found with the indicative in later texts.

SR. 2893, *bess iss he* (pres.) *Issau, bess noconhé Jacob*, Peradventure it is Esau, peradventure it is not Jacob.

LL. 80<sup>a</sup> 9, *cíd a n-doronad and do báis bes ni rophendsemmar ind*, Peradventure we have not done penance even for what of folly was done there.

For other examples, see Windisch, Wb. s.v. *bés*.

25. The Past Subjunctive is used to put forward a mere suggestion or conjecture, or to mark a statement or opinion as improbable or impossible.

Wb. 27<sup>d</sup> 16, *salutatio mea manu Pauli, g. co m-bad notire rodscribad cosse*, It would have been a notary who had written it hitherto.

Wb. 26<sup>b</sup> 31, *salutatio mea manu Pauli; quod est signum in omni epistola, ita scribo, .i. commad inso sis roscribad som; co m-bad suachned leosom ataa i cach epistil a sainchomarde sin*, It would be this below that he wrote; it would be well known with them that this special sign is in every epistle.

Ml. 86<sup>d</sup> 9, *canon l. co m-bad trachtad huli inso*, Text, or all this may be commentary.

Sg. 106<sup>b</sup> 16, *co m-bad uad roainmnigthe*, It would be from it that it was named.

Psalt. Hib. 238, *in tituil immurgu Estras rodacachain l. comtis aili trachtairi olchena*, The titles, however, Ezra sang, or there may have been other commentators besides.

LU. 73<sup>a</sup> 17, *co m-bad i n-imslige Glendamnach dano dofaethsad Caúr iar n-araile slicht*, It would be in the great road of Glendain that Caúr fell according to another version.

Ml. 48<sup>d</sup> 27, *psalmus laudis renouationis domus Dauid, .i. co m-bad de nogabthe* (MS. *nogagthe*) *insalm-so di chosseccrad inna cathrach conrotacht la Duaid hi Sion*, This psalm may have been sung of the consecration of the city that was built by David in Sion. The following gloss gives another explanation, which the commentator prefers.

26. This usage is also found in dependent clauses.

Ml. 24<sup>d</sup> 9, *uisum sane est quibusdam quod in tabernaculorum confixione a beato Dauid sit psalmus iste compositus, .i. co m-bad si amser sin rongabthe in salm*, That that was the time at which the psalm was sung.

Ml. 16<sup>a</sup> 10, *quorum alii in Zorobabel, . . . uolunt dicta psalmi praesentis accipere, .i. co m-bad de rongabthe in salm so, olsodin nad fir n-doib*, That it was of him that this psalm was sung, which, however, is not true for them.

Ml. 139<sup>a</sup> 9, *co m-bad du doiri Babil [on]e rongabtis*, That it would be of the captivity of Babylon that they were sung.

Ml. 14<sup>a</sup> 7, 8, *quomodo enim beatum istum pronuntiare potuisset et ab omni errore amore uirtutis alienam?* Two glosses *co m-bad*

[continued on p. 250.]

26\*. Indirect speech as such does not require the subjunctive.

After a secondary leading verb primary tenses usually become secondary.

LU. 133<sup>a</sup> 34, *asbert Mongán ba gó*, Mongán said that it was false. In LU. 133<sup>b</sup> 34 in direct speech, *asrubart-sa, is gó*, I said, it is false.

LU. 128<sup>b</sup> 12, *asbert fria rubad* (sec. fut.) *torrach húad 7 bá hé nudabert a dochum don bruig*, He said to her that she would be with child by him, and that it was he that had brought her to him to the *brug*.

MI. 53<sup>d</sup> 6, *asberad som nambu tressa dia Hirusalem imboi dia cocha cathrach olcho[na] 7 nachasoirbed* (sec. fut.) *dia lamaib som*, He used to say that the God of Jerusalem was not stronger than

[continued on p. 251.]

*echtran som ho chomrorcain*, that he was a stranger to error; *co carad chaignimu du denum*, that he loved to do good deeds.

ML. 34<sup>d</sup> 6, *asberat alaili ciasu for oin fiur ataat in da n-ainm-so* .i. Iacob 7 Israhel, *co m-bad du dothruib notesad á n-Iacob 7 co m-bad du deichthrib immurgu a n-Israhel*, Some say that though these two names, Jacob and Israel, are borne by one man, Jacob would apply to the Two Tribes, and Israel, moreover, to the Ten Tribes.

Wb. 10<sup>a</sup> 12, *ishé inso titul in dligid archinn, ciasberthar co m-bad béim foris in dligid remeperthi*, This is the title of the dictum which follows, though it is said that it is a recapitulation of the dictum aforesaid.

Wb. 13<sup>a</sup> 16, *bertit alaili tra co m-bad spirut nóib robdi in profetis ueteris co m-bad hé bad foammamigthe profetis noui* .i. apostolis, quod non uerum, Some say that it was the Holy Spirit who was in the prophets of the Old Testament, who was subjected to the prophets of the New, i.e. to the Apostles, which is not true.

ML. 131<sup>c</sup> 3, *haec est hem illa porta Domini*, .i. ahæ .i. *interiacht Ebraide*, l. dicunt alii *bed n-ainm do doras sainredach i n-Hierusalem, olsodain immurgu nad choimtig linnai*, A Hebrew interjection, or others say that it was the name of a particular door in Jerusalem, but that we deem not customary.

ML. 54<sup>a</sup> 12, *ni aisndet Duaid airmdis hé iusti indi nad ocmatur ho throgaib, acht it hé iusti les indi ocubendar ho throgaib inna n-ingramman 7 inna fochaide*, David does not declare that it is those who are not touched by miseries who are *iusti*, but it is they whom he deems *iusti*, namely, those who are touched by the miseries of the persecutions and the tribulations.

ML. 55<sup>d</sup> 25, *ni fil chosmailius fir do neuch asber nadmbed dliged remdeicsen Dæ du doinib, sech remidoci Dia dunaib anmandib amlabrib*, There is no likeness of truth to anyone who says that there is no law of the Providence of God for men, for God provides for dumb animals.

Wb. 5<sup>a</sup> 8, *cani góo dúibsi a n-asberid a Iudeu coní cloitis geinti tairchetar Crist? nate rachualatar*, Is it not false for you what ye say, Jews, that the Gentiles might not hear prophesying of Christ? Nay, they have heard it.

Psalt. Hib. 191, *asberat co m-bad elegiacum metrum*, They say that it is elegiac metre.

Psalt. Hib. 344, *Ceist, cia catarochet dinaib salmaib? ised asberat éssi inna trachtairo co m-bad Te decet. asberat alaili co m-bad Benedictus. Ataa aní as firiu oldás a n-dedo-sa, .i. is toisichu rocét*

[continued on p. 252.]



the god of any other city, and that He would not deliver them from his hands.

LU. 64<sup>a</sup> 24, *asrubairt mini thucaind* (past subj.) *for mo muin dochum in dúnaid brisfed* (sec. fut.) *mo chend formsa cocloich*, He said if I did not carry him upon my back to the camp he would break my head for me with a stone. Cuchulinn's words are *manip samlaid téis* (pres. subj.), *rotiocba* (fut.) *cloch uaimse asin tailm*, If thou dost not go thus, there will come to thee a stone from me from the sling.

LU. 56<sup>a</sup> 15, *asbert ba* (fut.) *n-espá do chách dul int slógaid diantéset* (pres. subj.) *in tricha céit Galíón*, She said it would be useless for the rest to go on the hosting if the cantred of Leinstermen went. Here the tenses of oratio recta are retained.

ML. 24<sup>d</sup> 25, *asberat immurgu heretio as n-ed dechur ta[d]badar isindisin*, i. *etir deacht maic 7 athar*, quod non uerum, Heretics, however, say that this is the difference that is shown therein, to wit, between the Godhead of the Son and of the Father, which is not true.

ML. 20<sup>e</sup> 5, *asberat nad fil dligeð remdeicsen Dé dia dulib*, Who say that there is no law of Providence of God for His creatures.

Wb. 3<sup>e</sup> 26, *doménar-sa ba marb peccad hore ndn-rairgsiur*, I thought that sin was dead because I did not perceive it.

Wb. 3<sup>e</sup> 27, *doménar-sa rop-sa beo intain nád-rairgsiur peccad*, I thought I was alive, when I did not perceive sin.

ML. 61<sup>d</sup> 2, *in toimtiu huallach dorumenair som as tria airilliud rosoirad in chathir*, The proud opinion that he thought that the city was delivered through his merit.

ML. 49<sup>b</sup> 13, *dorumenar rom-sa dia 7 rom bithbécú*, I thought that I was a god, and that I was immortal.

*Pusillus eram* 7 rl. Question. Which of the Psalms was sung first? Numbers of the commentators say that it was *Te Decet*. Others say that it was *Benedictus*. There is that which is truer than either of these. It was *Pusillus eram*, etc., that was sung first.

Wb. 2<sup>b</sup> 4, *ut omne os obstruatur*, .i. *connách moidea nech ar bed á arilliud nodnicad*, That no one may boast that his merit saves him.

Wb. 13<sup>c</sup> 2, *arna tomnathar bed foammamichthe deacht don dónacht*, That it may not be supposed that the Godhead is subject to the Manhood.

Ml. 96<sup>b</sup> 18, *arna tomainle bed n-ísel som tri taidbein a fuilliuchtae hi sléb Sina* hominibus, *is airi asbeir-som* quis est Deus, That it might not be supposed that He was mean through the exhibition of His footprint to men on mount Sinai, therefore he says, *Quis est Deus?*

Ml. 43<sup>a</sup> 15, *nephtointiu bed peccad són*, The not-thinking that it was sin.

Ml. 132<sup>b</sup> 3, *neccesitatem suspicionis ammoue*, .i. *toimten damsa bad n-esbae dam du frecur cèill-siu*, Of my thinking that it was vain for me to honour Thee.

Ml. 130<sup>d</sup> 4, *mente—cum ita excedissem ut super humana me adtollerem*, .i. *aerringbus* .i. *toimtin arm-bonn duine acht duruménar rom-sa* (ind.) *día*, I exceeded, i.e. the thought that I was a man, but I thought that I was a god.

## 27. So with expressions like *dóig*, *inda*.

Ml. 61<sup>b</sup> 15, *ba doig bed n-ingcert in testimín-so*, This text may probably be incorrect.

Sg. 30<sup>a</sup> 8, *cum suos seruant accentus*, .i. *dóig linn bed n-acuit praeter qualis*, 7 *co m-bad chircunflex for suidiu*, We deem it probable that it would be the acute except *qualis*, and that it would be the circumflex upon this.

Wb. 4<sup>c</sup> 16, *hórs doroigu indala fer cen airilliud et romiscnigestar araile in doich bid indirge do Dia insin?* Because He chose one of the two men without desert and hated the other, do you suppose that that would be unrighteousness to God. So Wb. 18<sup>a</sup> 9, 15.

LU. 65<sup>a</sup> 33, *dóig lem báid in-diamraib Slébs Culind nobeth*, I fancy he would be in the recesses of Sliab Culend.

LU. 26<sup>a</sup> 33, *bá dóich leo ní roistis taris cen totim trit*, They thought they could not get over it without falling through it.

[continued on p. 254.]

## 27\*. With the indicative.

LU. 50<sup>b</sup> 28, *is doig co n-deochatár drem aile fora slicht*, It is probable that another multitude came on their track.

Ir. Text, i, 297, 19, *dóig leis dano robói tricha cubat inne uasind loch*, He thought that there were thirty cubits of it above the loch.

Ir. Text, i, 225, 12, *rogo doig lind nocobiad* (sec. fut.) *ar n-imscarad*, We deemed it probable that our parting would never be.

Wb. 31<sup>d</sup> 5, *da leinn ba firinne*, We thought it was righteousness.

LU. 58<sup>a</sup> 35, *indar leó bá cath bóí isind áth*, They thought there had been a battle in the ford.

LU. 85<sup>b</sup> 27, *atar lais roptar óic táncatár coa muintir*, He thought that warriors had come to his people.

MI. 96<sup>a</sup> 6, *inda lasin menmain ní adchótadaigfide* (sec. fut.) *fri Dia*, The mind thinks that it would not be reconciled to God.

[continued on p. 255.]

LL. 61<sup>b</sup> 6, *in doig inartised Conchobor*, Is it likely that Conchobor should have come to us? Cf. 61<sup>b</sup> 16, 26.

ML. 39<sup>c</sup> 24, *inda leu som nisroissed inned*, They think trouble could not reach them.

28. As with Latin *non quod*, the subjunctive is used in rejecting a suggested reason or fact. In Irish the tense is the past.

Wb. 12<sup>a</sup> 22, *ní nád m-bed arse di chorp, act atá de*, Not that it is not therefore of the body, but it is of it.

Wb. 16<sup>a</sup> 23, *non ad condemnationem uestram dico, .i. ní arindí doróntæ-si, anisiu*, Not that ye did this.

Sg. 5<sup>a</sup> 4, *semiuciales autem sunt appellatae, etc., ní arindi bed leth n-goitho indib sem, . . . sed quia plenam uocem non habent sicut uocales*, Not because there is half of voice in them, *sed quia* etc.

Sg. 27<sup>a</sup> 1, *proprium est pronominis etc., issed sainreth pronominis a súidigud ar anmmaimm dílius 7 ní arindí dano nád súidigthe som ar anmmaimm doacalmach*, This is a peculiarity of the pronoun, that it is put for a proper noun, not, however, that it is not put for an appellative noun.

Sg. 31<sup>a</sup> 6, *ut Euripides non Euripi filius sed ab Euripo, .i. diairisin (isairisin?) doratad foir a n-ainmm sin quia issed laithe insin rongenair som ní airindí rongenad som isind luc sin*, Hence that name was given him, because he was born on that day, not because he was born in that place.

Sg. 39<sup>a</sup> 25, *aduerbia huiusmodi etc., in mar, .i. ní arindí nombetis cid in biuce asbeir sem in már, acht arindí nadbiat etir*, Greatly, i.e. he says "greatly," not that they are even a little, but because they are not at all.

Sg. 209<sup>a</sup> 1, *ní arindí bed hi sui l. inna chamthuislib in gntim l. in chésad, act doaisilbthær triit som gntim nó chésad do neuch*, Not that the action or the suffering is in *sui* or in its oblique cases, but through it action or suffering is ascribed to some one.

ML. 50<sup>b</sup> 8, *ní arindí bed n-aipert asindrobrad som, acht is arindí arruneastar, 7 pro sustenui da[no] dauic David a n-dixi*, Not that it was a word that he had said, but because he expected, and for *sustinui* then David said *dixi*.

ML. 62<sup>d</sup> 5, *nos quippe reos soli tibi, .i. huare robummar bibdid-ní daitsiu a Dae, ní arindí nombetis ar cinnta friusom*, Because we were guilty to Thee, O God, not that our sins were against them.

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Wb. 25<sup>b</sup> 17, *ata*<sup>1</sup> *lat rabad* (sec. fut.) *assu a todiusgud ade*, One might have thought their awakening would be easier.

The secondary future here seems to be of the same sort as in the apodosis of conditional sentences, § 41.

28\*. With these subjunctives compare the following indicatives.

The indicative seems to deny a fact, the subjunctive to deny a supposition.

ML. 35<sup>b</sup> 9, hoc dico non quia de illo sit tempore profetatum, *ni arindi donairchet*, Not because it was prophesied.

ML. 24<sup>b</sup> 11, qui—non nihil trepidationis incurrerent, *ni nad rindualdatar acht inrualdatar*, Not that they did not incur, but they did incur.

ML. 28<sup>b</sup> 6, non quia non sint futuri sed quia ille (MS. illi) hoc in animum malæ persuasionis induxit, *ni nad todoichfet*, Not that they will not come.

Wb. 13<sup>d</sup> 17, non omnes inmotabimur, .i. *ni nád m-bia cid cumscugud donaið peethachaib. ni dírmí som ón ar chumscugud, arís a bás i m-bás do suidib*. Not that there will not be even a change to sinners. He counts it not for a change, for it is from death into death unto them.

<sup>1</sup> O.Ir. *ata* : Mid.Ir. *atar* = O.Ir. *inda* : Mid.Ir. *indar* = O.Ir. *da* : Mid.Ir. *dar*.

MI. 85<sup>d</sup> 1, *ní arindi arindrochrietis acht is ar meinci inna indithme dosom indiu*, Not that they perished, but it is for the frequency of the expectation to him in them (*indiu* for *indib*?).

#### 4. INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES.

29. Of the subjunctive in an independent interrogative sentence I have so far no example.

For sentences of the type of Wb. 11<sup>a</sup> 19, *cid arm-bad spiritualis ind ail*, Why should the rock be *spiritualis*?, cf. § 74.

30. The secondary future is frequent.

Wb. 10<sup>a</sup> 10, *unde scis, uir, si mulierem saluam facies? .i. d. fir, can rofesta-su iecfe in mndi cialasode lat ar écin?* Man, whence shouldst thou know that thou wilt save the woman, though thou keep her with thee by force.

MI. 17<sup>b</sup> 26, *cia chruth nombiad i n-aicniud denma in dede-seo*, How should He be of (lit. in) a nature to do these two things?

MI. 35<sup>a</sup> 17, *de quibus adderet, .i. cia dunaibhi dofoirmsed*, Of whom should he have added?

MI. 14<sup>a</sup> 6, *cia salmscribdi conicfed són*, What psalmist could have done it?

LU. 56<sup>b</sup> 31, *cid ed ón dorigenmais-ní*, What could we do?

Ir. Text. i, 101, 17, *cid dobérad a mac do chomram frimsa*, What should bring his son to contend against me?

LU. 87<sup>a</sup> 24, *cia ragas (fut.) and do deicsin in tigi? cia noragad, or Ingcél, acht maí messi?* "Who will go to see the house?" "Who should go," said Ingcél, "but I?"

31. In dependent interrogative sentences the subjunctive is sometimes found.

Wb. 31<sup>b</sup> 10, *ara scrúta cid forchana do híec cáich*, That he may scrutinize what he teaches to save all.

MI. 91<sup>d</sup> 4, *nihil horum sciens, .i. indamsoirthae du lamaib mu n[ám]at fanaic*, Whether I might be saved from the hands of my enemies or not.

31\*. In dependent interrogative clauses the usual mood is the indicative.

Ml. 51<sup>b</sup> 7, *nad fess cid as* (pres.) *maith no as ole [do] denum*, That it was not known what it is good or bad to do.

Wb. 1<sup>d</sup> 7, *imrádat imráti cid maith as* (pres.) *dénti*, They think thoughts what good is to be done.

LL. 65<sup>a</sup> 2, *iarfoacht a dalta dó cia sosén boí* (pret.) *forin ló*, His pupil asked him what good luck was on the day.

Trip. Life 176, l. 13, *rotarfacht Patraic disi cid atchonnaire* (pret.), Patrick asked her what she had seen. So 230, l. 6.

Wb. 12<sup>e</sup> 22, *niafitir cid asbeir* (pres.), He knows not what he says.

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## 32. So the secondary future.

Ml. 90<sup>a</sup> 19, *ni fetar indamsóirfad Dia fanacc*, I know not whether God would deliver me or not.

Ml. 43<sup>d</sup> 20, *ba cumdubart in éstaste fanacc*, There was doubt whether it would be obtained or not.

So Ml. 102<sup>d</sup> 4.

33. The subjunctive, present and past, is found with *dúis* (*-do fíus*) 'to see if.'

## (a) Present.

Wb. 10<sup>a</sup> 3, *na scarad frisin for dúis in rictar tris gndis-si*, Let her not part from the husband, if perchance he may be saved through her company. So 10<sup>a</sup> 4.

Wb. 9<sup>b</sup> 19, *ni epur frið atarscarad fri suidiu . . . fobliith precepte dóib dúis induccatar fo hiris*, I say not to you to separate from them, because of teaching them, if perchance they may be brought into the faith.

Wb. 26<sup>b</sup> 27, *ne communicamini cum illo, ut confundatur, .i. dúis indip focunn ioco do a indarpo a oentu fratrum*, To see if his expulsion from the unity of the brethren may be a cause of salvation to him.

Wb. 30<sup>b</sup> 30, *ut resipiscant a diabuli laqueis, a quo capti tenentur, g. dúis indaithirset*, To see if they may amend.

## (b) Past.

## (a) The main verb is primary.

Wb. 5<sup>b</sup> 20, *saluos faciam aliquos ex illis, .i. trisin intamail-sin, .i. combad at leu buid domsa i n-iries et dúis in intamlitis*, Through that imitation, that is, so that they might have emulation of my being in the faith, and if perchance they might imitate.

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ML. 96<sup>b</sup> 2, *nife[ta]tar in sóirfetar* (fut.) *fanacc*, They do not know whether they will be saved or not.

LU. 64<sup>a</sup> 6, *déca nammá im-bá teclaim na fertas dogéna* (fut.) *fa na n-imscot[h]ad*, Look only whether thou wilt gather the poles or strip them.

Trip. Life 84, l. 22, *roiarfact episcop Muinis do Patraic cait ig gebad* (= *in-gébad*, sec. fut.), Bishop Muinis asked Patrick in what stead he should set up. In direct speech it would be *cait in-géb-sa*, where shall I set up?

Trip. Life 54, l. 6, *dorat inti Lucatmæl loimm do nim isinn ardig* . . . *co n-accath cid dogenath* (sec. fut.) *Patraic fris*, Lucatmael put a sip of poison into the cup, that he might see what Patrick would do with it.

33\*. *dús* is also found with the indicative.

LU. 73<sup>b</sup> 33, *foidid Cú Læg do fis scél dús cia cruth imtháthar* (pres.) *isin dunud*, Cuchulinn sends Læg for tidings, to learn how matters are in the camp.

LU. 87<sup>a</sup> 22, *ba si comairle na n-dibergach nech údib do déscin dús cinnas robóth* (pret.) *and*, This was the counsel of the pirates, that some one should go from them to see how it was there.

ML. 16<sup>c</sup> 5, *tiagar huáin* . . . *dús cid forchomnacuir* (pret), Let someone go from us to learn what has happened.

LU. 19<sup>a</sup> 24, *dodasathiged Cromderóil béos dús im-bui* (pret.) *ní bad díl dóib*, Cromderóil kept coming to them still to see whether there was anything they might want.

ML. 35<sup>b</sup> 24, *dús cia atrebea* (fut.) *isin chathraig iarsint soirad hisin rogab inso*, He sang this as to who will dwell in the city after that deliverance.

LU. 20<sup>a</sup> 9, *domfecise, olse, dús innebél* (fut.) *de*, "Thou lookest at me," said he, "to see whether I shall die of it."

Trip. Life 220, l. 20, *tiagam cu tartam ammus fair dús in fortachtaigfe a Dea*, Let us go and try him, to see whether his God will help him.

LU. 25<sup>a</sup> 18, *asbertatar a múinter fri Mælduin, inneberam fria dús in fáefed* (sec. fut.) *lat*, His people said to Mælduin, "Shall we speak with her, to see if she would sleep with thee?"

[continued on p. 261.]

Wb. 25<sup>a</sup> 17, *ne forte temptauerit uos, g. dúus in dobfochad*, If perchance he might tempt you.

Immram Brain, p. 15, *tinscan imram tar muir n-glan, dúis in rísta tir na m-ban*, Begin a voyaging over the bright sea, to see if thou mightest reach the Land of Women.

LU. 63<sup>b</sup> 10, *eirg dund ar cind Conculaind dúis in comrasta fris*, Go for us against Cuchulinn, to see if thou mightest encounter him.

(β) The main verb is secondary.

Wb. 18<sup>d</sup> 7, *narraui eis, .i. doairfenus doib dúis im-bed comrorcun and et ní robe*, I declared (it) to them, if perchance there were error therein, and there was not.

LU. 85<sup>a</sup> 12, *totlagat nonbur iarum co m-bátar for Beind Étair dúis oid roclótis 7 adchetis*, Nine men then went till they were on the Hill of Howth, to see what they might hear and see.

Ir. Text. i, 105, 19, *rolaiced eturro dúis cia dib nothogad*, He was left between them to see which of them he might choose. Another text has the sec. fut. *dongegadh*, which of them he would choose.

LU. 56<sup>b</sup> 4, *co n-accad dúis cia lasm-both scith 7 lasm-both laind techt in t-slogaid*, That she might see who loathed and who liked to go on the hosting.

So ML. 87<sup>c</sup> 4.

##### 5. CONDITIONAL AND CONCESSIVE SENTENCES.

34. In their leading forms these two classes of sentence may be conveniently treated together. The general principles of construction are the same; the difference lies in the conjunctions. Conditional sentences are introduced by *día n-* 'if,' *ma* 'if,' *mani* 'if not' <sup>1</sup>; concessive sentences by *ce*, *cia* 'though.'

35. The following are typical examples of subjunctive sentences.

**A. Protasis, present subjunctive; apodosis, future indicative.**

Wb. 10<sup>d</sup> 24, *mani pridag, atbél ar ocht et gorti*, If I preach not, I shall die of cold and hunger.

ML. 68<sup>a</sup> 14, *cia fudama in frián ní du innedaib isin biuth frendaire, soirfithir dano in céin n-aíli*, Though the righteous man endure something of troubles in the present world, he will, however, be delivered the other time.

<sup>1</sup> *ma* and *mani* are found with both indicative and subjunctive, *día n-* with the subjunctive only. In later Irish *día n-* in the sense of 'when' is common with the indicative. In the Glosses the only instances that I have noted are *día luid* ML. 52, 55<sup>c</sup> 1 (MS. *diluid*), 58<sup>c</sup> 4, all in passages linguistically later than the bulk of the Glosses.

LU. 85<sup>a</sup> 5, *etar nach traigéscaid úaib isa tír dús in fagebmais* (sec. fut.) *tesorcain ar n-enech*, Let some one swift of foot be found from among you (to go) to the land, to see if we could save our honour.

LU. 84<sup>b</sup> 37, *focres crandchor ferro dús eía díb lasa-ragtha* (sec. fut.) *i tosoch*, The lot was cast upon them to see with which of them they should go (lit. it should be gone) first.

**B. Protasis, present subjunctive ; apodosis, present indicative.**

ML. 50<sup>a</sup> 5, *mani accastar, is samlid gaibid ní*, If it be not seen, it is thus that it catches something.

LU. 59<sup>a</sup> 13, *cia bem-ni for longais, ní fil i n-Ere óclaig bas amru*, Though we are in exile, there is not in Ireland a warrior more wonderful.

**C. Protasis, past subjunctive ; apodosis, secondary future.**

Trip. Life 146, l. 24, *dia leiothe damsá congbaíl sund, ropad tánaissi Rómá Letha mo chathair-si*, If it were permitted to me to set up here, my city would be a successor to Rome of Latium.

LU. 72<sup>b</sup> 33, *ma rofessind co m-bad ar cend ind fir-se nomfaite, nimfoghlúasfínd féin dia saigid*, Had I known that I was sent to meet this man, I would not have stirred against him.

LU. 82<sup>b</sup> 11, *cia nobeth claidib and, ní imbértha fortseu*, Though there had been a sword there, it would not have been plied upon thee.

**D. Protasis, past subjunctive ; apodosis, past indicative.**

Wb. 4<sup>e</sup> 15, *ba miscais atroillisset mani thised trocaire*, It was hatred that they deserved, had not mercy come.

Wb. 17<sup>d</sup> 17, *ciadóbrinn móidem do dénum, ní bóí adbar hic*, Though I had desired to boast, there was no occasion here.

**E. Protasis, past subjunctive ; apodosis, present indicative.**

Sg. 157<sup>b</sup> 11, *issed a n-dliged dogres mani foired causa euphoniae*, That is the law always, unless *causa euphoniae* should operate (lit. should cause).

Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 6, *ce rudglanta tre bathis, nita cumacc do cháingnim co n-diddiungea in Spirit Nób*, Though it should have been purified through baptism, it is unable to do well until the Holy Spirit awake it.

**F. Mixed conditional sentences.**

Mixtures of the above types are rare, e.g.—

ML. 89<sup>c</sup> 5, *dia tar-siu (pres. subj.) ecnas n-do som, seichfed (sec. fut.) som du firinni-siu*, If Thou givest understanding to him, he would follow Thy truth.

Trip. Life 118, l. 16, *acht ma dothisad Arddri secht nime dó, ní reg-sa (fut.)*, Except if the High King of seven heavens should come, I will not get me gone.

[continued on p. 264.]



Here follow more examples of the above types:—

36. A. Protasis, present subjunctive; apodosis, future indicative.

Wb. 20<sup>a</sup> 11, *nibícoffther tra croich Crist ma fogneith dorecht*, Ye will not be saved through the cross of Christ if ye serve the Law.

Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 17, *isamlid bami coheredes má confodma[m] amal Crist*, It is thus we shall be coheirs, if we suffer together like Christ.

Wb. 17<sup>a</sup> 2, *mad co n-diuiti doindnasatar, atluchfam buidi do Dia dara hési*, If they be given with singleness, we will render thanks to God for it.

Wb. 10<sup>d</sup> 23, *mad ar lóg pridcha-sa, nímbia fochricc dar hési mo precepte*, If I preach for pay, I shall not have a reward for my preaching.

LU. 62<sup>a</sup> 42, *mani thetarrais iasin chetforgam, ní thetarrais co fíacor*, If thou reach him not in the first thrust, thou wilt not reach him till evening.

MI. 89<sup>a</sup> 11, *mani roima<sup>1</sup> fora conn, ní mema forena bullu*, If their head be not overthrown, the members will not be.

MI. 142<sup>b</sup> 3, *imfolngaba amairis doib som manimsóirae-se*, It will cause distrust to them, if Thou save me not.

SR. 1280, *connach[loch]t doreg immach, manimthair cacht na cumreoh*, Without any fault I shall go out, if there come not to me imprisonment or fetter.

MI. 107<sup>d</sup> 4, *dia n-cérbalam-ní, ní bia nech runiccas-siu a Dás*, If we die there will be no one for Thee to save, O God.

Wb. 24<sup>a</sup> 10, *dia m-bem-ni i combás bemmi i comindocbáil*, For if we be in common death with Him, we shall be in common glory.

MI. 102<sup>b</sup> 10, *dia n-dadercaither-su atbelat som*, If Thou see them, they will die.

LU. 67<sup>a</sup> 25, *dia tomna iasc indberu rotbia éu*, If fish come to the estuaries, thou shalt have a salmon.

Wb. 9<sup>a</sup> 20, *doimmarr a n-úail dia r-rísa*, I will restrain their pride if I come.

MI. 77<sup>a</sup> 12, *duroimnibetar mo popuil-se a r-recht dia n-uilemarbas-siu a naimtea .i. manibé nech frischomarr doibrom*, My peoples will forget the law, if Thou utterly destroy their enemies, i.e. if there be no one to oppose them.

Wb. 22<sup>b</sup> 23, *ciasbera nech ropia nem cia dugneid na rétu-sa, nipa fír*, Though anyone say that ye shall have heaven though ye do these things, it will not be true.

Wb. 23<sup>b</sup> 29, *cia ba beo bíd do precept anme Crist*, Though I be alive it will be to preach the name of Christ.

Wb. 4<sup>d</sup> 6, *bíeid nach dréct diib híefider cinbat huili*, There will be some part of them that will be saved, though it be not all.

<sup>1</sup> Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 76, conjectures with reason that *roima* is an error for *roma*: cf. *mono mas* LL. 94<sup>a</sup> 9, *mani má* Cormac, s.v. *á*. *r-ima* should be a future form, and the use of the future in the protasis of a conditional seems foreign to Irish. In MI. 112<sup>d</sup> 9, for *cia gentar* I conjecture *cia du gnatar*, as in the preceding gloss.

**36\*. Compare the following indicatives.**

Wb. 25<sup>a</sup> 30, ut—compleamus ea quae desunt fidei uestrae, **ma dūdesta nī dī bar n-iris íccfider** per aduentum nostrum ad uos, If aught is lacking in your faith, it will be cured *per* etc.

Ml. 77<sup>a</sup> 15, **nīsnulemairbfe cīasidroilliset**, Thou wilt not slay them utterly though they have deserved it.

Wb. 12<sup>d</sup> 28, **cīa rúchualatar íbbélre et cénuslabratar nīpat ferr dē**, Though they have heard many tongues, and though they speak them, they will not be better for it.

37. Sometimes in the apodosis a subjunctive is found of the types of §§ 18, 20, 23.

Ml. 20<sup>d</sup> 4, *cia rubé cen ní díib, ní rubai cenaiú huli*, Though he be without some of them, he could not be without all of them.

Wb. 23<sup>b</sup> 41, *imb i cén fa i n-accus beo-sa, niconchloor act for cainicéil*, Whether I be far or near, may I hear nothing but good of you.

Wb. 10<sup>a</sup> 21, *ce chonfis cor do síche udú nfiiscoirther*, Though thou be able to put thy wife from thee, thou shalt not put her.

38. So with the imperative in the apodosis.

Wb. 11<sup>d</sup> 15, *cinip low na bad in seclasia manducet*, If it be not enough, let him not eat in church.

Wb. 29<sup>d</sup> 19, *noli—erubescere—me uinctum eius .i. naba thoirseoh cia beo-sa hi carcair*, Be not sad though I be (as I am) in prison.

Wb. 25<sup>e</sup> 12, *ut siue uigilemus siue dormiamus, simul cum illo uiuamus, .i. imbem i m-bethu imbem i m-bads, bad lessom*, Whether we be in life or in death, let it be with Him.

39. B. Protasis, present subjunctive; apodosis, present indicative.

Ml. 30<sup>d</sup> 24, *is eamlid is doid som ma arí in fer-so, manínairi immurgu ní deid 7 is bronach a bethu amal sodin*, It is thus he is at ease if he find this man; if he find him not, however, he is not at ease, and his life is sorrowful then.

Wb. 13<sup>e</sup> 24, *mad grainne cruithnechte focairr, is diass cruithnechte*, If thou cast a grain of wheat, it is an ear of wheat.

Wb. 12<sup>e</sup> 36, *cote mo thorbe-sa dúib, mad [a]mne labrar*, What is my profit to you if I speak thus?

Wb. 12<sup>e</sup> 46, *mani dechrigedar (in) fer nodseinn .i. mad óinriar dogné, ní tuothar cid friasennar; isamlid dano maní dechrigther et mani tintither a m-belre n-echtrann, ní thuCCI in cách rod-chluinethar*, Unless the man who sounds it distinguish, i.e. if he make but one note, it is not understood what it is sounded for; even so then, unless the foreign tongue be distinguished and translated, no one who hears it understands.

Wb. 28<sup>b</sup> 28, *mani rochosca som a muntir intain blis cen grád, ní uisse toisigeacht sochuide do*, If he correct not his household when he is unordained, it is not proper for him to have the leading of a multitude.

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## 37\*. Compare the indicatives.

Wb. 11<sup>c</sup> 17, *ciasu airegdu in fer . . . ni rubi nechtar do cen alail[e]*, Though the man is nobler, neither of them can be without the other.

## 38\*. Compare the indicatives.

Wb. 22<sup>b</sup> 7, *ma dudéll ni, taibred ni tara éssi do bochtaib*, If he has stolen aught, let him give something in its place to poor folk.

Wb. 10<sup>a</sup> 29, *massu cut séitchi rocretis, na scarad frit iar cretim*, If thou hast believed along with a wife, let her not part from thee after believing.

Wb. 11<sup>c</sup> 1, *manudfel in Spirit Nób indiumsa, ná bith fochunn uaimm fein dom æcnduch*, If there is the Holy Spirit within me, let there not be cause from myself to speak evil of me.

Wb. 10<sup>a</sup> 30, *manid co séitchi rocretis, na tuic séitchi iar cretim*, If thou hast not believed along with a wife, take not a wife after believing.

## 39\*. Compare the indicatives.

Wb. 10<sup>c</sup> 13, *non manducabo carnem in aeternum, ne fratrem meum scandalisem .i. hore is immarmus hi Crist a n-as olco lasin brathir .i. ma imfolngi diltud dun bráthir*, Because what seems evil to the brother is a sin in Christ, i.e. if it causes scandal to the brother.

Wb. 19<sup>c</sup> 20, *si autem uos Christi, ergo Abrachae semen estis, .i. ma nudubfeil i n-ellug coirp Crist, adib cland Abrache*, If ye are in the union of Christ's body, ye are children of Abraham.

Wb. 2<sup>c</sup> 14, *si enim qui ex lege heredes sunt, matu hé ata orpamin*, If they are heirs.

Wb. 13<sup>c</sup> 10, *si secundum hominem ad bestias pugnaui Ephessi, quid mihi prodest, si mortui non resurgunt? (ma)ssu<sup>1</sup> dóinecht*

<sup>1</sup> So far as I have observed, *mad*, *mat* are followed by the subjunctive, *massu*, *matu* by the indicative. So *ciasu* is followed by the indicative, *cid* regularly by the subjunctive. Of *cid* followed by the indicative I have only two instances: Wb. 6<sup>a</sup> 29, *cid fo gnim*, *cid fo chésath dotiagar*, whether it (*sc. induamur*) is used actively or passively; Wb. 5<sup>a</sup> 16, *arnachmóidet cid doib doarrchet*, That they may not boast though it was prophesied to them. So after *cip*, which is usually followed by the subjunctive, § 71, Wb. 3<sup>c</sup> 20, *cib cenél tra díá roscribad ind epistil-so*, Whatever be the nation to which this epistle has been written.

Wb. 2<sup>c</sup> 18, *ni tairmthecht rechto mani airgara recht*, There is no transgression of the Law if the Law forbid not.

Ml. 71<sup>c</sup> 19, *deest .i. duesta mu glanad-sa manimglanac-se a Da*, My purification is wanting if Thou purify me not, O God.

Wb. 10<sup>a</sup> 17, *ni lour deit buid cen sétchi mani déne dagnimu*, It is not enough for thee to be without a wife if thou do not good works.

Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 27, *coir irnigde tra inso, act ní chumcam-ni ón mani thinib in Spirit*, This, then, is the right way of prayer, but we cannot do that unless the Spirit inspire.

Ml. 57<sup>c</sup> 5, *ní cumgat ingraim inna firian, ciatchobrat, manis-comairleicea Dia fuammam*, They are unable to persecute the righteous, although they desire it, unless God permit them (to be) under their yoke.

LU. 67<sup>a</sup> 33, *ni laimethar óen fer ná dias úadib tabairt a fuail i n-imechtur in dúnaid, manibet fichtib no trichtaib*, Neither one man nor a pair of them dares to piss in the outskirts of the camp, if they be not in twenties or thirties.

Ml. 91<sup>d</sup> 8, *dia n-damechomdele fritsu, a Dé, nita ferr indaas cethir*, If I compare myself to thee, O God, I am no better than a brute beast.

Sg. 173<sup>b</sup> 4, .n. antecedenti .s. et .t. sine .r. sequi non potest, *cotecat immurgu dia m-bé .r.*, ut monstrans, They come together, however, if there be *r*.

Sg. 30<sup>a</sup> 3, *quamuis intereat, non interimit secum etiam aliud .i. ciatbela indala n-ái ni epil alaill*, Though one of the two perish, the other does not.

Wb. 17<sup>d</sup> 27, *ani tra as chotarane fri hicc ni etar cia gessir*, What, then, is opposed to salvation is not obtained, though it be prayed for.

Sg. 165<sup>b</sup> 1, nam 'absonus,' 'abstinens,' et similia non in principio syllabae habent coniunctas *b* et *s*, .i. *ar cia beid b hisuidib*, non in una syllaba *atá* .b. 7 *s*., For though *b* be (as it is) in them, *b* and *s* are not in one syllable.

Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 6, si autem Christus in uobis est, corpus quidem mortuum est propter peccatum, spiritus uero uiuit propter iustificationem, .i. *cia beid Crist indibsi tre fíaitin hirisse* in baptismo, et *is* (pres. ind.) *beo ind anim trisodin, is marb in corp immurgu trisna senpectu*, Though Christ be in you (as He is through confession of faith in baptism), and the soul is alive thereby, the body, however, is dead through the old sins.

Wb. 29<sup>d</sup> 27, haec patior, sed non confundor .i. *ní mebul lemm cia fadam*, I deem it no disgrace though I endure it.

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(*Crist*) *nocretim, ma(nid) chretim (a ess)éirge et mo (esséir)go féinn* (i. *mas*)*su bethu frach(dirc) tantum nomthá*, If it is Christ's manhood I believe, if I believe not His resurrection and my own resurrection, i.e. if it is a present life only that I have.

LU. 85<sup>b</sup> 4, *ni fetur-sa, ol Fer rogain, manid luch dond fail i n-Emain Macha dogní in bosórguin-se*, I know not, said Fer rogain, unless it is the brown mouse that is in Emain Macha that is making this beating of palms.

LU. 83<sup>b</sup> 14, *masued nothéig tiag-sa* (pres.=fut. § 1) *co n-arldr tenid ar do chind*, If thou art going there, I will go to light a fire before thee.

ML. 91<sup>a</sup> 17, *putasne est prouidentia si non est vindex ? .i. manidtabair digail tar ar cen[n]-ni*, If he does not inflict vengeance on our behalf.

Wb. 8<sup>a</sup> 3, *ni cuman lim ma rudbaitsius nach n-aile*, I do not remember if I baptized any other.

Wb. 28<sup>d</sup> 31, *manidtesarbi ni di maith assa gntmaib intain rombói etir tudith, is uisse a airitiu i n-æelis*, If naught of good was wanting in her actions while she was among the luity, it is right that she be received into the church.

Sg. 106<sup>b</sup> 4, *ciasidbiur-sa fritsu Atho et Athos do buith, biid dano in -us la Atacu*, Though I say to thee that it is *Atho* and *Athos*, it is, however, in -us in Attic writers.

Wb. 2<sup>b</sup> 18, *ciasbiur-sa Deus Iudeorum et Deus Gentium, unus est Deus*, Though I say, etc.

ML. 2<sup>b</sup> 4, *ni feil titlu remib, ciasidciam-ni titlu re cach oin salm*, There are no titles before them, though we see titles before every psalm.

ML. 30<sup>a</sup> 10, *dathluchethar in t-intliucht cenidleci in metur*, The sense demands it, though the metre does not allow it.

Wb. 19<sup>a</sup> 20, *ciasu i colinn am béo-sa, is iress Crist nom-booigedar*, Though it is in the flesh that I am alive, it is Christ's faith that quickens me.

ML. 106<sup>a</sup> 12, *cenidtabair-siu digail forsna naimtea fochetóir, dogní trocairi frinni calleic*, Though Thou dost not inflict vengeance on the enemies at once, Thou workest mercy towards us at all events.

ML. 123<sup>b</sup> 13, *cia rudmrechtnaigestar so[m] briathra 7 persona hic, is du chensi Moysi téit immurgu*, Though he has varied words and persons here, it is, however, to the meekness of Moses that it refers.

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MI. 92<sup>a</sup> 17, *cid foills adoota 7 dungne, is tús immidfolngi dam*, [a] *Dæ, cid indab dano adoot, is tu s Dæ immidfolngi dam*, Though it be joy that I obtain and that I do, Thou, O God, causest it to me; though it be wealth, moreover, that I obtain, Thou, O God, causest it to me.

Wb. 13<sup>d</sup> 21, *oportet*—*mortale hoc induere immortalitatem, cid fo gnim cid fo chéad dorróntar*, Whether it be done in action or in passion.

40. *cia* is found after expressions like *is nise* 'it is right,' *is immairide* 'it is fitting.'

Wb. 34<sup>a</sup> 4, *is huise ce rúsamaltar fri Crist*, It is right that he be compared to Christ.

Wb. 26<sup>a</sup> 23, *immairide didiu indhi nód arróimeat buith in gloria Christi ce rubet i péin la diabol*, It is fitting, then, that those who accepted not existence in *gloria Christi* should be in pain with the Devil.

Sg. 163<sup>b</sup> 6, *is immairide ce rube subunctiuus pro imperatino*, It is fitting that the subjunctive should be for the imperative.

Wb. 14<sup>b</sup> 20, *non enim uolumus ignorare uos, .i. is fo lium cia rafesid*, I wish that ye should know it.

Sg. 71<sup>a</sup> 10, *deithbir ciasberthar casus nominatiuus*, It is proper that it should be called *casus nominatiuus*.

41. C. Protasis, past subjunctive; apodosis, secondary future.

The condition may be either possible or impossible of fulfilment. Which of the two it is must be gathered from the context.

Wb. 9<sup>c</sup> 8, *marrufeste ní gette na brithemnachta becca erriu*, If ye had known it, ye would not snatch the little judgments from them.

MI. 131<sup>d</sup> 19, *si mandata tua facere—curassem, numquam in has miserias decidissem, .i. ní beinn isin do[ri] manucmallainn gnímu Dæ*, I should not be in captivity, had I fulfilled the works of God.

Wb. 11<sup>a</sup> 22, *docoith dígal forru; matis tuiesi ní rígad*, Vengeance fell upon them; if they had been elect it would not have fallen.

MI. 73<sup>d</sup> 1, *subportassem .i. fulilsain-se .i. matis mu namait dudagnetis 7 maniptis mu chara[i]t dudagnetis*, I should have endured, i.e., had it been my enemies that had done it, and had it not been my friends that had done it.

Wb. 10<sup>a</sup> 27, *ar mad forngaire dogneinn, docoischifed pian a thairmthecht*, For if it were a command I gave, punishment would follow transgression thereof.

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Wb. 3<sup>b</sup> 19, *atluchur do Dia, ce rubaid fo pheccad nachibfel*,  
I give thanks unto God that, though ye were under sin, ye are not.

41\*, 45\*. Compare the following indicatives.

Sg. 197\* 11, *is fri slond gnimo persine* principaliter *aricht*,  
*ce nudaluindi persin* consequenter, It was invented *principaliter*  
to signify action of person, though it signifies person *consequenter*.

SR. 4071, *lacach ciat serba, doibseom batar somblassa*, Though all  
deem them bitter (as they are), to them they were sweet.

ML. 67<sup>d</sup> 24, *Tarsis, g. ciasu in .is. téit co[m]-bed ciall ainsedo*  
*ilair and*, Though it ends in *is*, there might be the sense of the  
accusative plural.

ML. 28<sup>d</sup> 8, *cenidepartais* (impf.) *ho briathraib dagnitis* (impf.)  
*ho gnimaib*, Though they did not say it in words, they used to do  
it in deeds.

Wb. 30\* 6, *catenam meam non erubuit, .i. nírbo* (pret.) *mebul*  
*less mo charatrad ciarpsa* (pret.) *cimbid*, He was not ashamed of  
my friendship though I was a prisoner.

Sg. 75\* 2, *ciasidruburt frit tuas* alterutra pro altera utra, *robóí*  
*camaiph dano la arsaidi* altera utra et alterum utrum, Though

[continued on p. 273.]

LU. 19<sup>b</sup> 20, *má do ben doléced, ol Doelthenga, nobiad ina l-ligu*, "If thy wife had given it," said Doelthenga, "she would be in her bed."

ML. 118<sup>b</sup> 6, *air mad panem naama duberad som 7 ní taibred meum, robad dund sasad diant ainm panis tantum noregad*, If he had put *panem* only and had not put *meum*, it would apply to the food of which the name is *panis* only.

Wb. 4<sup>b</sup> 13, *eo rudbói* (pret.) Iudas et *eo rubatar* (pret.) Iudei *occa thindnaoul som, nímaricfed manitindnised in t-Athir nenda*, Though Judas was, and though the Jews were, delivering Him up, it would not have succeeded (?) had not the Heavenly Father given Him.

LU. 69<sup>a</sup> 3, *foitáilfand i n ilpartib o chidnaib acht man bad*<sup>1</sup> Fergus, I should have divided thee in many bits before now but for Fergus.

LU. 60<sup>a</sup> 20, *día nomthisad muco fonaithe, robad ambéo*, If a cooked pig came to me, I should live.

Sg. 203<sup>a</sup> 6, *ar na derimis cum nobis, air dia n-denmis cum me, dogenmis dano cum nobis*, That we might not make *cum nobis*, for if we made *cum me* we should moreover make *cum nobis*.

LL. 286<sup>a</sup> 25, *día n-gabtha orum do leir, ní beind nach céin i n-damnad*, If it were sung for me diligently, I should be no long time in damnation.

LL. 61<sup>b</sup> 9 *da m-bad ésin tísad and, tiefaitis sluaig*, If he had come there, there would have come hosts.

Wb. 3<sup>a</sup> 28, *robad bothu dom, díanchomalninn*, It would be life to me if I fulfilled it.

LU. 68<sup>a</sup> 20, *ófa nobeth Cú i n-occus, ní dingned insoin*, Though Cuchulinn were at hand, he would not do that.

ML. 91<sup>a</sup> 10, *etiam si merita deessent populo, reuersionem tamen eius sola hostium acceleraret immanitas, g. nosoifitis som tri pecthu inna n-namat cení betis degairiltin leu fessin*, They would be delivered through the sins of the enemy though they had no merits themselves.

LU. 84<sup>a</sup> 18, *ófa focerta miach di fiadublaib fora mulluch, ní foichred ubull for lár acht nogíulad each ubull dib fora finnu*, If a bushel of wild apples had been thrown on his crown, not an apple would have dropped on the ground, but every single apple would have stuck on his hair.

LU. 86<sup>a</sup> 7, *cid formna for n-Erend dothaistis lat, rosbíad failte*, Though the host of the men of Ireland had come with thee, they would have found a welcome.

<sup>1</sup> *mani bed, mainbed*, like Lat. *nisi*—*fuiset*, is common in the sense of 'but for.' Cf. Celt. Zeits. i, 15, VSR. l. 1230 sq.

I said to you above *allerutra* for *altera utra*, yet, however, there was with the ancients *altera utra* and *alterum utrum*.

SR. 1677, *ciarbo gle do chruth ro-choemcláis gné*, Though thy form was bright, thou hast changed thy appearance.

SR. 3677, *ciarbo thromm a n-doire, robæ a n-Dia coa fortacht*, Though their slavery was heavy, their God was helping them.

SR. 3695, *rolad, ciarbo cain a chruth, as hi sruth Nil*, Though his form was fair, he was cast out into the river Nile.

SR. 6185, *roraid David, ciarbo dalb*, David said, though it was a lie.

## 42. C takes the place of A in reported speech after a past tense.

LU. 52<sup>a</sup> 32, *asbert Mugain frisin m-bancainí dobérad a breth féin di dia m-berad a mind óir do chind na rigna*, Mugain said to the woman-satirist she would give her her own price (lit. judgment) if she took the crown of gold from the queen's head.

43. In the apodosis the preterite 'was' is found. Cf. Latin expressions like *longum erat*.

ML. 61<sup>b</sup> 16, *bá immaircids cia duerchomraictis doib in cloini*, It were fitting that they should collect to them the iniquity.

Wb. 10<sup>e</sup> 21, *ba torad sa[i]thir dñun in chrud-so ce dumelmis cecb tuari 7 et ce dugnemmis a n-dugniat ar céli, act ní bad* (sec. fut.) *nerlad na m-braithre*, It were a fruit of our labour in this wise, if we consumed every food, and if we did what our fellows do; but it would not be a strengthening of the brethren. Here the two forms are combined in the positive and negative clauses.

Sg. 197<sup>a</sup> 11, *ba uiss ce notectad ilgotha*, It were right that it should have many sounds.

ML. 35<sup>a</sup> 9, *ba immaircids cid fosodi[n] nogabad Duaid*, It were fitting that David should sing (it) in accordance with that.

LU. 60<sup>a</sup> 35, *fer dorigni inna gnima sin . . . nirbo machthad ce nathised co hor coerichi, 7 ce noeised a cinnu don chelhror ucut*, It were no wonder that a man who had done those deeds, should have come to the boundary of the province, and should have cut the heads from yonder four.

## 44. An apodosis of this form may stand without a protasis.

Sg. 137<sup>b</sup> 5, *uel fortunae casu, g. fadidmed ained act dondecmaing anisiu*, Nature would have suffered it, only that this happened to them.

Wb. 1<sup>a</sup> 3, *húaire rocreitset ardlathi in betho, cretfed cách iarum*, Because the high princes of the world believed, everyone would believe afterwards.

LU. 58<sup>a</sup> 14, *ni tergad side co hor criche cen lin catha imbi*, He would not go to the border of the land without the complement of a battalion around him.

LU. 85<sup>b</sup> 9, *cach spréid tra 7 cach frass doleiced* (imperf.) *a tene for lar*

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*nofonaidfidé céit lóg friu*, Every spark and every shower that his fire cast upon the ground, a hundred calves would have been cooked at them.

LU. 73<sup>b</sup> 2, *bid tú dogénad, or Medb*, "It will be you that would do it," said Medb.

ML. 55<sup>a</sup> 10, *duucthar tria rosc aní nolabraiftis*, Through their eye is expressed what they would say (*sc.* if they spoke).

Wb. 9<sup>b</sup> 1, *ba uissiu sôn* quam inflatio, That were meetter than *inflatio*.

Wb. 14<sup>d</sup> 10, de quibus oportuerat me gaudere, *g. ba uissiu fáilte domsa úaib oldaas brón*, Joy from you to me were more fitting than grief.

LU. 85<sup>b</sup> 13, *ba hé mo lith-sa co m-bad hé docorad and*, That were my feast, that he should chance to come there.

#### 45. D. Protasis, past subjunctive; apodosis, past indicative.

Wb. 10<sup>d</sup> 31, *ut non abutar potestate mea in euangelio, .i. airitiu lóge ar mo precept, ar bóí sôn* in potestate mea *ma dagnenn*, To receive pay for my teaching, for that was in *potestate mea*, if I should do it.

ML. 96<sup>a</sup> 10, *robú mór a homun liumsa ón mad and atbelmais-ni isnaib . . . imnedaib hirobammar 7 maninsoerthae riam*, Great was the fear of it with me, if we should die there in the troubles in which we were, and if we should not be delivered before.

ML. 74<sup>b</sup> 13, *ni bóí numsoirad-sa ar chumachtae n-duini manim-soirad cumachtae n-Dæ*, There was no one to deliver me against the power of man, unless the power of God should deliver me.

Wb. 6<sup>c</sup> 31, *ní ráncatar som less a scribint, mainbed diar nertad*, For they needed not to be written unless it were to strengthen us.

ML. 41<sup>d</sup> 9, *ní ticed (impf.) scis mo chnamai ón cid dian 7 cian notheisinn*, No weariness used to come to my bones though I went fast and far.

#### 46. E. Protasis, past subjunctive; apodosis, present indicative.

Trip. Life 128, l. 27, *dia tarta séuta do chach, ni gataim airi*, If treasures should have been given to anyone, I take them not away from him.

LU. 39<sup>b</sup> 13, *cia bad áil dun techt, ní etam dul cen eochu*, Though we desired to go, we cannot go without horses.

[continued on p. 278.]



Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 6, *ce rudglanta tri bathis níta cumaco do cháingnim*, Though it should have been cleansed through baptism, it is not able to do well.

Trip. Life 28, l. 19, *mad á máthair—adchethe-su is lobru sídí doidisí*, If thou wert to see her mother, she is weaker again.

Fél. 241, *cia ronbeth—cath fri demon detla, diar fortacht—maraid in Crist celna*, Though we should have had a fight against a bold demon, the same Christ abideth to aid us.

#### 47. C. Mixed constructions.

In addition to the examples already quoted I have only the following.

LL. 124<sup>a</sup> 44, *manituothar* (pres. subj.) *ass*, *notícfaind* (sec. fut.), If it be not taken out I would heal thee.

SR. 6033, *cia dobertha* (past subj.) *cét n-unga n-dergóir, ní anais* (fut.) *mac n-Jesse*, Though thou wert to give a hundred ounces of red gold, thou wilt not protect the son of Jesse.

#### 48. A condition or limitation may be expressed by the subjunctive preceded by *acht*, 'but that,' 'provided that.'

Wb. 12<sup>c</sup> 9, *act rísa i n-nom bimmi* (fut.) *acni*, If only I get to heaven, we shall be wise.

Wb. 28<sup>a</sup> 23, *act robé* quies et tranquillitas regibus, *bíeid* (fut.) *dano dúnni a n-dede sín*, If only there be quies et tranquillitas regibus, there will be moreover to us those two things.

Sg. 187<sup>a</sup> 1, *acht asringba désyllabchi, ma thech* (leg. *thechtid* ?) *i re tus, bíd* (fut.) *airdiza*, Provided it exceed two syllables, if it have *i* before *tus*, it will be long.

LU. 71<sup>a</sup> 5, *dogen-sa* (fut.) *aní, or Cuchulaind, acht narmilter úaibsi a n-aruch*, "I will do that," said Cuchulinn, "provided the covenant be not broken on your part."

Wb. 10<sup>c</sup> 1, *isamlid ba coir do fiuss inna n-idol act ní arbarat biuth inna túari adopartar dond idol*, It is thus that it will be right to visit the idols, provided that they do not eat the foods that are offered to the idol.

Wb. 11<sup>d</sup> 9, *sic de illo pane edat, .i. act ní robat pecthe less*, Provided he have no sins.

Wb. 32<sup>a</sup> 24, *act dorrónai cori friissom, dogné* (pres. subj.) *quod dico*, Provided thou make peace with him, thou wilt do quod dico.

[continued on p. 280.]

48\*. With the indicative *acht* followed by the relative means 'but that.'

Wb. 3<sup>d</sup> 13, *accobor lam menmain maid do imradud act nandleicci concupiscentia carnalis*, My mind desires to meditate good, only *concupiscentia carnalis* suffers it not.

Sg. 137<sup>b</sup> 5, *fadidmed aicned acht dondecmaing anisiu*, Nature would have suffered it, only that this happened to them.

Ml. 24<sup>d</sup> 24, *rolegsat canóin fetarlaici 7 nufiadnissi amal runda-legsam-ni acht rondasaibset som tantum*, They have read the canon of the Old Testament and of the New as we have read it, only they have perverted it.

LU. 65<sup>a</sup> 43, *docóestis etir a topor 7 shiab acht nád étad o Medb*, They would have gone between its spring and the mountain, only that it was not obtained from Medb.

Wb. 10<sup>a</sup> 25, *bíth (ipv.) and beos aot ropo i tuil Dés*, Let him abide still therein provided it be in God's will.

Sg. 169<sup>a</sup> 1, *da enim ubique ante finem corripitur, g. acht rop ré foroiunn robbé da 7 níp he som bes forcenn, is (pres.) timmorte acht asringba oin syllab*, If *da* be before the end, and if it be not the end, it is shortened provided it does not exceed one syllable.

Wb. 23<sup>b</sup> 24, *ni imned lim, aot rop Crist pridches et immerada cach*, I deem it no tribulation provided that everyone preaches and meditates on Christ.

LU. 61<sup>b</sup> 6, *acht rop airdere-sa, maith lim oen co beind acht óen lá for domun*, Provided I be famous, I care not though I were only one day in the world.

LU. 77<sup>b</sup> 3, *acht rofessin' combad tú, ol Cuchulaind, niticfaind (sec. fut.) tria bith str*, "Had I only known that it was thou," said Cuchulinn, "I would not have healed thee through the ages."

ML. 34<sup>a</sup> 9, *acht ducoistis oinecht cosin rig, combetis (past subj.) i n-doiri semper*, If only they went once to the king, that they might be in captivity *semper*.

Wb. 10<sup>b</sup> 27, *a fús-sin immurgu ba maith óen aot ní bed uall and*, That knowledge, however, were good, provided there be no pride therein.

LU. 83<sup>a</sup> 39, *bói cara dam isin tír-se, for Conaire, acht rofesmaís conair dia thig*, "I had a friend in this land," said Conaire, "if we only knew the way to his house."

Wb. 22<sup>d</sup> 15, *accipite armaturam Dei, ut possitis resistere, .i. aot robed arma Dæ fóirib*, Provided the armour of God were upon you.

Trip. Life 242, l. 24, *maith fer Patraic acht minapad óen, fó fer Patraic acht nípád óen*, A good man, Patrick, but for one thing; an excellent man, Patrick, but for one thing.

49. In later Irish, though not in the Glosses, a concessive sentence may be introduced by *oen co n*, 'without that,' 'though not.'

Ir. Text. i, 97, l. 9, *áta biad lat oen co n-essara*, There is food with thee, though thou dost not eat it.

<sup>1</sup> In Wb. 124<sup>a</sup> 25 there seems to be a subjunctive of this kind without *acht*, *deich míli briathar ar labrad ilbéire et nistuccin*, "Ten thousand words" for "speaking many languages," if I did not understand them (lit. and I should not understand them).

## 49\*. Compare the indicatives.

Rev. Celt. vi, 200, *dobér-sa m'ingin duit, cin oo fetar cia tu*,  
I will give thee my daughter, though I do not know who thou art.

LU. 120<sup>a</sup> 23, *rochúalatár uilí an rorádi in ben, oen oo n-accatar*,  
They heard all that the woman said, though they did not see her.

Trip. Life 6, l. 21, *robai dorcata mór cén co roscail grian na firinne a ruithin*,  
There was great darkness till the sun of truth shed abroad his radiance.

LL. 124<sup>b</sup> 54, *is lór d'anfir dúib comrac ria far siar cen co tissaid do chath ria far n-athair*, It is sufficient wrong for you to have had intercourse with your sister, without your going to fight with your father.

LL. 55<sup>a</sup> 21, *raraideobair cen co tucaind<sup>1</sup> ar ais doberaínd* (sec. fut.) *ar écin*, You said that if I did not give him willingly, I should give him under compulsion.

LL. 254<sup>a</sup> 21, *cen co beth sibí síir sund, arse, doberaínd-sea 7 mo da mac cath do Chonchubur*, "Though ye were not here at all," said he, "I and my two sons would give battle to Conchobur."

LL. 107<sup>a</sup> 12, *cen co beth do tréneraib and acht Fergus Mac Róig ba lór do chalmataid*, Though there were no mighty man there but Fergus Mac Róig, it were sufficiency of valour.

LL. 74<sup>b</sup> 43, *fo leis gid norissed, 7 ba fo leis gin co rissed*, He was satisfied if it reached him, and he was satisfied if it did not, i.e. he did not care whether it reached him or not.

#### 6. SENTENCES OF COMPARISON.

50. Except in the usage of § 51 the subjunctive with *amal* 'as' is rare.

I have noted only the following instances:—

ML. 32<sup>d</sup> 2, *rogat—ne commotius in se quam modus patitur—uindicetur .i. acht amal fundlú*, But as he can endure it.

LU. 36<sup>a</sup> 43, *óntadaigfí ule do fúgiull fíráin in chomded erníse do chách amal dlé*, All will agree to the just judgment of the Lord, who will give to every man as he deserves.

Cormac, s.v. *ness*, *amal m-bea aurgnatu in baill isin duiniú hi fuirmíther in crecht, is faí dano bíth ind eraic*, As is the dignity of the limb in a man on which the wound is inflicted, in accordance with that is the eric-fine.

The subjunctive is of the same nature as the subjunctive in conditional and relative sentences.

<sup>1</sup> In LL. 55<sup>a</sup> 10, the same sense is expressed by *arco n-*; *is fir aní radit, arétesa-su ar ais do mbéira ar écin*, What they say is true, if thou do not give him willingly thou shalt give him under compulsion.



50\*. *Amal* is usually followed by the indicative, e.g. :—

Wb. 12<sup>a</sup> 12, *amal fongní cach ball dialailiu isin chorp, ara fogna talland cáich uanni dialailiu*, As each member serves the other in the body, that the talent of each of us should serve the other.

Ml. 53<sup>b</sup> 19, *dia n-gessid-si Dia amal nundguidem-ni*, If ye pray to God as we pray to Him.

Ml. 58<sup>c</sup> 7, *amal iarmindochad*, As he used to seek it.

Ml. 26<sup>b</sup> 8, *amal rombói ingnae cáich is samlid ronsnainm[ni]gestar*, As was the knowledge of each, it is thus that he named them.

Ml. 30<sup>d</sup> 2, *iustitiae reposcit officium—reddere quod debetur singulis .i. amal m-bias (fut.) a gnim cáich 7 a airilliud*, As is the work of every man and his desert.

51. With the past subjunctive *amal* is common in the sense of 'as though' (*tamquam*).

Wb. 9<sup>a</sup> 19, *tamquam non uenturus sim ad nos*, .i. *amal ni risinn-se do bar cose*, As though I were not coming to correct you.

Wb. 19<sup>b</sup> 6, *ropridhad dúib céssad Crist amal adceithe l. forérad dúib amal bid fíadib nocrochthe*, Christ's Passion hath been preached to you as though it were seen, or it has been announced to you as if He had been crucified before you.

Ml. 42<sup>e</sup> 19, *ut alicuius potentis*, .i. *amal bid alai[li] chumacht-aig rethes<sup>1</sup> cen erchót á retho*, As though it were of some mighty man who runs without impediment to his running.

Wb. 10<sup>b</sup> 5, *qui habent uxores tamquam non habentes*, .i. *amal nísteectitis* .i. *co beít amal innahi nad tectat sécthi*, As if they had them not, or that they may be as those that have not wives.

Ml. 68<sup>b</sup> 3, *quasi occupaueritis—magis quam retinueritis*, .i. *amal ni bad<sup>2</sup> atrab n-duib fadesin acht bid ar eccein nusgabtis*, As though it were not a dwelling to them themselves, but they had seized it by force.<sup>3</sup>

52. So the past subjunctive is used with *oldaas*, *indaas*, 'than.'

Ml. 59<sup>a</sup> 7, *is miscegiu—oldaas bid iniquus asberad*, It is more odious than though he had said *iniquus*.

Ml. 123<sup>c</sup> 10, *is huilliu sém indaas bid cen sommataid leu* (MS. *leu cen sommataid*) *doathchretis*, That is more than if they had been redeemed without wealth with them.

Ml. 135<sup>a</sup> 13, *ni lugu immefolngi sonartai do neuch in collud indaas bid suide garait nosessed*, Not less does sleep produce strength to a man than though he sat down for a little.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The verb is here in the indicative because it is not part of the comparison: if the meaning had been "as though some mighty man had run," it would have been *amal bid alaile cumachtach noreased*, cf. § 70.

<sup>2</sup> In the Glosses the substantive verb in this formula without the negative is *bid*, with the negative *bad* or *bed*; the negative is *ni*. In later Irish these rules are not adhered to: cf. LL. 251<sup>a</sup> 1, *ferait failti frias amal bad a domun aile thissad*, They greet him as though he had come from another world. LU. 100<sup>b</sup> 39, *amal na dernad*, As though he had not made.

<sup>3</sup> In Wb. 1<sup>b</sup> 16 there is a curious gloss, *non sicut Deum*, .i. *amal asbadia*, which looks like a contamination of *amal as n-Dia*, "as He is God," and *amal ni bad Dia*, "as though He were not God."

<sup>4</sup> In Ml. 39<sup>a</sup> 18 *quam—committre*, g. *indaas dorogbainn*, the construction is different; the subjunctive, according to the glossator's custom, translates the Latin infinitive, cf. § 68. Similarly, with the present subjunctive, Ml. 105<sup>b</sup> 6, *quam—peruenire*, g. *dundórbiam-ni*, .i. *indaas beummi i n-duiri concci sentaid*, Than that we should be in captivity till old age.

**52\*. Compare the indicatives.**

ML. 111<sup>c</sup> 8, supplicia—eruditoria potius quam ultoria fuisse laetatus est, .i. **oldaas ata n-** (pres.) *diglaidi*, Than that they are vindictive.

ML. 87<sup>a</sup> 8, *is mou dundrigensat indaas oidrairleicis-siu*, They did it more than Thou didst permit.

Cf. ML. 64<sup>c</sup> 22, 136<sup>b</sup> 7.

53. Similarly with *is cumme*, 'it is the same.'

Wb. 1<sup>d</sup> 20, *is cumme dó bid imdíbhthe*, It is the same to him as though he were circumcised.

Wb. 10<sup>e</sup> 3, *is cumme doib bid idalte domeltis*, It is the same to them as though they ate an idol-offering.

Wb. 2<sup>b</sup> 14, *is cumme ni bad móidem*, It is the same as though it were not boasting.

Cf. Ml. 67<sup>a</sup> 8, Sg. 10<sup>a</sup> 11, LL. 248<sup>b</sup> 12.

## 7. TEMPORAL CLAUSES.

54. With the temporal particles *intan*, etc., the subjunctive is sometimes found. The conditions are of the same kind as in relative clauses.

Wb. 30<sup>b</sup> 4, *haec commune, testificans coram domino, i. an nongeiss cáoh imma comalnad*, When thou entrest everyone for its fulfilment.

Ml. 27<sup>b</sup> 10, *ordo rerum exigit ut ab omnibus periculis eruti—canamus, g. anuman (=an-nu-m-ban) airoheltai*, When we are taken.

Ml. 34<sup>a</sup> 10, *cuius facti domini uterentur captivo populo prout ira uictorum uoluisset, g. amtis forcemacht*, When they had been made.

Ml. 39<sup>d</sup> 19, *ut adulationibus inretitus—iecieretur de uia modestiae suae, g. a m-bad n-inlinaigthe*, When he had been ensnared.

Ml. 29<sup>d</sup> 9, *hoc—a comitibus Daud dicitur ut loca fugiens diuersa commutet, g. an nutesed*, When he fled.

Ml. 42<sup>e</sup> 31, *conlucescere uniuerso orbi uel uno loco sistens potuisset uel uno tractatu means, g. no a conimtéised*, When it went about.

Ml. 94<sup>e</sup> 17, *cia durat dignil for Assaru, ata digal aile les for peethachu dano intan bes n-dil do*, Though He inflicted vengeance on the Assyrians, He hath moreover another vengeance on sinners when He pleaseth.

Ml. 51<sup>a</sup> 18, *intan immeromastar són nach noib ara cuintea (pres. subj.) dilgud De isind aimsir sin*, When any saint transgresses, that he seek the forgiveness of God at that time.

LBr. 261<sup>b</sup> 1, *intan tiastar don oiffrind—congain cride telcud dér, turcabail ná lám*, When they go to mass—contrition of heart, shedding

[continued on p. 288.]

## 53\*. Compare the indicatives.

Wb. 12<sup>c</sup> 11, *is cumme adciām-ni na rúna diadi et adci nech tri scáth*, We see the divine mysteries, just as one sees through a shadow.

Ml. 61<sup>a</sup> 33, *is cumme m-bís ualetudo ænartae 7 ualetudo sonartae*, There is equally *ualetudo* weakness and *ualetudo* strength.

## 54\*. With these particles the usual mood is the indicative, e.g.:—

Bcr. 33<sup>b</sup> 18, *a n-aslui grién foa fuined dosbí dond orient conaci a n-æscæ*, When the sun goes to his setting he turns to the east, so that he sees the moon.

Wb. 14<sup>c</sup> 2, *adiuuantibus et uobis*, .i. *a fotegid-si*, When ye help.

Ml. 48<sup>a</sup> 12, *moriar—te precibus auersato*, g. *an nunatbartaigfe-siu* (fut.), When Thou opposest.

Ml. 50<sup>c</sup> 3, *appare salutem daturus*, a *n-ðundabieræ*, When Thou art about to give.

Ml. 95<sup>a</sup> 9, *uelut die capturi, annungebtais*, When they were about to take.

Sgr. 190<sup>b</sup> 3, *issed asber in fer intan m-bis oc ind oipred*, This the man says when he is at the work.

Ml. 72<sup>d</sup> 12, *intan m-bís int imfognam fri ainsid dundi as iudica, is dú digail teit*, When *iudica* is construed with the accusative, it applies to vengeance.

Psalt. Hib. l. 54, *intan dombertis* (impf.) *desmrecht a in Chanóin, ba hóinlebur leu in Saltair*, Whenever they took an example from the Canon, the Psalter was counted by them as one book.

Wb. 33<sup>d</sup> 10, *intan durairngert, Dia du Abracham a maith sin, ducuitig tarais fadeissin*, When God promised that good to Abraham, He swore by Himself.

Ml. 57<sup>c</sup> 7, *intan luaithfidder* (fut.) *a chaingen som hi tig Dæ 7 miastar* (fut.) *foir, bith* (fut.) *soer som asin brithemnacht hisin*, When his case is set in motion in the house of God and judgment is passed on him, he will be free from that judgment.

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of tears, raising of the hands. But l. 4, *co f6initiu d'uaileho tan tiagar do ldim*, With confession of sins when they go to confession.

LBr. 261<sup>b</sup> 37, *intan elomar in clocan—tocbam* (ipv.) *críde suas*, When we hear the little bell let us lift up the heart.

LBr. 261<sup>a</sup> 19, *bat mebrach sa noem scriptuir tan nótgaba ord*, Thou shalt be learned in Holy Scripture when thou art ordained.

LBr. 249<sup>b</sup> 79, *intan dogné ornaiǵthi, eirg a n-inad n-derrit*, When thou prayest, go into a secret place.

Sg. 66<sup>b</sup> 14, *noch ba ed ba riagolda immurgu, inderbus and intain bed femi-, 7 derba* (*derbas* ?) *intain bed mascul*, However, that would be regular uncertainty when it was feminine, certainty when it was masculine.

ML. 118<sup>a</sup> 11, *ne moerorem seruitutis pussillanimo ferendo succumbant, .i. lasse follosat*, When they bear.

ML. 127<sup>a</sup> 18, *cum fenerator soluendo esse nequierit, l. soluen-.i. lasse asriaa*, When he pays.

ML. 29<sup>b</sup> 10, *cessare fac operis ministeria ipsa soluendo, .i. lasse dufuasailoe*, When Thou loosest.

LU. 74<sup>a</sup> 36, *ni haurussa dam oomrao fri bansodil oéin nombéo isind nith-ao*, It is not easy for me to have intercourse with a woman as long as I am in this contest.

Wb. 33<sup>a</sup> 17, *oéin bes nuiednise gnid oach dagnim*, As long as the New Testament abides, do ye every good work.

55. With *resiu* 'before,' the subjunctive is the regular construction.

Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 2, *molid 7 dilgenigid resiu rocérsacha*, He praises and soothes before he reprimands.

Wb. 29<sup>a</sup> 28, *biit alaili rofinnatar a peethe roaíu docóí grád forru*, There are some whose sins are found out before their ordination.

Wb. 29<sup>d</sup> 23, *fo besad fir trebuir crenas tñir dia chlainnd cid reaíu robeá cland les, is samlid arrobort som ar n-ico-ni cid ríafu robeimmis etir*, After the manner of a prudent man who buys land for his children, even before he has children, it is thus that he purposed our salvation even before we were at all.

ML. 112<sup>b</sup> 12, *is deniu adciam hua sulib risiu rocloammar in fogur hua ohluasaib*, We see more quickly with the eyes before we hear the sound with the ears.

Wb. 27<sup>c</sup> 8, *arna érbarat domini, robtar irlithi ar moge dúun reaíu tised híress, robtar anirlithi iarum*, That the masters may

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Wb. 14<sup>a</sup> 25, *ueniet cum ei uacuum fuerit .i. lasse bas* (fut.) *n-udín do*, l. *nípa ainmíthiu*<sup>1</sup> *intain ronicea*, When he has leisure, or it will not be more unseasonable (?) when he comes.

Sg. 29<sup>b</sup> 11, *dicendo .i. lasse asmbiur*, When I say.

Wb. 1<sup>c</sup> 9, *eadem enim agis qui iudicas, .i. lasse cocéitbani*, When thou consentest.

Wb. 12<sup>c</sup> 11, *is cumme adciam ní na rúna diadi et adcli nech ní tri scúath céin m-bimme* in corpore, We see the divine mysteries as a man sees something through a shadow, as long as we are in the body.

Wb. 8<sup>b</sup> 1, *comadas lobre et immomun forsin mug céin m-bíis oo fognam dia choimdid*, Meet is weakness and great fear on the slave so long as he is serving his lord.

Wb. 17<sup>c</sup> 1, *céin ropridchos doib it Macedonii domroisechtatar*, So long as I preached to you the Macedonians cared for me.

Ml. 33<sup>a</sup> 1, *donec—auertis, g. ceine nosoife-siu* (fut.) *.i. ised a erat fritammiurat inna huli remiærbartmar ceine nosoisiu* (leg. *nosoife-siu*) *húaim*, As long as Thou turnest, i.e., so long will all the things that we have mentioned afflict me, as long as Thou turnest from me.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Stokes suggests that this is for *ainmíthigiu*; perhaps phonetic for *ainmíthchíu*.

not say, "Our servants were obedient to us before Faith came, they were disobedient afterwards."<sup>1</sup>

Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 8, *tairchechuin resiu forcuimsed*, He prophesied before it happened.

Ml. 104<sup>a</sup> 5, *asindet som tuidech(t) doib dochum a tire—oid resiu dondichaitis asin doir[?]*, He declares that they should go to their land, even before they went out of the captivity.

Further Wb. 18<sup>a</sup> 23; Sg. 184<sup>b</sup> 3, 188<sup>a</sup> 10; Ml. 38<sup>c</sup> 9, 47<sup>b</sup> 16, 58<sup>d</sup> 7, 123<sup>a</sup> 1; LU. 59<sup>a</sup> 43, 97<sup>a</sup> 21, 83<sup>a</sup> 16; LL. 248<sup>b</sup> 17, 124<sup>b</sup> 42, 287<sup>a</sup> 37, 38.<sup>2</sup>

56. *co n-* 'until.'

The use of *co n-* in temporal clauses is closely parallel to its use in final clauses; it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between the two.

Of an event purposed or expected *co n-* is followed by the subjunctive.

57. (a) Present subjunctive after a primary tense.

Wb. 29<sup>a</sup> 22, *ni taibre grád for nech o-feser a inruccus don grád sin*, Thou shalt not confer orders on anyone till thou knowest his fitness for those orders.

Ir. Text. i, 268, l. 8, *co n-daesur bídd 7 co rochtlur ni dingén comlond*, Till I have eaten food and till I have slept I will not fight.

LU. 61<sup>a</sup> 10, *bíam cú-sa do imdegail do chethra . . . co rása in cú hisin*, I will be a dog to protect thy cattle till that dog grows.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wb. 29<sup>b</sup> 2, *arna derbarthar, roptar irilithi ar moge dún otanico híress, et it anirlithi iarum*, That it may not be said, "Our servants were obedient till Faith came, and they are disobedient afterwards." Here with *co n-* 'until,' the indicative is used, cf. §§ 57<sup>a</sup>, 58.

<sup>2</sup> The only example of the indicative that I have is from a late text, Stokes, Lives of Saints, l. 3336, *atconnaic mthair Brennain aislinge resiu rogenair Brennain*, B.'s mother saw a vision before B. was born.

<sup>3</sup> In later Irish other particles are found—

LU. 113<sup>a</sup> 4, *nococheitiub sa duitis . . . n6oorudusce Coinculaind*, I will not believe thee till thou raisest Cuchulinn.

LU. 51<sup>a</sup> 8, *is and noadnaictis clanna hEremoin—noco tano Cremthand*, There the children of Eremon used to be buried till Cremthand came.

LL. 80<sup>a</sup> 21, *is aire sin na coriaat fir h-Erend timchell ar galaib oenfir, ni riccub-sa aris*, Therefore, till the men of Ireland have had their turn in single combat, I shall not come again.

LL. 258<sup>a</sup> 4, *nocorag-sa iar dom thig na raib for bethaid d' Ullaib*, I will not go westward to my house till there is not a man of Ulster alive.

[continued on p. 292.]



57\*, 58\*. When *co n-* has the purely temporal sense of 'until' it is followed by the indicative.

Wb. 24<sup>b</sup> 5, *is irchríde utmall each cainchomrao conditicoi*, Perishable and unstable is every peace till thou comest to it.

Wb. 28<sup>b</sup> 24, *ni ib fínn co m-bi meso*, He does not drink wine till he is drunk.

ML. 91<sup>d</sup> 2, *ní bí cian co n-id apail*, It does not exist long till it dies.

LU. 68\* 37, *machdad limsa, ol Fergus, a fot co tecat síde asca ceasaib*, "I marvel," said Fergus, "that it is so long till they come out of their sickness."

Imram Brain, p. 11, *mescid fairggi co m-bí fuil*, He stirs the sea till it is blood.

Wb. 21<sup>c</sup> 22, *ní fífir cíd muntar nime co n-idrofoilsigsetar apstíl doib*, Not even heaven's household knew it till apostles manifested it to them.

Wb. 5<sup>c</sup> 10, *robói aimser nad rochreitsid co n-dubtaníoc misericordia Dei*, There was a time that ye did not believe till there came to you *misericordia Dei*.

LL. 251<sup>b</sup> 11, *ni comairnecmar-ni co comairnecmar oc tabairt in ehlaidib issind abai[n]d im láim-sea*, We met not till we met when the sword was put into my hand in the river.

[continued on p. 293.]

LU. 69<sup>a</sup> 4, *ní scarfom in cruth-sa, ol Etarcomol, cor-ruc-sa do chen[n]-su nó co farcab-sa mo chend latsa*, "We shall not part thus," said Etarcomol, "till I carry off thy head or till I leave my head with thee."

LU. 75<sup>a</sup> 46, *bia fíond anim sin co rosecha bráth bennachtan fort*, Thou shalt be under that blemish till a judgment of blessing comes upon thee.

LU. 66<sup>a</sup> 4, *indnaidid sund co tísa asind fíd, or Fergus, 7 níp machdad lib eíd élan co tísor*, "Wait there till I come from the wood," said Fergus, "and marvel not though it be long till I come."

LU. 72<sup>a</sup> 47, *táet cet léch uáib lasinn ingin út co ria<sup>1</sup> medon in maigi*, Let a hundred warriors of you go with the maiden yonder as far as (lit. till she reach) the middle of the plain.

LU. 82<sup>b</sup> 18, *conomthí de chind chluarda, ní reg*, Till my own turn comes (lit. till it comes to me at the end of a circuit), I will not go.

LL. 101<sup>a</sup> 45, *fostá Ulaid—co tí nert don t-éon—, go rolína grián glenta—na h-Ereinn*, Keep back the Ulstermen till strength comes to the omen, till the sun fills the glens of Ireland.

#### 58. (b) Past subjunctive after a secondary tense.

Wb. 25<sup>a</sup> 6, *placuit nos remanere, .i. o-dísed ar muintir*, Till our household came.

Wb. 21<sup>a</sup> 1, *in dispensationem plenitudinis temporum, .i. con-ditísed ind aimser ba chomadas dó*, Till the time should come that was fitting to Him.

LU. 83<sup>a</sup> 15, *ní bóí a córugud corised Conaire*, It was impossible to make peace between them till Conaire came.

LU. 59<sup>a</sup> 25, *ní theged nech cucu co n-arnastá a fíesam*, No one used to go to them till his protection was covenanted.

LL. 278<sup>b</sup> 44, *rop é a maithius frim ona ibed (impf.) dig o-tardad affaig n-dergóir cocha hoendige dam*, Such was his goodness towards me that he drank not till he had given me at every draught an affaig of red gold.

LU. 69<sup>a</sup> 24, *asrubairt, ol Cuchulaind, ní regad (sec. fut.) cor-rucad mo chend-sa no co farebad som dano a chend lemsa*, "He said," quoth Cuchulinn, "that he would not go till he had taken my head, or till he had left his head with me."

<sup>1</sup> The corresponding indicative *corrici* is common in the sense of 'until,' 'as far as'; for examples, see Ascoli, Gloss. xciv.

LU. 73<sup>a</sup> 24, *ansait and sin trá cor-rubad and Cáur*, They stayed there then till Caur was slain there.

LU. 65<sup>a</sup> 1, *ní rúbai Cuchulaind nech—co rancatar Cuailnge*, Cuchulinn did not slay anyone till they reached Cuailnge.

Imram Brain, p. 31, *ní bu chian iarsin co ráncatar tír inna m-ban*, It was not long after that till they reached the Land of Women.

LL. 101<sup>a</sup> 45, *tarrasatar and co tania nert don t-seón, go rolfín gríán glenta—in choicid*, They remained there till strength came to the omen, till the sun filled the glens of the province.

LL. 281<sup>a</sup> 44, ní theiged in rí immach nach i tech co n-dechsad chuaiseom, The king used not to go out or in till he had gone to him.

Ir. Text. i, 215, l. 18, nosirfed (sec. fut.) in Cú in m-bith m-bras, co fagbad liaig da leges, Cuchulinn would have searched the great world till he had found a leech to heal him.

Cf. also Cormac, s.v. *Prull*, ba suail cor-roibdithe in curach, The boat was within a little of being swamped.

#### 59. (c) Past subjunctive with primary tense.

Wb. 8<sup>d</sup> 26, isairi trimrothorndius-sa indium inna huili-sa—o-sechide humaldóit hudimse .i. for nebmóidem hi magistru et nebmess for nech im maid fa olo odidmessed Dia, It is, therefore, that I have in a figure transferred into myself all these things—so that ye might follow humility from me, that is, your not boasting as to masters, and not judging of anyone until God should have judged him.

### 8. FINAL CLAUSES.

60. Under this head are included besides final clauses proper, clauses dependent on verbs of ordering, requesting, and the like, also clauses following certain adjectival expressions. In these clauses the mood is the subjunctive.

#### A. Final Clauses Proper.

With these are included a number of instances in which the dependent clause expresses not so much purpose as possibility.

#### 61. (a) Present subjunctive after primary tense.

Wb. 7<sup>d</sup> 8, dobeir som ainm bráthre doib arna epret is ara miscuis in cúrsachad, He gives them the name of brothers, that they may not say the reproving is owing to hatred of them.

Wb. 9<sup>b</sup> 2, ut tollatur de medio nestrum qui hoc opus fecit, .i. coní bé eter in peccato act co beid in poenitentia, That he may not be at all in peccato, but that he may be in poenitentia.

Wb. 5<sup>b</sup> 35, ne forte nec tibi parcat, .i. coní ecmi nádnaírchíssa act is co arcessea, That it may not happen that He spare not, but it is that He may spare.

Wb. 5<sup>a</sup> 5, is hecen sainecosco leosom for accrannaib innani prechíte pacem—ara n-epertar is do immarchor chóre dotiagat ind fír-so, They deem it necessary to have a peculiar appearance on the sandals of

[continued on p. 296.]

60\*-64\*. In consecutive sentences a result is expressed by the indicative mood.

MI. 82<sup>d</sup> 6, *uestigia uiantium regis erroris immunia*, .i. *ona bf comrorcon ánd*, So that there is no error there.

Wb. 3<sup>c</sup> 38, *romrir mo thol colnide co n-dumfel fo mám pectho*, My carnal concupiscence has sold me so that I am under the yoke of sin.

Wb. 2<sup>d</sup> 16, *hóre ronsóir-ni hic a peccatis nostris co n-dan firianichthi údib, mór ní bes n-adblamu foir ar sóirad ab ira futura*, Since He has saved us *hic a peccatis nostris*, so that we are justified from them, much readier will He be to save us *ab ira futura*.

MI. 51<sup>d</sup> 3, *obdendo concludens .i. huandí fristarat .i. in talmáin n-impu dí cach leth cona tiagat lara crícha corai*, Because He opposed, to wit, the earth about them on every side, so that they pass not beyond their proper bounds.

MI. 51<sup>d</sup> 15, *sechis rofaisigestar són, co n-dat roli in[n]a aicéin hisin*, That is, He manifested, so that those causes are clear.

MI. 129<sup>d</sup> 15, *quibus bibulae stagnarentur arenae, .i. co m-bíth loch foraið*, So that there used to be a lake upon them.

MI. 102<sup>a</sup> 9, *cludiebantur, .i. ind namait, ona cumgaitis ní dúnni*, The enemies, so that they could do nothing to us.

[continued on p. 297.]



those that preach peace, so that it may be said of them, "it is on an errand of peace that these men come."

Wb. 16<sup>a</sup> 24, *is do bar tinchosc, ara n-dernaid a n-dogniam-ni et arna dernaid an nad denam-ni*, It is to instruct you, that ye may do what we do, and that ye may not do what we do not.

LU. 58<sup>b</sup> 5, *tucaid carpat damsa, tra ol Fergus, co n-datuc-sa ass, co n-dercais in oen léod a bun*, "Give me a chariot," then said Fergus, "that I may take it out, that thou mayest see whether its end is one cut."

LL. 250<sup>a</sup> 14, *tiagam ass, ol Ailill, co n-accamar na mmilchona oc toffund*, "Let us go forth," said Ailill, "that we may see the greyhounds hunting."

LU. 76<sup>b</sup> 20, *gressed nech uaib—in fer nárthaeth i n-ascid*, Let one of you stir up the man that he may not fall for nothing.

LU. 82<sup>a</sup> 22, *todeochud-sa, or Diarmait, o Chonchobur co n-erborra fri Medb 7 Ailill co relect na bæ ass*, "I have come," said Diarmait, "from Conchobor to say to Medb and Ailill that they should let the cattle go."

#### 62. (b) Past subjunctive after secondary tense.

ML. 125<sup>c</sup> 2, *asrubart Dia hi recht ón ara sechitis a thimnae arna ructais i n-dori*, He said a God in law (*in lege*) that they might follow His ordinances, that they might not be carried into captivity.

ML. 100<sup>c</sup> 24, *ut non paterent, g. coniptis ersoilcthi*, That they might not be open.

ML. 91<sup>b</sup> 7, *is do dugnfinn-se anisin, co m-bin cosmail fri encu*, To this end used I to do that that I might be like to the innocent.

LU. 20<sup>b</sup> 15, *muchais Cuchulaind a étan ri lár arnáchandercachad a hernochna*, Cuchulinn buried his face on the ground that he might not see her nakedness.

LU. 46<sup>a</sup> 16, *dognither (hist. pres.) tarbfess leo co fiastais estia cia dia tibertais rigi*, A bull-feast was made by them that they might know from it to whom they should give the kingship.

LL. 260<sup>a</sup> 12, *is i liss fo leith roalt onach acced fer di Ulltaib hi cosinn úair nofoad la Conchobor*, She was brought up in a *lis* apart, that no man of Ulster might see her till the time that she slept with Conchobor.

Ir. Text. i, 265, l. 19, *afraig Cuculaind na betis éss na fledi cen ól cen tomoltus*, Cuchulinn arose that the feasters might not be without drinking, without eating.

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LU. 40<sup>b</sup> 29, *rosoied a orci i r-richt dobran, co m-bíd na degaid-si fona uscib—cach conair noimthiged-si*, Her lapdog was turned into the form of an otter, so that it used to be after her under the waters, each way that she would go.

LU. 128<sup>a</sup> 3, *nagellús ona facabtais cid meenu na fér*, They used to graze it so that they used not to leave even the roots of the grasses.

Wb. 9<sup>b</sup> 19, *cotobárrig tra ort precepte onachdigtith*, The order of preaching, then, hath constrained you, so that ye have not gone.

MI. 116<sup>c</sup> 5, *ut nullus quiuerit, .i. coní coimnacuir*, So that he could not.

LU. 77<sup>a</sup> 6, *léicid som cloich asa tailm co memaid a súil ina cind*, He throws a stone from his sling so that her eye broke in her head.

MI. 53<sup>a</sup> 13, *nullus impius—uindictam iudicantis effugiet, g. coní imgeba*, So that he will not avoid.

MI. 61<sup>b</sup> 12, *in aeterna obliuia contrudetur, .i. connacon-bia foraithtet n-de etir*, So that there will be no memory of him at all.

LU. 100<sup>a</sup> 8, *immacossaitiub dá cich cacha óen mná la Ultu com-matnairofe dóib*, I will put strife between the two breasts of every woman in Ulster, so that they will crush one another.

LU. 56<sup>b</sup> 41, *arlifim-ni na hócu oná gébat forsín t-slóg*, We will take measures for the warriors so that they shall not prevail over the host.

LU. 71<sup>a</sup> 37, *is dóig immérthai (sec. fut.) ceilg fon cruth sin conná fostba sib céin co tí la h-Ultu don chath*, It is probable ye would practise guile in that way, so that he will not hold you back till he comes with the Ulstermen to the battle.

LU. 103<sup>b</sup> 6, *rósini co taillfed<sup>1</sup> fertraig feroclaig eter cach da asna do*, He stretched himself so that a warrior's foot would find room between every pair of his ribs.

MI. 98<sup>c</sup> 8, *ne misserationis ius peccatorum cumulo uinceretur, .i. conna biad<sup>1</sup> dliyed n-erchissechta la Dia*, So that there would not be a law of compassion with God.

<sup>1</sup> Here the secondary future is used just as in conditional sentences. In LU. 74<sup>a</sup> 15, it seems to come nearer to purpose: *ní ruba é nachamfaeba-sa cen bráthir, ar is aiví doberar som chucutsu ar daig co forgénmais ar n-dís debuid*, Slay him not, that thou leave me not without a brother; for it is for that that he is brought to you, that we two should come to strife. But the sense of purpose comes from the context rather than from the form.

Ir. Text. i, 227, l. 1, *rocroth dano Manannan a brat eter Coinculaind 7 Faind, conna rochomraictis dogrés*, Manannan shook his mantle between Cuchulinn and Fand, that they might come together no more for ever.

63. The subjunctive may express possibility rather than purpose.

Wb. 5<sup>b</sup> 11, *insi a meit friscomaratar co n-dositis huili a fide Christi*, Have they offended so greatly that all should fall *a fide Christi*?

Ml. 96<sup>c</sup> 13, *roleld[at]ar dib connachagluaistis in charbait*, They stuck to them so that the chariots could not move.

LU. 103<sup>a</sup> 34, *nirthuargaibset cid co tísad gath etorro 7 talmáin*, They did not raise it, even so that the wind could pass between it and the earth.

LL. 68<sup>a</sup> 45, *nosblathiged ona tairised cuil forru*, He smoothed them so that a fly could not have rested on them.

64. (c) Past subjunctive after primary tense.

Here the past subjunctive seems to express partly possibility, partly a less direct purpose, or a purpose of which the fulfilment is doubtful.

Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 9, *debitores sumus non carni, ut secundum carnem uiuamus, .i. co n-gnemmis gnímu colno ut ante fecimus*, That we should do the deeds of flesh.

Wb. 11<sup>a</sup> 7, *omnis autem, qui in agone contendit, ab omnibus se abstinet, .i. ar m-bad irlamu de don budíth*, That he might be the readier for the victory.

Wb. 15<sup>c</sup> 16, *ut absorbeatur quod mortale est a uita, .i. o-tuidchised uita tarsin corp-sin*, That immortality might overcome that body.

Ml. 70<sup>c</sup> 13, *si—praedicaueris ostentationi non deuotioni seruiens, .i. co n-idchomallada hua gnímaib*, That thou mightest fulfil it in deeds.

Wb. 15<sup>d</sup> 6, *occasionem damus uobis gloriandi pro nobis, ut habeatis ad eos, qui in faciem gloriantur, et non in corde, .i. co m-bad míni for mídém-si .i. co n-érbarid-si* (pres. subj.), *anadténat ar magistir ní dignem-ní ce napridchíd-si*, So that we might be your boast, that is, so that ye may say: "What our masters do not, we will not do, though ye preach it."

Wb. 28<sup>a</sup> 1, *uolentes esse legis doctores, .i. (oro)ibtis oc denum recthe la ríga*, So that they might be making law with kings.

[continued on p. 300.]





ML. 89<sup>a</sup> 13, et dominabitur a mari usque ad mare, fama, non isre, i. eo m-bad *flaith iar fir óia*, That it should be a dominion according to truth.

ML. 109<sup>a</sup> 5, ní tait *Dis fo teirngers comidehumcaiged*. God does not go under a promise that He should alter it.

SR. 1573, a *Ead danam—pennait buan is a'heirge, corghannais fhad rig na rocht ni dior cintoib dior tarmtherht*, Eve, let us do lasting penance and repentance, so that we might cleanse away before the King of the laws somewhat of our sins, of our transgression.

SR. 1422, annid *frim. a noob-cinglia, eo m-blainnd ris a-dul iarmach ni do thornud crainn bethad*, Wait for me, ye holy angels, that I might taste before going forth somewhat of the fruit of the Tree of Life.<sup>1</sup>

65. B. The subjunctive after verbs of *commanding, entreating, and the like.*

ML. 46<sup>a</sup> 12, asbeir *son friens torus ara-dacumcabat 7 ara-daercolleot*, He says to the doors that they should raise and open themselves.

ML. 3<sup>a</sup> 13, *ciasidrubart-na nad tintae-siu*, Though I have said that thou shouldst not translate.

ML. 102<sup>a</sup> 3, *asrubart Dis friusom ara celebratis a sellumnus 7 arindmoldais*, God said to them that they should celebrate His festivals, and that they should praise Him.

LU. 83<sup>b</sup> 27, *asbert friu nad remthiastais ind rig*, He said to them that they should not go before the King.

Ir. Text. i, 137, L. 5, *asbert Conchobur fria muintir ara scortis a cairptiu*, Conchobur told his people to unyoke their chariots. (Another version has in *oratio recta* the imperative *aguirid*.)

SR. 1813, *ronaid Michel frim eo tissain d'adrad ind rig*, Michael said to me that I should come to worship the King.

Cormac s.v. *Mugeme, ascongrad la Bretnu na tarta oirci—do Goedelaib*, Proclamation was made by the Britons that no lapdog should be given to the Gaels.

SR. 3701, *eo forngart dia mnaib conotuctais ain traig in mac m-bee*, She ordered her women to take from the shore the small boy.

<sup>1</sup> In some cases the past subjunctive might be explained by a reference to past time. ML. 83<sup>a</sup> 15, *arna beth ani imnefoingar trea doom .i. arna imfolangide ruceae do trea . . . is ari mna gudid som as touae in t-sam*, That there might not be to him what is caused through it i.e. that shame might not be caused to him through it, therefore he prays in the beginning of the psalm. Cf. ML. 32<sup>a</sup> 11, 111<sup>a</sup> 4, 126<sup>a</sup> 9, Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 17.

65\*. The verbal noun (infinitive) is also found, e.g. :—

Wb. 9<sup>b</sup> 19, *ni epur frib etarscarad fri suidiu*, I do not bid you part with them.

Trip. L. 222, l. 27, *atrubairt friu bith ina tost*, He told them to be quiet.

Ml. 94<sup>b</sup> 3, *forcongair du dóinib comallad a firinne*, He orders men to fulfil His truth.

LU. 71<sup>b</sup> 27, *guitter ón t-slog forro bith na tost*, They are entreated by the host to be quiet.

ML. 42<sup>a</sup> 14, *ní guid digail du thabairt foraib acht corrnanat inna arrad*, He prays not for the infliction of vengeance on them, but that they may remain in his company.

Wb. 21<sup>a</sup> 8, *isod inso noguidimm .i. co n-ducaid atargno n-Dá*, It is this I pray, to wit, that ye may understand the knowledge of God.

SR. 1631, *rogaid Adam for sruth n-Iordanén, co troiscod lais for Dia*, Adam prayed the river Jordan to fast with him upon God.

LU. 72<sup>a</sup> 29, *ffídis Cuchulaind a araid co Roohad—co tísad dia chobair*, Cuchulinn sent his charioteer to Rochad (requesting him) to come to his help.

66. C. The subjunctive is used with various other classes of verbs.

ML. 25<sup>b</sup> 5, *rolo mur nundatges*, I venture to supplicate Thee.

ML. 74<sup>b</sup> 14, *cunic cid a cumachtas n-doindas n-dunema in duine ar alailiu*, Even human power can protect a man against another.

Sg. 209<sup>b</sup> 13, *isod inso nad chumaing ara n-isar and conngnatar gnima sed asgnintar*, It is that which cannot be found there that actions should not be understood, but they are understood.<sup>1</sup>

ML. 92<sup>a</sup> 5, *desperaueram .i. arindrisinn ón*, That I should reach it.

ML. 131<sup>c</sup> 9, *dorochóinset arn-dabeth in tairsem hi-robatar riam*, They despaired of their having the rest in which they were before.

ML. 115<sup>b</sup> 1, *ní tormnémar-ni ara m-betis in gnimai sin*, We did not expect that those deeds would be.

Wb. 5<sup>b</sup> 35, *conf ecmi nád n-airchisea*, That it may not happen that He does not spare.

LU. 61<sup>b</sup> 20, *coitnéigidar Cuchulaind odairled forsin slige do cholebrad dona maccaib*, Cuchulinn compelled him to go on the road to bid good-bye to the boys.

Rev. Celt. xi, 448, *dobert—comairli do—ara teissed dochum Scathchai*, He advised him to go to Scathach.

ML. 43<sup>c</sup> 13, *maiores per hoc<sup>2</sup>—indicans dignitatem, .i. arm-bad dia nim raclod som*, That He should hear him from His heaven.

Sg. 61<sup>b</sup> 9, *sed hoc<sup>2</sup> nunquam inuenitur, .i. ara tesed b isin sillaið túnaisi*, That *b* should go into the second syllable.

<sup>1</sup> For other examples of *conicim* with the subjunctive or infinitive, see Ascoli, *Gloss.* xcix, c.

<sup>2</sup> Here the subjunctive is epexegetic of the pronoun.

**66\*. With the infinitive.**

Wb. 5<sup>a</sup> 15, *rolaimethar side epert neich*, He ventures to say something.

Wb. 6<sup>a</sup> 17, *hore conic digail forib*, Because He can inflict vengeance on you.

Sg. 50<sup>a</sup> 14, *arindi nád cumaing maith do denom*, Because he cannot do good.

**The indicative is found of a fact or result.**

LU. 65<sup>b</sup> 36, *eemaic bóí a chlaideb hi farrad Fergusa*, Fergus' sword chanced to be by him.

Wb. 13<sup>b</sup> 6, *is rad Déa immumforling co n-da apstalacht liumsa*, It is the grace of God that has caused me to have the apostleship.

Ml. 51<sup>a</sup> 16, *ma beith ara n-dena nech*, If it be that anyone does.

Ml. 68<sup>b</sup> 9, *cia beith arn-acathar nech inna rétu inducbaidi in beltha-so*, Though it be that anyone sees the glorious things of this world.

Wb. 28<sup>d</sup> 22, *ma beid ní ara techta uidua maccu, . . . it cairigthi in maic si cen dethidin dissí*, If it be that (lit. if it be a thing that) a widow has sons, these sons are to be blamed if they do not take care of her.

#### 67. D. Subjunctive after adjectival expressions.

Ml. 21<sup>b</sup> 9, *is ecen dam nondages daitsiu*, It is necessary for me that I should pray for them to Thee.

Sg. 207<sup>b</sup> 11, *cit consuidigthi la Grece, ní ecen dunni beta comsuidigthi linn*, Though the Greeks consider them compounds, it is not necessary that we should.

Sg. 211<sup>a</sup> 10, *is écen on-dárbastar inne indí frisasamallar*, It is necessary that there be shown the sense of that wherewith it is compared.

Wb. 13<sup>d</sup> 20, *ni bu degming donetad som a chorp fadesin issuidiu*, It was not wonderful that he should clothe his own body in it. Cf. Wb. 21<sup>a</sup> 13.

Wb. 22<sup>c</sup> 11, *is tacair arndip samlid do chách*, It is meet that it be thus to everyone.

Per. 58<sup>b</sup> 2, *ni asse ara n-imfognad in t-ansid frissia bréthir as sum*, It is not easy that the verb *sum* should be construed with the accusative.

Ml. 47<sup>c</sup> 11, *conueniens sancto uiro, ar m-bad hi tempul Dæ nobeth*, That he should be in the temple of God.

Ml. 17<sup>b</sup> 6, *ba nephimmaircide nad techtad som dlíged coim-demnachtæ inaib dulib doforsat*, It were unfitting that He should not have the right of lordship in the elements that He created.

Wb. 12<sup>a</sup> 1, *is ferr limm rafesid*, I prefer that ye should know them.

LBr. 261<sup>a</sup> 52, *ba ferr don mac Eclise atagad Crist*, It were better for the son of the Church (i.e. an ecclesiastic) that he should fear Christ.

LBr. 261<sup>a</sup> 56, *ferr duit nirba haneccnaid*, It is better for thee that thou be not ignorant.

LU. 45<sup>a</sup> 7, *bád maith limsa co m-bad hé nobéth and*, I should be pleased that he should be there.

[continued on p. 306.]

67\*. Such adjectival expressions have usually the infinitive,  
e.g.:—

**Wb.** 10<sup>d</sup> 24, *issumecen precept ar m'etiuth*, It is necessary for me to teach for my raiment.

**Wb.** 23<sup>a</sup> 10, *ni eoen a cairigud*, It is not necessary to reprove them.

**Wb.** 13<sup>a</sup> 21, *ni tacair denum domuin dind soscélu*, It is not meet to make a thing profound of the Gospel.

**Wb.** 12<sup>d</sup> 19, *ni asse do epert amén in cruth-sin*, It is not easy for him to say *amen* in that way.

**MI.** 76<sup>b</sup> 7, *immaíroide n-dosom iar n-aisíndis dun cér tabairt in tórad iarum*, A fitting thing to him, after speaking of the wax, to put the fire afterwards.

**Wb.** 10<sup>b</sup> 24, *ba ferr limm immurgu buith di i n-ógi*, I had rather, however, that she were in virginity.

**MI.** 105<sup>b</sup> 8, *robu maith leu buith hi Caldea dugrés*, They were pleased to be in Chaldea for ever.

**Sg.** 158<sup>a</sup> 2, *nib machdad lat reperio do buith for quart. cobedin*, Do not wonder that *reperio* should be of the fourth conjugation.

LU. 101<sup>b</sup> 28, *ní bo ró lim dait ona tissad nech di mnaib Ulad riut hi tech*, I should not deem it too much for thee, that none of the wives of the Ulstermen should go in before thee.

Wb. 29<sup>d</sup> 8, *desiderans te uidere, g. ba méite limm ni scartha friumm*, It were much to me that thou hadst not parted from me.

Sg. 65<sup>a</sup> 1, *níbu machdath dorónta dia dind liae*, It were no wonder that a god should have been made of the stone.

Sg. 68<sup>a</sup> 3, *ní bu machdad bed coitehenn*, It were no wonder that it should be common.

Similarly Sg. 62<sup>b</sup> 2.

68. E. In the Glosses the subjunctive is used technically to express the Latin infinitive, except after *verba sentiendi et dicendi*, e.g. :—

ML. 14<sup>d</sup> 6, *non est propositum cuncta persequi*, g. *dorímem*.

ML. 15<sup>a</sup> 10, *pestilentiae proprium est—inficere*, g. *frísnorr*.

ML. 15<sup>b</sup> 12, *studet—declinare*, g. *innimgaba*.

ML. 16<sup>a</sup> 19, *necesse erit—conruere*, g. *contotsat*.

ML. 19<sup>d</sup> 12, *mederi—adgreditur*, g. *frímbia*.

ML. 16<sup>b</sup> 20, *armari—non timerent*, .i. *nochis nochathaigtis ón*.

ML. 17<sup>d</sup> 8, *consueuimus indicare*, g. *infesmais*.

ML. 20<sup>a</sup> 9, *ostentare uoluisset*, g. *donaídbsed*.

ML. 37<sup>d</sup> 1, *nitebantur inuadere*, g. *inrestais*.

So it may express the gerund.

ML. 41<sup>c</sup> 5, *uelocitatem praestitit aduersarios persequendi*, g. *dusesáinn*.

69. In the Glosses the past tense of the copula, along with the participle of necessity, serves technically to express the Latin gerundive, e.g. :—

ML. 16<sup>a</sup> 5, *fugiendam infidelitatem monet*, g. *bed erngabthi*.

ML. 18<sup>a</sup> 6, *ad utrumque referendum*, g. *bed taircithi*.

ML. 22<sup>d</sup> 22, *ad promerendam benignitatem*, .i. *bed airillti*.

ML. 23<sup>a</sup> 14, *ad fletus uberes indicandos*, g. *betis aisndisib*.

ML. 39<sup>d</sup> 24, *inferendae mortis tempus expectant*, g. *bed taircidi*.

ML. 64<sup>b</sup> 2, *ad inuandum nos*, g. *dúnni bed fortachtigthi*.

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68\*. After verba sentiendi et dicendi the Latin infinitive is expressed by the Irish indicative, e.g.:—

Ml. 16<sup>a</sup> 14, eum in David dictum conantur adstruere, g. *asrobrad*.

Ml. 23<sup>c</sup> 2, credidi prosperari, g. *nosoinmigfed*.

Ml. 25<sup>e</sup> 15, (ea) sibi competere demonstrat, g. *immindaircot*.

Ml. 33<sup>c</sup> 20, dicit esse—comprehensum, g. *doretarracht*. And cf. § 26\*.

## 9. RELATIVE CLAUSES.

70. In a clause of the form, "if it be they who do it," "let it be this that they do," where the verb substantive is in the subjunctive or the imperative, the following verb, as being an integral part of the condition etc., is also put in the subjunctive. The two verbs stand in the same tense, the imperative counting as a present.

Wb. 5<sup>d</sup> 30, *ná maith roibí, bad had dognaid*, Whatever good there is, let it be that that ye do.

Wb. 13<sup>a</sup> 29, *bad amal asinbiur-su dogneither*, Let it be done as I say it.

LU. 77<sup>b</sup> 1, *eo m-bad ad atherad som*, It would be this that he said.

LL. 61<sup>b</sup> 9, *dis m-bad éis tísad*, If he had come.

LL. 53<sup>b</sup> 43, *dis m-bad nois in fer go m-beind*, If I had belonged to a niggardly husband.

Wb. 23<sup>b</sup> 24, *act rop Crist pridhes cáid*, Provided that all preach Christ.

ML. 90<sup>a</sup> 14, *amal betis dymaizi dobertain*, As though benefits were given.

ML. 67<sup>a</sup> 8, *is cum[me] bid pugnator asberad*, It is the same as though he had said *pugnator*.

ML. 95<sup>c</sup> 2, *eo m-bad éllam noomallaitis ani aer:choilset*, That they might quickly fulfil what they had determined.

LU. 60<sup>a</sup> 47, *asbert Cauland ná bad sechtaide nobertha chucsi*, Cauland said that it should not be a large number that should be brought to him.

71. Of this kind is the subjunctive after *sechip*, etc.

For *cid. mad*, cf. p. 267.

Wb. 1<sup>d</sup> 19, *sechiphé laas m-bé iustitia legis*, Whoever he be with whom there is *iustitia Legis*.

ML. 86<sup>d</sup> 12, *sechiped arabera biuth in duine, is verb les act ro' b] brónach*, Whatever a man enjoys, he deems bitter if he be sorrowful.

Wb. 5<sup>b</sup> 18, *sechi chruth dondrón*, In whatever way I do it.

ML. 73<sup>c</sup> 11, *sechidú denocnither-su* = *ubicumque respexeris*.

ML. 39<sup>c</sup> 15, *eo m-bad friona gruade—citacomsairsed sechipad ad dodaimed som*, That whatever came to them might meet the cheeks first.

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70\*. But if the verb be not an integral part of the condition, etc., then it may stand in the indicative.

LL. 124<sup>b</sup> 30, *co m-bad é Altus in consul dodechaid o Ochtain do chuingid in chisa noinnised do Chonchobur Crist do chrochad*, It would be Altus the consul, who came from Octavian to ask for the tribute, who told Conchobor of the crucifixion of Christ. Here *noinnised* is in the subjunctive by § 70; *dodechaid*, in an explanatory relative clause, is in the indicative.

ML. 42<sup>c</sup> 19, *amal bid alai[is] chumachtaig rethes cen erehót a retho*, As it were of some mighty man who runs without hindrance to his running.

## 72. In relative sentences of a general or hypothetical character with an indefinite antecedent the subjunctive is found.

(a) ML. 42<sup>b</sup> 28, *dies diei usque uerbum, inperitit—notitiam Dei uelut quodam inculcatoris officio, i. ind nephcomaincedo i. amal noch nad chomaincen* (MS. *chomaincen*) *a choimdid*, sic dies, As of the non-contemner,<sup>1</sup> i.e. as one who does not condemn his lord, *sic dies*.

ML. 19<sup>d</sup> 6, *isic didiu a m-bés adi, inti diib bes tressa orcaid alaile*, This, then, is their custom; he of them who is stronger slays the other.

Wb. 27<sup>c</sup> 14, *inti bes anirlithe l. nád chomalnathar a n-asberar friss rambia dígal*, He who is disobedient, or who does not fulfil what is said to him, there will be vengeance to him.

Wb. 4<sup>c</sup> 19, *miserentis est Dei, i. arcessi do noch bes maldach leis*, He pities whomsoever He pleases.

Sg. 12<sup>b</sup> 7, *cosmail leis cacha ort im cara fá ascare*, He deems it alike whomsoever he slays, whether friend or foe.

ML. 59<sup>a</sup> 12, *ar is gnath do noch bes anlubar buidre*, For deafness is customary to whoever is dumb.

Wb. 24<sup>b</sup> 2, *Dominus prope est, do thabairt diib neich risid a loss*, To give to you whatever ye may need.

Wb. 22<sup>b</sup> 9, *donantis inuicem i. an dorogba cách fri alaile*, What each may commit against another.

Wb. 12<sup>c</sup> 32, *issamlid is torbe sin co etercerta an asbera*, It is thus that it is profitable, provided he interpret what he says.

LL. 278<sup>a</sup> 42, *denam comairle, nechtar de uand dig ar tus co ti co scélaib dia chélin*, Let us come to an understanding that whichever of us twain shall depart (this life) first shall come with tidings to his fellow.<sup>2</sup>

LL. 251<sup>a</sup> 27, *an rochara dagne dímas*, Deal with me as it may please thee.

Wb. 7<sup>d</sup> 10, *arop inuon cretem bes hi far cridiu et a n-asberaid hó bílaib*, That the belief which is in your hearts and what ye say with (your) lips may be the same.

Wb. 27<sup>b</sup> 27, *is hed tra forchain som hie ara tucca cách a canas condib reil leis ind inne bess and et ariarela do chách redcluinethar* (indie.), This, then, is what he teaches here, that everyone should

<sup>1</sup> A mistranslation of *in-culcatoris*, as though *is* were the negative particle.

<sup>2</sup> Then follows *unmarpaib diib eipé diú nediagood is tuccu co tised ar is and duratua*. It was agreed between them that whichever of them departed first should come with tidings to the other.

## 72\*. Compare the following indicative clauses.

Ml. 2<sup>c</sup> 3, psalmosque omnes eorum testamur auctorum qui ponuntur in titulis, .i. *intí as a ainm bís isnaib tillaib, is doib doaisilbter int sailm sin*, He whose name is in the superscriptions, it is to them that those psalms are ascribed.

Ml. 24<sup>a</sup> 19, *rofilir didiu 7 olirgein ní dú ulc inti lasm-bí ind encas; ní filir immurgu ole n-olir inti bís isind encas* ut sunt infantes, He knows then and discerns somewhat of evil, with whom there is innocence; he, however, knows not evil at all, who is in innocence *ut sunt infantes*.

Wb. 16<sup>b</sup> 11, *im dethidnea saeculi .i. doguilse di neuch adbail et di neuch nád etar et di neuch bís la nech nad bí lat-so*, Concerning the anxieties of the world, to wit, grief for what perishes, and for what is not found, and for what another hath that thou hast not.

Wb. 15<sup>b</sup> 14, *maso dorchide la nech a pridchimne-ní, ní la nech nodchomalnadar act is la nech nadidchreti*, If what we preach seems dark to anyone, it is not so to him who fulfils it but to him who does not believe it.

Wb. 23<sup>d</sup> 9, *necessarium autem existimaui—ministerium necessitatis meae mittere ad uos*, .i. *neioh roiccu a less*, Of whatever I need.

Ml. 22<sup>c</sup> 1, *intamail inso fri nech tarsa-tochuirther sciath air nach rí ole*, A comparison this to one over whom is put a shield that evil may not reach him.

Ml. 50<sup>d</sup> 1, *asbeir nadmbí ciall la nech disluindi dliged remdeiccen*, He says that no one who denies the law of Providence has understanding.

Ml. 23<sup>c</sup> 20, *nephdenum neich dí ulc fri nnech dogni ole frit, air is huilliu són indaas nadndene* (subj.) *ole fri nech nadeni ole friut*, To abstain from doing any evil to one who does evil to thee, for that is more than that thou shouldst not do evil to one who does no evil to thee.

Ml. 27<sup>c</sup> 10, *nach magen i n-imfogai in briathar-so fri ainsid isnaib sabnaib, is do rucac 7 melacht teit*, Wherever in the psalms this verb is construed with the accusative, it is applied to shame and disgrace.

Wb. 9<sup>c</sup> 22, *ní dilgaid a n-ancride dogníther frib*, Ye forgive not the injury that is done to you.

Ml. 108<sup>a</sup> 11, *cía beith soilse isind lau, ní soilse do neuch bís i m-brón*, Though there be light in the day, it is not light to anyone that is in sorrow.

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understand what he recites, so that the sense which is in it may be clear to him, and that he may make it clear to everyone who hears it.

23 N. 10, R.I.A., a *forcanm di each an ara n-deine fein*, That thou do thyself what thou teachest to everyone.

Wb. 5<sup>d</sup> 14, *níp sain an asberthar ho giun 7 a m-bess hi crídiu*, What is spoken by the mouth and what is in the heart must not be different.

Wb. 5<sup>c</sup> 20, *chech irnigde dongneid i tuil Déo bed dlichthech*, Let every prayer that ye make in the will of God be lawful.

Wb. 5<sup>d</sup> 30, *nd maith robé bad hed dogneid*, Every good thing that is, let it be that ye do.

Wb. 30<sup>b</sup> 10, *na herassaiget do gnime a n-asbere*, Let not thy works make void what thou sayest.

Wb. 24<sup>b</sup> 3, *ná bad chotarsne fri bar n-loc a n-no-gessid*, Let what ye pray for not be contrary to your salvation.<sup>1</sup>

(b) LU. 61<sup>b</sup> 27, *nobíð each láth gaile do Ultaib a laa hi Sleib Fúait fri endud neich dothíasad co n-airchetul*, Every warrior of Ulster used to be his day in Slíab Fuáit to protect whoever came with poesy.

ML. 19<sup>d</sup> 5, *cona bad dliged remdeicem oco tuistin nidi acht inti bed tressa do fordiuclaim alaili*, That there might be no law of Providence at their creation, but that he who was stronger should devour the other.

ML. 69<sup>a</sup> 2, *si fuissent obtatis potiti, .i. neich adgustis*, Anything that they desired.

ML. 29<sup>e</sup> 16, *hi quos fugae eius—necessitudo coniunxerat, .i. d caratrad .i. nech bed chare do*, Their friendship, i.e. anyone who was a friend of his.

ML. 125<sup>a</sup> 4, *co n-detaitis aní nogestais*, That they might obtain what they prayed for.

ML. 2<sup>d</sup> 1, *in hunc modum multas haberent libros, .i. mad forcenn libuir nach magen i m-beth amen indib*, If each place in which *amen* is in them were the end of a book.

Wb. 14<sup>e</sup> 23, *co m-bad sain a n-asberin o bélib et aní immeradin ó chridiu*, That what I say with the lips and what I think with the heart might be different.

<sup>1</sup> In ML. 23<sup>d</sup> 17, the present subjunctive is found after a past, *is a marc dia as cenibed d ainm-som bes foir*, It is his son after him, though it be not his name that is upon him.

MI. 129<sup>b</sup> 2, *corrup léir roscmallathar inti ardatuaissi*, That he who listens to them may fulfil them diligently.

MI. 21<sup>b</sup> 8, *nondages co n-derlaig[s] dam son innahi noguidim dait-siu*, That I should pray that Thou mayest me forgive the things I pray of Thee.

MI. 94<sup>b</sup> 10, *mani chomalla nech aní forchongair Dia do*, If anyone fulfil not what God enjoins him.

MI. 104<sup>b</sup> 2, *amal duratad pian forsnahi robatar i n-Endor, aipleat dano sic 7 tabarr pian forsnahi frisorcat donaib Machabdiib*, As punishment was inflicted on those who were in Endor, so let them die, and let punishment be inflicted on those that oppose the Maccabees.

Wb. 11<sup>b</sup> 6, *ara carat an-rochluinetar*, That they may love what they hear.

Wb. 12<sup>b</sup> 6, *co n-derna cech ball a n-as toisc dialailiu*, That each member do what the other desires.

MI. 41<sup>d</sup> 12, *co n-rúrel-sa doib a n-as accobur llium*, That I may manifest to them what I desire.

Wb. 6<sup>b</sup> 18, *a n-as maith la cách dénad*, What seems good to everyone, let him do.

Wb. 10<sup>c</sup> 21, *ba torad sa[i]thir dúun—ce dugnemmis a n-dogniat ar celi*, It were a fruit of our labour if we did what our fellows do.

MI. 112<sup>b</sup> 20, *ar nach risat fochaidi demuin co n-idcloitis asind noibi hi m-bí*, That the temptations of the Devil may not reach him, to drive him from the sanctity in which he is.

MI. 36<sup>a</sup> 29, *non habebat .i. ní asriad do feichemavn rodligestar ní do*, He had not, i.e. anything to give to a creditor who had a claim on him.

MI. 126<sup>c</sup> 10, *ara crete sún nombiáid iar fír aní rolabrastar Dia 7 durairngert*, That it might be believed that what God had spoken and promised would be according to truth.

MI. 115<sup>a</sup> 14, *co for cech lín a huair immeroimded (impf.) doberthe dígal*, Vengeance used to be wrought on each number in turn that transgressed.

MI. 88<sup>a</sup> 17, *nach molad rundammolad-sa a Dea is triut-su doronad*, Every praise wherewith I was praised, O God, it is by Thee that it was wrought.

MI. 54<sup>a</sup> 9, *nanni robu accubu[r] leu atshotatsat for Dia*, Who obtained from God all that they desired.

MI. 46<sup>c</sup> 20, *diancomallamár, a n-uile dorairngert Dia trisin recht sin du neuch nudcomálnabadar, doindnastar dún a n-uile-sin*, If we

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Wb. 18<sup>a</sup> 18, *conna bad fír a n-asbermis*, That what we say is untrue. (Cf. § 25.)

Wb. 17<sup>b</sup> 1, *ut non existimemur tamquam terrere nos per epistolas*, .i. *amal ní cuimáin hi frechúire a n-asberinn* per epistolas, As though I could not do in (your) presence what I said *per epistolas*.

(e) Wb. 9<sup>c</sup> 20, *cúid stobaich con dílgud eoch ancrídi dognothe fríð*, What compels you not to forgive every injury that may be done to you?

Wb. 13<sup>a</sup> 19, *múlires in ecclesiis taceant*, .i. *si sint uiri in praesentia*, *ar is insa in ball do thincos neich asberad cenn*, For it is hard that the member should put right whatever a head might utter.

73. Subjunctive relative clauses are found in negative, or virtually negative, sentences denying a possibility or the like.

(a) Wb. 14<sup>b</sup> 15, *ní tabir Dia fonnú fochúth nád fochomolsam; cíd ind fochúth follongam dober díthnad dara héisi*, God putteth not upon us suffering that we cannot endure. Even the suffering that we do endure, He giveth consolation for it.

ML. 107<sup>d</sup> 4, *dia n-erbalam-ní ní bíá nech runécae-siu*, If we die there will be no one for Thee to heal.

ML. 114<sup>b</sup> 18, *nad fil nech coongne frís ón acht Dia*, That there is no one to help him but God.

LL. 251<sup>a</sup> 24, *ní fuil lat do setaib ní nodottain*, Thou hast nought of treasures that can protect thee.

ML. 31<sup>d</sup> 6, *conna bí ní frestaí d mas*, So that there is nothing to oppose its estimation.

Wh. 11<sup>d</sup> 8, *ónabé nís indidningaba d chocubus*, That there may be nothing for his conscience to reprove him for.

Wb. 17<sup>a</sup> 13, *na tomnathar nech ní bes mo quam servi*, Let no one think anything that is more *quam servi*.

Wb. 31<sup>d</sup> 11, *nachitochthad fría chos ní bes [s]íre*, Let him not wear thee out in admonishing him any longer.

Wb. 18<sup>a</sup> 2, *nífil bas sciúth lim act rop ar Crist*, There is nothing of which I am weary provided it be for Christ.

(b) ML. 100<sup>c</sup> 23, *ní-robae nech adchotatae dia n-adnacul*, There was no one who could be got to bury them.

ML. 125<sup>b</sup> 7, *ní-robae rann dí rannaib in domain inna-ructais*

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fulfil it, there shall be given to us all that God promised through that law to him who shall fulfil it.

ML. 53<sup>e</sup> 14, *intí dogena a n-uile-so sis, is do berthar (dobérthar?) bethu sin*, That life shall be given to him who does all this below.

ML. 56<sup>a</sup> 21, *immeit (in méit?) bias firinne noich is in meit sin dano bias dilgadche Dæ do*, In proportion to a man's righteousness shall be God's forgiveness to him.

ML. 106<sup>a</sup> 4, *in reliquis liberalis erit, .i. donaibhi durigat a doiri*, To those who shall come out of captivity.

Wb. 28<sup>d</sup> 16, *te ipsum saluum facies et eos qui te audiunt, .i. cæch rotochechladar oc precept*, All who shall hear thee teaching.

Wb. 32<sup>d</sup> 13, *amal ronsoir fesin, soirfed cæch cretfes and*, As He delivered Himself, He would deliver everyone who shall believe in Him.

### 73\*. In simple periphrasis the indicative stands.

ML. 31<sup>d</sup> 10, *amal niofil ní arachóat a n-argat n-glan acht át[h]echt í n-aiedi*, As nothing injures pure silver, but it passes into a finished form (?).

ML. 26<sup>e</sup> 2, *ní a tobac namma fil and dogní da salm de*, It is not the division only that is there that makes two psalms of it.

LL. 126<sup>a</sup> 2, *ní fuil ní as luathiu anddit na eich-seo*, Nothing is swifter than these horses.

ML. 14<sup>b</sup> 13, *ní bu fua réir fesin boi som isint aimsir [sin]*, He was not under his own control at that time.

LU. 43<sup>a</sup> 33, *ní batar í n-Éire énlaiht ba cáini*, There were no fairer birds in Ireland.

LU. 45<sup>a</sup> 3, *ní bo ed as mó rognathaigsem*, It was not that to which we have been most accustomed.

LU. 76<sup>a</sup> 4, *ní pá isind ath escomon-sa condricfem*, We will not meet in this polluted ford.

LU. 107<sup>a</sup> 45, *ní bá nech bas ferr nodgléfe alai-siu*, No one will settle it better than thou.

*i' n-dori 7 asmachatucad Dia*, There was no part of the world into which they might not be brought into slavery, and from which God should not take them.

ML. 80<sup>e</sup> 9, *connaconrobae ní roscrutais*, So that there was nothing for them to examine.

ML. 28<sup>d</sup> 3, *ní rabae acuis ara m-beth enim and*, There was no reason why *enim* should be there.

I.U. 83<sup>a</sup> 31, *conach rubi dóib conair dochoistís*, So that they had no way to go.

LL. 250<sup>a</sup> 52, *ní rabai forsin tír fer nolamad a thabairt do*, There was not on the land a man who dared to give it to him.

Wb. 33<sup>d</sup> 10, *ní robe nech bad huaisliu tara toissed*, There was no one higher by whom he could swear.

ML. 51<sup>a</sup> 2, *omnis firmitas corporis ultima languore concussa est, .i. nís-robae ní bed mó*, There was nothing that could be greater.

ML. 100<sup>e</sup> 11, *ultimis coacti malia, .i. nís-rabatar olae betis mon*, There were no evils that could be greater.

(e) ML. 107<sup>b</sup> 8, *nís-flí frithorcain nachamthísed-sa 7 nad fórdamaínn*, There is no affliction that might not have come to me, and that I might not have endured.

LL. 250<sup>a</sup> 45, *noconfaoce ní rosaissed leth no tríán do chruth*, I have seen nothing to come up to thy form by a half or a third.

Wb. 18<sup>e</sup> 8, *ní flí folad n-aill fora-sernte in soscéla issin aot Crist*, There is no other substance on which ye could build this Gospel but Christ.

ML. 17<sup>a</sup> 15, *ní flí aimsir nadm-bed*, There is no time that He was not.

Wb. 28<sup>b</sup> 1, *ní flí ceseal na belre isin biuth di[a] nad rícthe nech*, For there is neither race nor tongue in the world of which some one should not be saved.

Sg. 50<sup>a</sup> 2, *ní techta sain intéiliucht and feissin hua n-ainmnigtha*, It has no special sense itself from which it should be named.

ML. 60<sup>b</sup> 2, *ní feil ní bed ardasachtchu*, Nothing could be madder.

ML. 92<sup>a</sup> 9, *ní fail ní bed huilliu oldaas attrab la Dia*, Nothing could be greater than to dwell with God.

LU. 68<sup>b</sup> 28, *ní fetar ní ardottáigthe*, I know no reason why thou shouldst be feared.

SR. 7925, *cia do is mo messar, in fail uaib rofessad*. Which of them is of greater measure, is there anyone of you who could know? This amounts to *ní fail úaib rofessad*, none of you could know.

[continued on p. 319.]



## 74. Compare the following positive sentences where the relative clause ranges from possibility to purpose.

ML. 53<sup>a</sup> 5, *la di[s]mair a inchlidi son nad cho[m] nech acht*  
*honn son*, In the hidden place of His secret, over which none  
 may have power but He only.

ML. 33<sup>d</sup> 10, *son inis nad chomrictar sech son nathrach*,  
 Venom that which might not be healed, beyond the venom of snakes.

LU. 57<sup>b</sup> 24, *ná tiagar secha eo n-étar fer rolan id samlaid*, Let  
 it not be passed till there be found a man to throw a similar collar.

LL. 280<sup>a</sup> 18, *airgg as bale na clér na th-imráid*, Go forth  
 to where I may not hear mention of thee.

Wb. 31<sup>e</sup> 18, *bói ní roglante and*, There was something to be  
 purified.

Wb. 27<sup>a</sup> 16, *bái and ní roerthe*, There was something to be  
 given.

ML. 56<sup>a</sup> 12, *cid arnabu son inchoissid leugud*, Why was it not  
 a word to express eating?

Wb. 2<sup>a</sup> 7, *probad inna chorp ní inchoissid tóbe uitiorum*,  
 That there might be in his body somewhat to signify the excision  
*uitiorum*.

ML. 107<sup>e</sup> 12, *eo m-betis doynimai leu trissan-etis bethaid afrithisi*,  
 That there might be good works with them through which they  
 might obtain life again.

Wb. 11<sup>a</sup> 19, *coist cid ara m-bad spiritalis ind ail*. Question,  
 Why should the rock be *spiritalis*? (lit. what is there for which?).

LL. 286<sup>a</sup> 17, *dil dam bothnait diamair i n-geissind Dia*, I would  
 fain have a little hut in secret in which I might pray to God.

75. In the following sentences the relative clause expresses restriction: cf. the clauses with *act*, § 48.

Wb. 17<sup>a</sup> 13, *con ná ruchrete-si do neuch act nech dogned na*  
*gnimu sin*, That ye might not believe in anyone save one who did  
 those deeds.

Tir. 11, *toise limm fer consétcho dunarructhae act oen tuistiú*,  
 I desire a husband of one wife to whom has not been born but  
 one child.

LU. 124<sup>b</sup> 30, *ní hi em rocharusa, for Cuchulaind, nírforfamusa*  
*mndi atgnead fer*, "It is not she that I have loved," said Cuchulinn;  
 "I have not accepted a wife who has known a man."

[continued on p. 320.]

74\*. *cid ara n-* may be followed by the indicative.

Wb. 5<sup>a</sup> 31, *asberid-si cid arind—epur frit*, Ye say, why do I say it to thee?

ML. 55<sup>d</sup> 11, *isid insin fodera inn origim, cid ara fodaim int ais firian inna fochaidi*, It is that that causes the plaint, why the righteous suffer the tribulations.

ML. 63<sup>e</sup> 9, *amal immechomairsed nech, cid ara tuic Duaid nostris*, As though some one were to ask why David put *nostris*.

LU. 129<sup>b</sup> 35, *asbert ní bíad ina farrad acht ben nad fessed nech do feraib h-Erend riam*,<sup>1</sup> He said that no wife should be with him save one that had never known any of the men of Ireland.

76. The relative clause may approach in force to a concessive clause.

ML. 85<sup>d</sup> 5, per similitudinem eorum qui exigunt quod mutuo non dederunt, g. *duthluchetar ní nad tardatis do*, Who demand something that they had not given him. The same meaning might be expressed by *cení tardatis ní dó, dathluchetar*, Though they had given him nothing, they demand it. Cf. Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 6, § 46.

## VI. PARTICLES WITH THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

### 1. NEGATIVE PARTICLES.

77. In principal clauses of every description the regular negative with the subjunctive mood is *ní*. It is unnecessary to repeat here the examples that have been given in the foregoing pages.

78. In subordinate clauses, too, *ní* predominates, but here there are exceptions.

(a) In accordance with the general rule, *ní* is replaced by *ná* (*nád, nách*) in relative clauses, and in clauses dependent on *uerba sentiendi et dicendi*, cf. Gramm. Celt.<sup>2</sup> 741. Examples will be found above, §§ 26, 28, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76. With *amal* in the sense of 'as though,' the negation in Old Irish is regularly *ní*, § 51. With *amal* in the sense of 'as,' I have no instance of a negative subjunctive, nor have I any such example with the temporal particles *an, intan*; one might *a priori* expect the negative to be *ná*. In subordinate clauses dependent on *uerba sentiendi et dicendi*, *ní* is sometimes found, as in *oratio recta* (parataxis instead of hypotaxis), e.g. LU. 69<sup>b</sup> 30, *rafelar-su ní gonaim-se nech cen armu*, Thou knowest I do not wound an unarmed man. Compare with

<sup>1</sup> Another copy has *nach tibred mnai dogréa dianustuccad nech ali remis*, That he would never take a wife if any other had taken her before him.

this the use of *ní* with the subjunctive after *dóich*, *inda*, § 27, also *ferr duit nírbá hanecnaid* and *bá méite limm ní scartha friumm*, § 67.

(b) After conjunctions made up of a preposition and the relative the negative is *nd*.

The clearest example of this is the final particle *ara n-*, the negative of which is *arnd*, *arnách*. This observation will, I think, account for the apparent variation between *ní* and *nd* after *co* 'in order that,' cf. Gramm. Celt.<sup>2</sup> 745. In the Old Irish Glosses, if I mistake not, the facts of the case are as follows:—With *ní* the form is *coní*. With *nd*, *ndach* we find both *connd*, *conndach* and *cond*, *condach*. In addition to the examples given in the Grammatica Celtica I quote a few instances from Ml.: *conna beth* 32<sup>d</sup> 5, *conna bi* 44<sup>d</sup> 6, *connach ful* 57<sup>d</sup> 15, *conna dechsam* 62<sup>d</sup> 1, *cona ruaigsetar* 35<sup>e</sup> 4, *cona tiagat* 51<sup>d</sup> 3. These facts point to a very simple explanation. As is well known, there are two very similar particles in Irish — *co* with no relative affix and *con-* with a relative affix. In *coní*, then, I would see the conjunction *co*, in *connd* the conjunction *con-*.<sup>1</sup> In *connd* we should then have an exact parallel to *arnd*. As to the form *cond*, either *nn* has been reduced to *n* in the pretonic syllable, or *cond* may have arisen from contamination of *coní* and *connd*. It may be observed that *coní* is in the process of disappearing; at least, I have not noted it in the literature subsequent to the Glosses.

(c) Sometimes *nd*, *nách*, *ndá* stand by themselves as final particles.

Examples of this above are *nárthasth* § 61, *na betis* § 62, *nad tintas-siu*, *nad remthiastais*, *nd tarta* § 65, *na ruetarscara* Ml. 54<sup>d</sup> 5, *nachinroga* Wb. 15<sup>d</sup> 40. In the Glosses I have not noted many instances of this.

79. It is to be remarked that in later Irish the tendency is for *nd* to extend itself in subordinate clauses at the expense of *ní*. Compare what has been said of the negatives with *amal* § 51, note 2, and observe also *acht narmiller* § 48, where in Old Irish we should have expected *ní*. But it is not always easy to say whether the one particle has been substituted for the other, or whether, as in *muna*=O.Ir. *maní*, we have weakening of *ní*.

<sup>1</sup> So already Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. ii, 56.

2. THE PARTICLES *no-* AND *ro-*.

80. For the purpose of dealing with these particles I have brought together examples of the subjunctives of simple verbs from the three large collections of Glosses, and the instances of the substantive verb from Wb. The copula forms have been neglected, as they have peculiarities of their own, and do not altogether follow the same laws as other verbs. In addition to the above, I have before me the subjunctive forms of the two verbs, in which forms with, and forms without, *ro-* are most frequently found, namely, *as-biur* 'I say' and *do-gníu* 'I do.' The instances of these two verbs have been taken from vol. ii of Zimmer's *Keltische Studien*, except for the portion of *MI.* which had not yet been published when that work appeared. That my collections are complete I do not venture to say, as I went through the Glosses only once, but they are probably complete enough to draw conclusions from. Some instances of other compound verbs with and without *ro-* will be found in the *Phil. Soc. Trans.* 1895-6, pp. 143-4. I propose to deal first with the particle *no-*, as the conditions there are simpler, and afterwards to discuss the usage of the particle *ro-*.

(1) THE PARTICLE *no-*.

81. The domain of the particle *no-* is much more restricted than that of *ro-*, in that it is found only with simple verbs,<sup>1</sup> and here again only in orthotonic forms; it is not found after the particles *ní*, *nád*, *con-*, etc., which demand the enclitic form of the verb. The particle *ro-* is bound by no such restrictions. But as *ro-* is found in the same positions in which *no-* is found, they have formally to some extent a common field. Hence a double problem presents itself. In the first place, we must seek to discover the rules that determine the presence and the absence of *no-* under the circumstances in which its use is permitted. Then we must try to delimit the usage of the two particles in that domain which they share in common.

<sup>1</sup> This is the rule in the oldest language. Afterwards *no-* comes to be used with some compound verbs, probably because they were no longer felt to be compounds. Instances of this will be found in *VSR.* p. 9, Atkinson, *Pass.* and *Hom.* p. 823.



82. With regard to the former point the following rules may be laid down:—

(1). In the past subjunctive the use of *no-*, where it is permitted by the rules laid down in the previous paragraph, is regular unless the past subjunctive be preceded by *ro-*.

(2). In the present subjunctive *no-* is present under the same conditions, if there be a pronoun infixed between it and the verb. If there be no infixed pronoun, then the general rule is that the simple verb is used without *no-*.

83. Of these rules abundant examples may be found in the foregoing pages. Yet it may be convenient to illustrate them more fully from one or two kinds of clauses. The instances under the several headings are arranged in the following order: (a) past subjunctive, (b) present subjunctive with *no-*, (c) present subjunctive without *no-*.

#### Conditional clauses.

(a) *ma nutoltanaiged* Sg. 72<sup>b</sup> 6, *ma nucomallainn* Ml. 131<sup>d</sup> 19, *ce notectad* Sg. 197<sup>a</sup> 11, *cia nutiastais* Ml. 117<sup>d</sup> 3, *ce nachomalnithe* Wb. 13<sup>a</sup> 33.

(b) *ce no-n-molid*, *ce no-n-airid* Wb. 16<sup>a</sup> 1, *ce napridchid-si* Wb. 15<sup>d</sup> 6.

(c) *ma chomalnit* Wb. 28<sup>c</sup> 7, *ma marbitir* Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 13, *ma beid* Wb. 5<sup>d</sup> 32, 13<sup>a</sup> 4, 24<sup>b</sup> 9, 20<sup>b</sup> 12, *ma senaigidir* Sg. 151<sup>a</sup> 1, *cia gessir* Wb. 17<sup>d</sup> 27, *cia bes* Wb. 21<sup>d</sup> 3, 29<sup>d</sup> 19, 30<sup>a</sup> 23, *cia beid* Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 6, 3<sup>c</sup> 10 (MS. *bed*), *cia beimmi* 19<sup>a</sup> 16, *cia betir* Ml. 54<sup>a</sup> 17, *cia chomallaid* Ml. 95<sup>c</sup> 3.

#### Final clauses with *co*.

(a) *co noairladigthe* Wb. 3<sup>b</sup> 9, *co nocomalnithe* Wb. 3<sup>d</sup> 26, *co no-s-berinn* Wb. 10<sup>d</sup> 36, *co nocomalnide* Wb. 19<sup>b</sup> 22, *co nu-m-gabthas* (MS. *comnumgabthas*) Ml. 27<sup>b</sup> 7, *co nucoined* Ml. 32<sup>b</sup> 13, *co nulintae* Ml. 32<sup>b</sup> 15, *co nulogad* Ml. 39<sup>c</sup> 5, *co nugabtis* Ml. 39<sup>c</sup> 15.

(c) *co beid* Wb. 14<sup>c</sup> 23, *co beit* Wb. 10<sup>b</sup> 5, *co bethe* Wb. 19<sup>d</sup> 19, *co mothaigid* Ml. 25<sup>c</sup> 6, *co thirmaigid* Ml. 44<sup>d</sup> 8, *co glanaid* Ml. 51<sup>a</sup> 10, *co molait* Ml. 51<sup>c</sup> 10, *co erladaigear* Ml. 106<sup>c</sup> 6, *co sochens-laigidir* Ml. 138<sup>c</sup> 4.

Of (b) I have no examples.

## Isolated subjunctives translating a Latin infinitive (§ 68).

(a) *no-n-gabthe* Wb. 26<sup>b</sup> 13, *no-n-germeis* ML 21<sup>b</sup> 1, *no-n-deirtais* ML 28<sup>c</sup> 18, *no-n-tas*<sup>1</sup> ML 32<sup>b</sup> 6, *no-n-creis*<sup>1</sup> ML 33<sup>b</sup> 26, *no-n-aillte* ML 39<sup>a</sup> 19, *no-n-bais* ML 40<sup>a</sup> 2, *no-n-geisicis-or* ML 54<sup>b</sup> 26, *no-n-dedais* ML 83<sup>b</sup> 3, *no-n-e[s]panaigis* ML 95<sup>a</sup> 3, *no-n-almais* ML 104<sup>d</sup> 6, *no-n-glendis* ML 119<sup>c</sup> 2.

(b) *no-fid*<sup>1</sup> Wb. 23<sup>d</sup> 1, *no-fis*<sup>1</sup> ML 29<sup>d</sup> 2, *no-bendachthar*<sup>2</sup> ML 33<sup>d</sup> 23, *no-n-dala(m)gaba*<sup>3</sup> ML 43<sup>a</sup> 2, *no-faltiger*<sup>1</sup> ML 46<sup>b</sup> 16, *no-n-éaighthar* ML 56<sup>b</sup> 17, *no-n-dammar* ML 80<sup>a</sup> 3, *no-n-dan-móirthar* ML 63<sup>c</sup> 4.

(c) *rauntar* ML 37<sup>d</sup> 9, *no-maigter* ML 79<sup>c</sup> 2, *breaminigidar* ML 108<sup>d</sup> 6, *no-glans*<sup>4</sup> ML 28<sup>b</sup> 4, *no-ebtar*<sup>4</sup> ML 101<sup>d</sup> 5.

84. To the former of the two rules I have noted no exceptions in the Old Irish Glosses, except in one or two instances in the substantive verb: *Sg.* 5<sup>a</sup> 4 (p. 254, l. 11), 209<sup>a</sup> 1 (p. 254, l. 28), ML 39<sup>a</sup> 13, *cis bod ammet*, 'however great might be.' To the latter there is an apparent exception in *annogessid*, Wb. 24<sup>b</sup> 3, p. 312, above. There I took *an* as the relative, but it may be the temporal *an* 'when ye pray.' Whether we have here a real exception, or whether we should correct to *annogessid*, I am unable to decide from the material at my disposal. In the *Saltair na Rann*, in spite of the exigencies of the metre, the same rules are still, for the most part, observed. To the second rule there seem to be no exceptions, cf. VSR. pp. 9, 13, 14, 17, 46, 47. To the first exceptions are found in *gabad* VSR. p. 16, and in *beth* VSR. p. 48, both in relative sentences. The almost complete harmony between this tenth-century text and the results arrived at from the material collected from the Old Irish Glosses furnishes a strong proof of the correctness of the above rules. It may be added that, so far as can be gathered from the examples given in the *Grammatica Celtica*, somewhat similar rules seem to apply to the primary and secondary tenses of

<sup>1</sup> In all these instances *no-* stands for *no-n-*, the *n* being regularly lost before the following consonant.

<sup>2</sup> = *no-b-bendachthar*.

<sup>3</sup> So I would restore the missing letter; *lam-gabim* would be a good glossatorial translation of *man-cipo*.

<sup>4</sup> The prefixation of the relative particle *n* here is perhaps an artificial way of indicating the subjunctive mood; at least, I have not noted it in the living language.

the indicative in which *no-* is found. But there is at least one point of difference: *no-* is found in primary relative forms without infixed pronoun, Gramm. Celt.<sup>2</sup> p. 416. I have no sufficient collections of material to enter into details.

85. We come now to the difference in use between *no-* and *ro-* in those cases in which both particles are found. In brief, the difference may, I think, be expressed thus: **nogabad : rogabad = ná gabad : ná rogbad = asberad : asrobrad**. In other words, *no-* with the subjunctive is parallel to subjunctives without any particle after conjunctions that do not admit of *no-*, and to subjunctives without *ro-* of compound verbs in which both forms without *ro-* and forms with *ro-* are in use: *ro-* with the subjunctive of simple verbs is parallel to the use of *ro-* in compound verbs of this character. This is to be inferred from the uses of the two particles in different kinds of subordinate clauses. With *amal* 'as though,' and in clauses of a similar kind with *oldáas*, *indáas*, *is cummo* (§§ 51-53), the verbs *asbiur* and *dognú* appear without *ro-*: Ml. 51<sup>b</sup> 15 *amal bid ed inso asberad*, similarly Ml. 62<sup>c</sup> 2, Sg. 217<sup>b</sup> 15; *is cum[me] bid pugnator asberad* Ml. 67<sup>a</sup> 8; *amal ni bad cen cinta dagnetis* Ml. 74<sup>a</sup> 1, similarly Ml. 49<sup>a</sup> 11. Here, in the simple verb, *no-* stands where it is permissible. Add to the instances given above *amal nulloiscthe* Ml. 32<sup>c</sup> 13, *amal nutarasniginnse* Ml. 46<sup>b</sup> 13, *amal bid claind noclaintis* Ml. 63<sup>b</sup> 9, *amal bid ar ecin nosgabthae* Ml. 68<sup>b</sup> 2, *indáas bid preceptoir . . . . nodprithech* Ml. 42<sup>b</sup> 18, *is cumme di noberrthe*<sup>1</sup> Wb. 11<sup>c</sup> 13. After negatives the simple verb appears without any particle: *amal nistectitis* Wb. 10<sup>b</sup> 5, *amal ni cetis* Wb. 10<sup>b</sup> 6. Again, in relative clauses (§ 72 sq.) these compound verbs are generally without *ro-*, and here again the simple verb has prevalently either *no-* or no verbal particle. In conditional sentences the verbs *asbiur* and *dognú* appear regularly without *ro-*, Wb. 1<sup>d</sup> 1, 5<sup>a</sup> 26, 10<sup>a</sup> 14, 12<sup>a</sup> 4, 12<sup>d</sup> 13, 13<sup>a</sup> 19, 15<sup>d</sup> 18, 22<sup>b</sup> 23, 26<sup>a</sup> 1, 27<sup>a</sup> 27, Sg. 209<sup>b</sup> 30, Ml. 129<sup>b</sup> 12; Wb. 3<sup>d</sup> 2, 5<sup>c</sup> 23, 8<sup>a</sup> 11, 10<sup>c</sup> 4, 10<sup>c</sup> 19, 10<sup>d</sup> 32, 17<sup>c</sup> 20, 22<sup>b</sup> 23, Sg. 203<sup>a</sup> 6, Ml. 23<sup>c</sup> 24, 23<sup>d</sup> 4, 29<sup>a</sup> 6, 35<sup>c</sup> 18, 35<sup>d</sup> 14, 37<sup>c</sup> 16. In the simple verb *ro-* is very rare; for the

<sup>1</sup> On this passage Stokes remarks: "Zimmer (perhaps rightly) has *roberrthe*," but the Irish idiom calls here for *no-*, not *ro-*, as the above examples show.

few instances see § 93. On the other hand, in wishes *ro-* prevails both in simple verbs and in compounds (§ 18). Similarly with *act* § 48, and with *resiu* § 55. Further illustrations might be drawn from the foregoing pages, but the examples already given show that the parallel above drawn is not a fanciful one. Something more will have to be said of special cases under the next heading.

## (2) THE PARTICLE *ro-*.

86. What has been said about the particle *no-* has paved the way for the discussion of the particle *ro-*. For if the parallelism that we have sought to establish be correct, then in those verbs in which *ro-* is permissible in the subjunctive the contrast will be between all *ro-* forms on the one hand and all *ro-*-less forms on the other. Such a variation is by no means found in all Irish verbs. In simple verbs *ro-* is used freely with the subjunctive.<sup>1</sup> But in compound verbs the use of *ro-* is greatly restricted. In the first place, it is a general rule that compound verbs whose subjunctive is the *s*-subjunctive do not insert *ro-*. For these subjunctives see Phil. Soc. Trans. 1895-6, p. 157 sq. To the exceptions mentioned there should have been added *dorothuusa*<sup>2</sup> 'may I fall' ML. 23<sup>c</sup> 23, *resiu dorótsad*<sup>3</sup> 'before it fell' LU. 59<sup>a</sup> 23, by *arna todsat* 'that they may not fall' ML. 118<sup>a</sup> 12. Further, *resiu forruma*<sup>3</sup> *bine form* LL. 250<sup>a</sup> 10. In addition to these *s*-subjunctives many other compound verbs do not take *ro-* in the subjunctive. Some examples will be found, Phil. Soc. Trans. 1895-6, p. 157 sq.<sup>4</sup>; I have not got together a complete list of these verbs. In what follows,

<sup>1</sup> For the few verbs in which orthotonic forms with *ro-* alternate throughout with enclitic forms without *ro-*, see Phil. Soc. Trans. 1895-6, pp. 147, 149.

<sup>2</sup> Here *ro-* stands in the types of sentence where it is most widely used, so that it may be regarded as an analogical insertion.

<sup>3</sup> O'Beirne Crowe translates 'before he may inflict destruction upon us.' Zimmer, KZ. xxx, 151, takes the form from \**for-maidim*, according to which the meaning would be 'before destruction break upon us.' Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 95, suggests as a possibility that the form may belong to *du-forban* 'peruenit.' This suggestion finds support in LL. 238<sup>b</sup> 50, *gabthi remib in certan o-foruim* 'leg. *forruim*) *for di leiss na gabra*, The little rag went before them and lighted on the haunches of the mare. Here *maidim* would not be appropriate.

<sup>4</sup> In these lists some indicatives have been wrongly given as subjunctives: *-cumgaitis* p. 157, *incoisged* p. 159: see above, pp. 234 note, 297 l. 3.

these subjunctives that do not admit *ro-* must be regarded as excluded from the discussion; my remarks will apply only to the others.

87. At Sg. 203<sup>a</sup> 6 we find *arna derimis cum nobis, air dia n-denmis cum me, dogenmis dano cum nobis*, "That we might not make *cum nobis*, for if we made *cum me* we should moreover make *cum nobis*." Here it is impossible to make out any difference in meaning between *-denmis* and *-derimis*. But the example points to a difference of usage in different kinds of sentences. Hence, before we seek to determine what special meaning, if any, *ro-* has in the subjunctive mood, it will be well to examine the different types of subjunctive sentences that have been considered in the foregoing pages, in order that it may be seen to what extent *ro-* forms and *ro-*less forms occur in them respectively. In this the various kinds of sentences will be taken in the order in which they have been arranged above, except that, for reasons which will appear, final clauses will now be put last.
88. § 18. In expressing a wish the present subjunctive is regularly, so far as is possible, accompanied by *ro-*. Further instances may be seen in Hy. i, 6, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 24, 27, 30, 34, 36, 40, 45, 56; iv, 3, 4, 5, 11, 12; v, 92, 96, 103; vi, 22, 23, 26; viii, 6.<sup>1</sup> Compare the use of Cornish *ro-*, Breton *ra-*.
89. §§ 20, 21. In expressing command, in positive sentences the subjunctive is used without *ro-*. Note the positive *nomdiusca* by the negative *nimdersaige* in the passage quoted from LU. 62<sup>a</sup> 25. In negative sentences both forms are found, but *ro-* is more often absent than present. Additional examples from the Glosses are *ni cretid* Wb. 18<sup>e</sup> 11, *ni gessid* Wb. 26<sup>a</sup> 34, *ni etaignther-su, ni charae* Ml. 56<sup>b</sup> 31, *ni beras-siu, ni malartas-siu* (by *ni derlagas-siu*) Ml. 74<sup>d</sup> 13, *ni beras*

<sup>1</sup> We do not find *ro-* with the peculiar forms *snaisium* i, 11, *snaisiunn* i, 27, 38, *soersum* i, 28, *ainsiunn* vi, 14, which, so far as I remember, have been last discussed by Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi, 101. However the forms are to be explained, the absence of *ro-* reminds one of the absence of *ro-* in the later preterite *gabais* for the older *ro-gab*.

Ml. 94<sup>a</sup> 1, *niéndenaith* Wb. 6<sup>b</sup> 29, and in the third person <sup>1</sup>*ni riat* Wb. 28<sup>c</sup> 2. It will be observed that *ro-* is present only in compound verbs, cf. *ni fureba* 'thou shalt not leave' YBL. 344<sup>c</sup> 19. In simple verbs it is not present; many more examples of this may be found in the *Reglum Mochuta*, LBr. 261, and in the *Tecosca Cormaic*, LL. 344<sup>a</sup>, 345<sup>a</sup>. The copula is an exception to the rule; there *ro* may be present at least in later Irish (*ni rab. nirba, nirbat*); I have at present no example to hand from the Glosses.

90. §§ 20–23. With the potential subjunctives §§ 21, 22, *ro-* is regularly used. A further instance is Wb. 30<sup>a</sup> 10, *ni rohéla uáit*, 'It could not escape from thee.' On the other hand, after the adverb *bés* § 24 I have no example of the addition of *ro-*.
91. §§ 25–28. With the past subjunctive of doubt or conjecture, §§ 25, 26, the usage varies. To the examples given above, which will have to be considered later, add Ml. 35<sup>b</sup> 16, *toimtiu bed fou nogabtis inna dlígeda inna canone fetarlaice foní fuatabarr isind nuiadnisíu*, 'The opinion that the sayings of the canon of the Old Testament with reference to that to which they are applied in the New Testament'; Ml. 35<sup>b</sup> 16, *dorumenatar co m-bad fou nogabthe isint faithsi foní fotabarr isind nufadnisíu*, 'They thought that it was sung in Prophecy with reference to that to which it is applied in the New Testament'; Ml. 113<sup>c</sup> 7, *ne . . . . crederetur tunc tantum adeptus imperium, .i. co m-bad and nogabad flaith són*, 'That it was then that he took the sovereignty'; Ml. 24<sup>d</sup> 7, *uisum sane est quibusdam quod in tabernaculorum confixione . . . . est psalmus iste compositus, .i. co m-bad si amser sin rongabthe insalm*, 'That it was at that time the psalm was sung'; Ml. 139<sup>a</sup> 9, *co m-bad du doiri babil[on]e rogabtis*, 'That they were sung of the captivity of Babylon.' With *dóig, inda* § 27

<sup>1</sup> In indirect command the second person may be replaced by the third, e.g. *apair fris fíngal nisderna*, 'Tell him he shall not commit parricide', LL. 294<sup>a</sup> 15: on this page such subjunctives alternate with the imperative and the future indicative. After a past tense the present subjunctive may become past, cf. LU. 99<sup>a</sup> 28, *asbert winíon drui bátar n-é airchoilte a flatha: arnúi echbrad a temraig cach nómaid aidche 7 ní fuimmilísed gata ina flaith, 7 na gabtha díberg, 7 ní airísed augra in dú tuáthmáil tuáth maugna 7 na fóied hi taig asmbad érna soile iar fuiniud gréne*. Here the indirect command alternates with formal final clauses.

none of the instances have *ro-*; however, none of them are of such a kind that *ro-* might have been expected in accordance with what will be laid down afterwards, and the apparent absence of *ro-* may be due to mere chance. With the subjunctive of rejected reason or fact (§ 28) the usage varies. I have no examples to add to those that have been already given.

92. §§ 31–33. In dependent interrogative sentences § 31 *ro-* is not found, but, as the instances are few, no weight can be laid on this. With *dú* § 33 *ro-* is found once, Wb. 10<sup>a</sup> 3, but the total number of examples is small.

93. §§ 34–47. In conditional clauses, in proportion to the total number of occurrences, the instances in which the subjunctive is accompanied by *ro-* are very few. As the examples on the foregoing pages are much scattered, it will be convenient to bring them together here along with other instances that have been noted.

(a) Present subjunctive.

(a) *ma, mani-*.

ML. 89<sup>c</sup> 11, *solis continuis cursibus pax aequabitur si fuerit iusto principis uigore fundata, .i. mani roima fora cenn ní mema forena bullu* (p. 264, l. 16). Wb. 28<sup>b</sup> 28, *si quis autem domui suae bene praeesse nescit, quomodo ecclesiae Dei diligentiam habebit? .i. mani rochosca som a muntir intain bíis cen grád, ní uisse toinigecht sochuide do* (p. 266, bottom).

As examples without *ro-*, in addition to those already given § 83, may be quoted Wb. 2<sup>c</sup> 17, 5<sup>b</sup> 23, 10<sup>d</sup> 24, 25, 12<sup>c</sup> 46, 13<sup>b</sup> 19, 18<sup>b</sup> 7, 29<sup>a</sup> 16, 30<sup>b</sup> 2, 8<sup>a</sup> 11, 12<sup>c</sup> 43, 12<sup>b</sup> 23, 13<sup>b</sup> 20; Sg. 77<sup>a</sup> 8; ML. 40<sup>b</sup> 2, 46<sup>c</sup> 15, 71<sup>c</sup> 19, 77<sup>d</sup> 6, 94<sup>b</sup> 10, 103<sup>a</sup> 8, 142<sup>b</sup> 3.

(β) *dia n-*.

ML. 107<sup>d</sup> 4, *ut de medio nos captiuitatis educas, ne materia salutis tuae pereat, si opus pietatis tuae mors nostra praecueniat, .i. dia n-érbalam-ní<sup>1</sup> ní bia nech ru iccae-siu andás* (p. 264, l. 23).

Acr. 79, *níba animus dia n-érbala*, It will not be *animus* if it die. (The previous gloss, quoted p. 246, l. 18, has *ciatbela*.)

<sup>1</sup> But Sg. 181<sup>a</sup> 6 *mani eple*.

Ml. 45<sup>c</sup> 7, tuum habens adiutorium formidare non potero, .i. *dia roib to fortacht-su lium*, "If I have Thy help."

As examples without *ro-* may be quoted Wb. 1<sup>c</sup> 9, 5<sup>d</sup> 23, 15<sup>d</sup> 28, 29<sup>a</sup> 2; Sg. 203<sup>a</sup> 6; Ml. 46<sup>c</sup> 22, 53<sup>b</sup> 19. In Ml. 142<sup>b</sup> 2 Mr. Stokes informs me that the MS. has *dia numsoiras*.

(γ) *cia*.

Here *ro-* is found after expressions like *is uisse* 'it is fit' (§ 40). This usage is not universal, cf. Sg. 71<sup>a</sup> 10 (§ 40) and Psalt. Hib. 235 *olsodain nād maith fri Cirine ciasberthar*, "However, it does not seem right to Jerome that it should be said." With *cia* in its ordinary use I have noted Ml. 20<sup>d</sup> 4 *cia rubé cen ní díib, ní rubai cesaib huli* (§ 37), and Sg. 138<sup>a</sup> 5, in commoditate deficientur quaedam ut si uelimus ab eo quod est cursor et risor femininum dicere, .i. *robiat ar chuit folid cenid rubat ar chuit suin*, "They will be in respect of substance, though they are not in respect of sound." For examples of *cia* without *ro-* see § 83.

(b) Past subjunctive.

Here I have only examples of *cia*:—Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 6, *oe rudglanta tri bathis nita cumace do chaingnim*; Féil. 241, *cia ronbeth—cath fri demon della, diar fortacht—maraid in Crist cetna* (§ 46). With *ba uisse*, etc., the examples § 43 are all without *ro-*. So further, Wb. 13<sup>a</sup> 33, per quod et saluamini qua ratione praedicauerim uobis si tenetis, .i. *ba coir oe nachomalnithe; ropridchad mór n-amri dúib*, "It were fitting that ye should fulfil it; much of marvel has been preached unto you"; Psalt. Hib. 81, *ní animmaircide ciasbertha disi* prophetia, "It is not unsuitable that it should be called prophecy"; ib. 202, *immaircide cid isin tressluo nobeth*<sup>1</sup> *in salm asindet dond ésergu iar tredenus*. *immaircide dano cid isin coicatmad lucc nobeth*<sup>1</sup> *in psalm aithrige*, "It is fit that the psalm which tells of the Resurrection after three days should be in the third place. It is fit again that the penitential psalm should be in the fiftieth place." On the other hand, Psalt. Hib. 86, *ní animmaircide dono cia dorurmithe la noescribenda*, "It is not unfitting that it should have been reckoned with the Sacred writings"; SR. 3617 (Joseph is addressed by his brethren after the discovery of the cup in Benjamin's sack), *ciambad londbrass digal Dé fornn ba comadas fri ar cloenré; coir cia roncrinad co lar*

<sup>1</sup> Rawl. B. 512 has in both cases *nobeith*, but Harl. 5280 points to the correct reading.



*icínaid ar targabal*, "It were fitting that the vengeance of God should be fierce and great on us all our wicked lives; it were right that He had withered us to the ground for the fault of our transgressions"; LU. 61<sup>a</sup> 15, *fer dorigní sin amdar lána a sé bliadna, ní pu machddá ce doronad síde dagnim ind inbuid-sea intan ata lána a secht m-bliadna déc*, "It were no wonder that a man who did that when his six years were complete, should have done a doughty deed now when his sixteen years are complete." Instances of the past subjunctive without *ro-* will be found above § 83, and Wb. 3<sup>d</sup> 16, ML. 74<sup>b</sup> 12, 88<sup>b</sup> 16, 96<sup>a</sup> 10, Wb. 3<sup>c</sup> 28, ML. 35<sup>c</sup> 18, Sg. 203<sup>a</sup> 6.

94. § 48. With *act* 'provided that' *ro-* is regular. To the examples given § 48 add *act rocomalnither* Wb. 26<sup>a</sup> 15, *act rooretem* Wb. 27<sup>a</sup> 15, *act rocretea* Wb. 27<sup>b</sup> 15, *act ranglana* Wb. 30<sup>b</sup> 19, *act rachomalnathar* Wb. 31<sup>b</sup> 11, *acht asringba* Sg. 71<sup>a</sup> 2, *acht asrobarthar* Bcr. 32<sup>b</sup> 5. The only exception that I have noted from the Glosses is *act ní bed* Wb. 10<sup>b</sup> 27 (p. 280, l. 20).

95. §§ 50–53. In sentences of comparison the subjunctive is regularly used without *ro-*; see above § 85.

96. §§ 54, 55. With the temporal particles *intan*, etc. (§ 54), I have no cases of *ro-*; but the total number of instances is small. On the other hand, with *restu* 'before' (§ 55) *ro-* is regular in Old Irish. In Mid. Ir. *no-* is also found, e.g. LL. 124<sup>b</sup> 42, SR. 7851, 7852, 7855. But how intimately *ro-* was associated with this conjunction is shown by the Mod. *sul*<sup>1</sup> and *sear* (O'Donovan Gram., pp. 157, 158), which are undoubtedly developed from *restu ro-*, *siu ro-*.

Of *con-* 'until' I have only a few examples from the Glosses. Add ML. 129<sup>a</sup> 14 *donec—despiciat*, g. *co n-dernessa .i. o-rudimicedar*; and from later texts LU. 58<sup>a</sup> 43, *ní théssid secco co n-darala nech uáib co n-én lúim*, "Ye shall not go past it till one of you throw it with one hand"; LU. 63<sup>b</sup> 4, *arnd dechsad nech sechái o-ribulised err óencharpait*, "That no one should go past it till a warrior of

<sup>1</sup> *sul* is already found LL. 89<sup>b</sup> 4, *sul bus tráthsta imbarach*, 'before this time to-morrow.'

a single chariot had leaped it"; LU. 22<sup>b</sup> 37, *ní íb ní co n-erbara frim mo máthair 7 m'athair*, "I will drink nothing till thou tellest me my mother and my father." But the instances in the Glosses, along with those from other texts, seem to indicate that here *ro-* is regular. In LU. 57<sup>b</sup> 24 we have *co n-élar* 'till is found,' but this is not an exception, since *élar* is a verb that is averse to *ro-* (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1895-6, p. 149). There is a real exception in *co fogbad* Ir. Text. i, 215, ll. 16, 18, 24, but the verse in this text is not old; I should say it is not earlier than the eleventh century.

97. §§ 70-76. In relative clauses as in conditional clauses *ro-* is rare.

(a) In periphrastic forms of expression (§§ 70, 71) *ro-* is not uncommon in sentences of the type *co m-bad de rogabthe* "It would be of that that it was sung," §§ 25, 26, 91. In all other periphrastic sentences, conditional, final, etc., it is very rare. It is found ML. 129<sup>b</sup> 2, *iterat sane istius bona et praecepta uirtutis ut et hortantis intentio et praestantissimi incoletur operis adpetitus*, .i. *corrup léir roscemallathar inti ardatuaissi* (p. 313, l. 1); but the preceding gloss on the same sentence has *coru[p] léir dúngné nech in precept*, "That everyone may diligently do the teaching." So further, Wb. 13<sup>d</sup> 21, *cid fo gnim cid fo chésad dorróntar* (p. 270, l. 6); Wb. 5<sup>b</sup> 18, *si quomodo ad emulandum prouocem carnem meam*, .i. *sechi chruth dondrón*, "In whatever way I may do it." Additional examples of this subjunctive without *ro-* will be found Wb. 2<sup>b</sup> 4, 5<sup>b</sup> 10, 5<sup>d</sup> 27, 6<sup>b</sup> 4, 9<sup>c</sup> 24, 9<sup>d</sup> 22, 9<sup>d</sup> 27, 10<sup>a</sup> 18, 10<sup>a</sup> 28, 11<sup>d</sup> 6, 13<sup>a</sup> 5, 18<sup>b</sup> 16, 18<sup>c</sup> 31, 25<sup>d</sup> 20, 29<sup>a</sup> 21; Sg. 21<sup>b</sup> 6, 73<sup>b</sup> 8, 120<sup>a</sup> 2, 202<sup>a</sup> 7; ML. 25<sup>d</sup> 11, 32<sup>d</sup> 5, 38<sup>d</sup> 20 (leg. *dognethe*), 49<sup>d</sup> 27, 51<sup>d</sup> 2, 53<sup>c</sup> 13, 55<sup>a</sup> 9, 73<sup>d</sup> 1, 103<sup>d</sup> 16, 120<sup>c</sup> 1, etc.

(b) In general relative clauses (§ 72) *ro-* is very rare:—Wb. 5<sup>d</sup> 30, *prouidentes bona non tantum coram Deo*, .i. *ná maith robé bad hed dognéid* (p. 312, l. 11); LL. 251<sup>a</sup> 27, *an rochara dagne dimsa* (p. 310, l. 29); Hy. vii, 58, *Crist i eridiu cech duine immimrorda*, *Crist i n-gin cech oen rodomlabrathar*, "Christ in the heart of every man who meditates upon me, Christ in the mouth of every man who speaks of me"; Wb. 8<sup>a</sup> 4, *non misit me Christus baptizare sed euangelizare*, .i. *ut dixit, ut portas nomen nostrum coram gentibus: precept dosom didiu et todiuschad co m-bad aurlam cách dia bathis et a des-ípul som don bathis iarom, arnach n-aurchois*

*som fri ní duronad nach aile*, "That he then should teach and awaken, that everyone might be ready for his baptism, and his disciple for baptism afterwards, that he might not hinder himself (?) against what another had done."

(c) In negative sentences of the type of § 73 *ro-* is rare:—  
 ML. 107<sup>a</sup> 4, *dia n-ærbalam-ní ní bia nech runiccae-siu* (p. 311, l. 20);  
 Hy. v, 67, *an dorigna do fertaib ní fail dorurme co cert*, "What she hath done of miracles there is no one who could reckon exactly"; Wb. 28<sup>b</sup> 1, *coram . . . Deo, qui omnes homines uult saluos fieri, g. ceist cid natat sláin ind huli máthobra, quia omnia quaecunque uoluit Dominus fecit? ní anse: hóre nád comeicnighther nech fri toil.* l. *is pars pro toto, arní fil ceneel na belre isin diuth di[a] nadriethe nech.* l. *indíi adchobra som do hico it hé ronice tantum*, "Question, why are all not saved if He desires it, *quia*, etc.? Not hard (to say): because no one is constrained against his will. Or it is *pars pro toto*, for there is neither race nor nation in the world of whom some one has not been saved. Or those whom He desires to save it is they whom He has saved only." ML. 107<sup>b</sup> 8, *nihil miseriarum reliquum est, nihil afflictionis cuius iam experimenta non caperem, .i. ní ofil frithorcain nachamthised-sa 7 nad fordamaínn* (p. 316, l. 18); ML. 80<sup>c</sup> 9, *conna conrobae ní roscrutais* (p. 316, l. 4); ML. 36<sup>a</sup> 29, *quia non habebat, .i. ní asriad do feichemain rodligestar ní do l. ní doromlad fadesin s-rairleced do*, "Because he had not, namely, aught to give to a creditor who had a claim upon him, or aught which he himself might enjoy, till it was lent him." To the examples without *ro-* may be added ML. 33<sup>a</sup> 5, *malis eum sine impedimento aliquo gravissimis atterebant, .i. cein nad m-bid fortacht dé desom* (leg. *dosom*?), *ní bóí ní nogabad díbsom tabart fochaide foir*, "So long as he had not the help of God, there was nothing that could prevent them from inflicting sufferings on him"; ML. 74<sup>b</sup> 13, *non condemnanda est conlatio nominum Dei et hominis, .i. ní dimicthi cumachtae n-dé du soirad 7 cumachtae n-duini du ingrainmim, .i. air ní bóí numsoiradsa ar chumachtae n-duini oc m'ingrainmim manimsoirad cumachtae n dé*, "Not contemptible is the power of God for deliverance and the power of man for persecution, i.e. for there was no one to deliver me from the power of man when he persecuted me unless the power of God had delivered me."

(d) In the relative sentences of the types of § 74, *ro-* is found with the present subjunctive in two relative clauses of a potential character (cf. § 23), ML. 33<sup>d</sup> 10, *nem insin nad chonriethar* (p. 318,

l. 6); Wb. 17<sup>b</sup> 6, quia quales sumus uerbo per epistolas absentes, tales et praesentes in facto, .i. *ni irbágam ná dernam*, "We boast not what we could not do."<sup>1</sup> With the past subjunctive there are two instances: Wb. 27<sup>a</sup> 16, donans uobis omnia delicta, .i. *bái and ní roerthe* (p. 318, l. 14); Wb. 31<sup>e</sup> 18, qui dedit semet ipsum pro nobis ut nos redimeret ab omni iniquitate et mundaret sibi populum acceptabilem, .i. *bói ní roglante and*.

98. It remains to treat of final clauses § 61 sq. This type of clause differs from most of those that have been hitherto considered, in that there is no such clear predominance of one form over the other; subjunctives with *ro-* and subjunctives without *ro-* seem at first sight to be used absolutely without discrimination. Seeing that this is so, in order that others may be better able to judge of the correctness of my conclusions or the contrary, I give lists of final clauses found in the Glosses. The lists will probably be found pretty complete for simple verbs, and for *asbiur* and *dognú*: the substantive verb is given only from Wb. First come clauses with *aran-*, then clauses with *co con-*, and lastly the few examples of subjunctives with other particles. In each case the clauses without *ro-* precede. Under the several subdivisions the instances are arranged in the following order: (a) the simple verb, (β) *asbiur* (γ) *dognú*, (δ) the substantive verb.

99. *aran-*.

(a) without *ro-*.

(a) Wb. 2<sup>d</sup> 4, non est autem scriptum tantum propter ipsum . . . sed et propter nos, .i. *ara sechemmar a bénu som* in fide, That we may follow his customs in fide.

Wb. 11<sup>b</sup> 6, *is béas tra donaib dagforcillidib molad ingni inna m-étside ara carat an rochlúinetar*, It is customary, then, for good teachers to praise the understanding of the hearers that they may love what they hear.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the past subjunctive Wb. 8<sup>a</sup> 5, non in sapientia uerbi ut non euacuetur crux Christi, .i. in qua uos gloriamini .i. *nipu nach derninn-se am, act ní tucfíther rún inna cruche mad sulbair 7 mad an in precept*, It was not that I could not have done it indeed, but the mystery of the Cross will not be understood if the preaching be eloquent and brilliant.

Wb. 15<sup>a</sup> 19, *is hed asbeir som hic ara tartar airmitiu féid donaib preceptorib*, .i. *ara comalnither* quod dicunt, It is this that he says here, that honour may be given to teachers, i.e. that what they say may be fulfilled.

Wb. 27<sup>b</sup> 27, *is hed tra forchain som hic, ara tuoca cách a canas, condib réil less ind inne bess and, et ari(n)réla do chách rodehluinethar*, It is this, then, that he teaches here, that everyone should understand what he says, so that the sense which is in it may be clear to him, and that he may make it clear to everyone who hears it.

Wb. 31<sup>b</sup> 10, *amplectantem eum, qui secundum doctrinam est, g. ara scrúta cid forhana do hicc cáich*, That he may scrutinize what he may teach to save all.

Wb. 31<sup>c</sup> 14, *non fraudantes, sed in omnibus fidem bonam ostendentes, ut doctrinam Salvatoris nostri Dei ornent in omnibus, .i. arinchomalnathar cach n-gdd*, That He may fulfil every want (?).

Wb. 32<sup>a</sup> 2, *ut communicatio fidei tuae evidens fiat, in agnitionem omnis operis boni, gg., arimp follus et ara n-gaba cách desimrecht de*, That it may be clear, and that all may take an example therefrom; *ara tucid et ara comalnid cach maid*, That ye may understand and fulfil every good thing.

Ml. 51<sup>a</sup> 16, *pro simili arrogantia oportet ab omni sancto orari, .i. ma beith ara n-dena nech dinaib noibaib huail cosmail frisinni dorigni ezechias ara n-gé dilgud 7 ara n-dena aith[r]igi amal duendrigni ezechias*, If it be that any of the saints is guilty of pride like to that of Hezekiah, that he entreat forgiveness and make repentance even as Hezekiah did.

Ml. 53<sup>b</sup> 27, *utilitatem exhortationis inculcat, .i. foilsigidir sôn 7 doadbat nertad coitchen do chách, .i. ara n-ge cach dia amal duendrigni som 7 rondcehladar adi*, He manifests and shows a common encouragement to all, i.e. that all should pray to God as he did, and He will hear them.

Ml. 122<sup>b</sup> 7, *acht is ara techta*, But it is that he may have.

Wb. 5<sup>a</sup> 16, *do choscc inna n-israhelde asbeir som ant siu, arnachamóidet cid doib doarrechet*, To correct the Israelites he says this, that they may not boast though they were prophesied unto.

Wb. 28<sup>a</sup> 20, *asbertar a n-anman arna gaba nech desimrecht diib*, Their names are mentioned that no one may take an example from them.

ML. 27<sup>e</sup> 6, accingere in ultionem ne insolescant, .i. arna ecmailtigetar.

ML. 28<sup>d</sup> 9, ne haec, inquit, . . . opinio conualescat, g. arna sonartnaigedar.

ML. 65<sup>e</sup> 3, *bid im chorpu aiso coim leu som arna lobat in sepulcro*, It is about the bodies of the beautiful ones with them that they may not rot in the grave.

ML. 68<sup>b</sup> 9, Daud instituit docens ut non magno stupore capiantur earum rerum quae in hac uita gloriosa creduntur, .i. *cia beith ar n-acathar nech inna rétu inducbaidi in bethe so, arnachoorathar i m-moth 7 machthad dia seire 7 dia n-acubur*, Though it be that one sees the glorious things of this world, that it may not put him in stupor and wonder to love them and to desire them.

ML. 68<sup>e</sup> 7, dives ne . . . turgescat, g. arna cru[a]cha .i. arna diummussaigedar.

ML. 71<sup>b</sup> 6, observatur semper . . . admissi qualitas quantitasque ne . . . poenitentiae . . . languescat intentio, .i. *sechis arna lobraigedar*.

ML. 126<sup>a</sup> 4, ne . . . uadet, .i. arna té.

ML. 54<sup>e</sup> 18, *hu[a]re asbered heremias friusom fesin ara n-gnetis degnimu*, Because Jeremiah used to say to them themselves that they should do good works.

ML. 102<sup>d</sup> 1, huius deuotionis obsequium . . . non leuiter imperatum est, .i. *ara m-moltis dia cu túthrachtach ón*, That they should praise God fervently.

ML. 102<sup>d</sup> 3, *asrubart dia friusom ara celebartis a sollumnu 7 arindmoldais*, God said to them that they should celebrate His festivals and that they should praise Him.

ML. 125<sup>e</sup> 2, *asrubart dia hi recht ón ara sechitis a thimnao*, He said "a God in law" that they might follow His ordinances.

ML. 126<sup>e</sup> 10, *is airi asber som is dia rodlabrastar, ara crete són embiad iar fir aní rolabrastar dia*, Therefore he says that God he it, that it might be believed that what God had spoken should be according to truth.

ML. 113<sup>d</sup> 5, *huaro dorairngerad doib tuidecht a doiri, arna saigdis gudi n-dæ dia tabairt asin doiri sin*, Because God had ~~announced~~ them that they should come from captivity, that they neglect to pray to God that they might be brought vity.

(β) Wb. 5<sup>a</sup> 5, *is hecen sainecosce leosom for accrannaib innani prechite* pacem et *immechuretar cori ho rigaib ara n-epertar* : *is do immarchor chóre dotiagat ind fir so*, They deem it necessary to have a peculiar appearance on the sandals of those that preach peace and carry peace from kings, so that it may be said of them : "It is on an errand of peace that these men come."

Wb. 7<sup>d</sup> 8, *dobeir som ainm bráthre doib arna epret is ara miscuis in cúrsachad act is ara seirco*, He gives them the name of brethren that they may not say the reproof is out of hatred to them, but it is out of love for them.

Wb. 30<sup>b</sup> 17, *erit uas in honorem sanctificatum, .i. precept athirge arna epret ind heretic* : *hore is* in contumeliam *dúnni nípíam fri aithirgi*, The preaching of repentance that the heretics may not say : "Because it is *in contumeliam* to us, we will not be at repentance."

Wb. 23<sup>d</sup> 25, *nos autem sumus circumcisio, .i. arna eperthe, is airi robói som oc tathair imdibi hóre ní roimdibed*, That it might not be said that therefore he was blaming circumcision because he had not been circumcised.

(γ) Ml. 30<sup>d</sup> 13, *in commune consultit . . . . ut uel emendentur uel certe caueantur, .i. ara n-dentar a n-indarbas maní eroimet a forcital 7 arna rogabthar midesmrecht dib*, That their expulsion may be wrought if they receive not his teaching, and that an evil example may not be taken from them.

Cf. also Ml. 51<sup>a</sup> 16, p. 335.

(δ) Wb. 25<sup>d</sup> 26, *ut non cito moueamini a uestro sensu, g. ní armad maith lessom in cumscugud mall act is arna bae etir*, Not that He might like the slow movement, but that it may not be at all.

(b) with *ro-*.

(a) Ml. 131<sup>d</sup> 14, *do andud a menman són ar[a r]oigisitis a tailciud asin doiri amal rondgadatar tres pueri*, To inflame their mind that they should pray to be let go from captivity as did *tres pueri*.

Wb. 10<sup>c</sup> 14, *non manducabo carnem in aeternum, ne fratrem meum scandalizem, .i. arna derlind, .i. arna arna rimfolngar díltod do*, Lest I should scandalize, i.e. lest scandal be caused to him.

Wb. 11<sup>b</sup> 21, *omne . . . . manducate, nihil interrogantes propter conscientiam, .i. ní díl dúib d iarfaigid arna rala for cubus*

*diri*, It is not pleasant for you to ask it, lest it force itself upon your conscience (lit. lest your conscience come to consider it).

Wb. 14<sup>d</sup> 21, *ita ut e contrario magis donetis et consolemini, ne forte abundantiori tristitia absorbeatur, .i. arnáchróilca derchoiniud, dílgid dó et dandonid*, That despair may not swallow him up, forgive him and console him.

Ml. 30<sup>d</sup> 13, *arna rogabthar by ara n-dentar*, see above p. 337.

Ml. 56<sup>b</sup> 33, *a zelaueris immurgu at son im ni notechtai fein (a)rn(a)chróthechta nach aile hi cutrummus frit*, The *Zelaueris*, however, is jealousy about a thing that thou possessest thyself that another may not possess it equally with thee.

Ml. 127<sup>a</sup> 7, *inprecatur inimico desperationem salutis, .i. arna rochretea m-bias ice do lua dia*, That he may not believe that there will be salvation to him from God.

(β) Wb. 10<sup>d</sup> 13, *omnia sustinemus, ne quod offendiculum demus euangelio Christi, .i. arná érbarthar is precept ar biad nammd et arna dergaba linn cretmeach et arn-dom-roib-se fochrioo*, That it may not be said that it is teaching for food only, and that believers may not diminish and that I may have reward.

Wb. 27<sup>a</sup> 8, (*for*) *osin som hic seruos obedire et seruire dominis arna érbarat domini: robtar irlithi ar (mogo) dúun resiu tised hiores*, He teaches here servants to be obedient and submissive to their masters, that the masters may not say: "Our servants were obedient to us before faith came."

Wb. 31<sup>a</sup> 7, *subditas uiris suis, ut non blasfemetur uerbum Dei, .i. arna érbarthar: o chretsit, nintá airli (irlami? Stokes) ar m-ban*, That it may not be said: "Since they believed, we have not the control (?) of our wives."

Wb. 33<sup>b</sup> 16, *festinemus ergo ingredi in illam requiem, ut ne in id ipsum quis incedat incredulitatis exemplum, g. arna érbarthar frinn a n-asrobrad fri ar ceiliu*, That what was said to our fellows may not be said unto us.

(γ) Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 5, *corpus quidem mortuum est propter peccatum, .i. arna derna peccad*, That it may not commit sin.

Wb. 16<sup>a</sup> 24, *ciasber-sa inso, ni to bar tathúir act is do bar tinchos, ara n-dernaíd a n-dogniam-ni et arna dernaíd annad denam-ni*, Though I say this, it is not to reproach you, but to instruct you, that ye may do what we do, and that ye may not do what we do not do.

Ml. 93<sup>a</sup> 1, *uenite, comprimamus dies festos Dei a terra, .i. arna derntar a n adrad*, That they may not be honoured.



Sg. 203<sup>a</sup> 6, ne eadem computatione adiungendum esset "cum nobis," g. *arna derimís* cum nobis, That we might not make *cum nobis*.

(δ) Wb. 5<sup>a</sup> 5, signum *són ara roib saingné for gnimaib inna preceptore*, That is a *signum* that there may be a special form on the deeds of teachers.

Wb. 15<sup>d</sup> 11, et pro omnibus mortuus est, ut et qui uiuunt iam non sibi uiuant, sed ei qui pro ipsis mortuus est, i. *arna oon-roib dethiden for neuch act tol dá do dénum*, That there may be no care on anyone save to do the will of God.

Wb. 5<sup>a</sup> 26, et ego relictus sum solus, et quaerunt animam meam, *cid a n-uathath n-isiu arna roib occo*, That even this *one* should not be at it.

Wb. 29<sup>a</sup> 7, uolo ergo iuniores nubere, . . . nullam occasionem dare aduersario maledicti gratia, i. *arna roib éicndag ind raith diadi trea peccad som*, That there may be no blasphemy of the divine grace through their sin.

100. If we look at Ml. 30<sup>d</sup> 13 (p. 337), we see that the positive *ara n-dentar* is joined with the negative *arna rogabthar*. This at once suggests the possibility of a difference of usage in positive and negative clauses. That the distinction is not absolute is clear from the preceding examples, but it may be worth while noting the statistics for Wb. and Ml. Excluding the forms of the substantive verb, of which I have no complete collection for Ml., the case stands as follows:—

	Wb. Ml.			Wb. Ml.	
<i>aran-</i> without <i>ro-</i>	9	12	<i>aran-</i> with <i>ro-</i>	1 <sup>1</sup>	1
<i>arna-</i> without <i>ro-</i>	5	9	<i>arna-</i> with <i>ro-</i>	11	4

With *aran-*, *ro-*, then, is rare in both collections. With *arna-*, the ratio in Wb. is reversed in Ml. From this we are justified in inferring that at one time *ro-* predominated in negative clauses. In the later language we should expect a further diminution of *ro-* in negative clauses. Unfortunately, the conjunction ceases to be a common one, but the development seems certainly to be in that direction. Thus, from the copies of the Táin Bó Cúailnge, and the Togail

<sup>1</sup> Wb. 16<sup>c</sup> 24, where *ara n-dernaid* is followed by *arna dernaid*. Can the former be a scribal error due to the proximity of the latter?

Bruidne Dá Dergga in LU., I have noted *arnáchasalehad* 57<sup>b</sup> 16, *arna bristé* 77<sup>b</sup> 8 by *arná rabi* 'that thou mayest not be' 84<sup>a</sup> 30. In the Tecosca Cormaic, LL. 345<sup>a</sup> 51 sq., in sentences of the form *nirbat comramach arnabat miscnech*, "thou shalt not be contentious that thou mayest not be odious," the copula stands without *ro-* twelve times, with *ro-* once. Compare also the examples in Windisch s.v. *ara-*. The development here is the reverse of what we shall find with *con-*.

101. (a) *co*, *con-* without *ro-*.

(a) Wb. 6<sup>d</sup> 11, ut abundetis in spe et uirtute Spiritus sancti, .i. *is hé nodonnorta-ni co fedligmer isin freescin foirbthi*, It is He that strengthens us, so that we may remain in the perfect hope.

Ms. 39<sup>b</sup> 8, fac mecum misericordiam ut mirentur omnes, g. *co adamraigetar*.

Ms. 51<sup>a</sup> 10, ut paenitentia expiet quod incurrit arrogantia, .i. *co glanaid*.

Ms. 51<sup>c</sup> 10, hortatur ut psallant, .i. *co molait sôn*, That they praise.

Ms. 103<sup>d</sup> 16, ut taceri sinas, .i. *co léce*.

Ms. 106<sup>e</sup> 6, ut ad parendum tibi impiger accedam, .i. *co erladaigear*.

Ms. 138<sup>e</sup> 4, idola in nostram formantur effigiem ut inanimam . . . materiem humana imago nobilitet, g. *co sochenelaigidir*.

Wb. 31<sup>c</sup> 8, te ipsum praebe exemplum bonorum operum, .i. *co n-gaba cach desimrecht dii gnímaib*, So that all may take an example from thy works.

Wb. 31<sup>c</sup> 11, ut is qui ex aduerso est reuereatur, nihil habens dicere, g. *mad in chrud-so bemmi*, .i. *co comalnammar a pridchimme* et *co m-man dessimrecht do chach*, If we be in this wise, to wit, that we fulfil what we preach, and that we be an example unto all.

Ms. 58<sup>e</sup> 6, *tiag-sa co tall a chenn*, I go to take off his head.

Ms. 86<sup>b</sup> 8, eripe me de luto ut non haeream, .i. *coni gléu*.

Wb. 2<sup>b</sup> 4, ut omne os obstruatur, .i. *connáchmoidea nech*, That no one may boast.

(Corresponding to *co-* with the present subjunctive we have *co no-* with the past subjunctive, § 83).

Wb. 3<sup>b</sup> 9, non ergo regnet peccatum in uestro mortali corpore, ut oboediatis concupiscentiae eius, .i. *co noairladigthe*.

Wb. 3<sup>d</sup> 26, ut iustificatio Legis impleretur in nobis, .i. co *nocomalnithe indiunni*.

Wb. 10<sup>d</sup> 36, ut eos qui sub Lege erant lucrificarem, .i. co *nosberinn dochum hirisse*, That I might bring them to faith.

Wb. 19<sup>b</sup> 22, ut in Gentibus benedictio Abrachae fieret in Christo Iesu, .i. co *nocomalnide an durairngred do abarcham*, That what had been promised to Abraham might be fulfilled.

ML. 27<sup>b</sup> 7, saluti meae . . . . reddidisti me ut . . . . in dicendis tibi laudibus occuparer, .i. *sechis co*[MS. *com*]num-gabthae *són*.

ML. 32<sup>b</sup> 13, omnem impendebat operam ut peccatum suum deploraret (g. co *nucoined.*), et uelut recenti semper tristitia compleretur, g. co *nulintae*.

ML. 39<sup>e</sup> 5, ut munimen . . . . inpetraret, bene . . . . aduocauit exemplum, .i. co *nulogad*.

ML. 39<sup>e</sup> 15, ut primi exciperent si quos fors ictus inferret, g. co *nugabtis adi*.

ML. 131<sup>d</sup> 13, testimonium obtineat omnes idem potuisse, .i. con *n-gestais huili tadehor asin doiri* ut fecerunt tres pueri, That all should pray for a return from captivity, *ut* etc.

Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 9, ut secundum carnem uiuamus, .i. co *n-gnemmis gnímu colno*, That we should do the deeds of the flesh.

Wb. 8<sup>d</sup> 26, o-sechide *humaldoit huaimse*, That ye might follow humility from me (cf. p. 294, l. 10).

ML. 70<sup>e</sup> 13, nec fructuose facies si praecepta mea temerans honorem meam praedicaueris, ostentationi, non deuotioni seruiens, .i. o-*idchomallada hua gnimaib*, That thou shouldst fulfil it in deeds.

ML. 69<sup>a</sup> 17, ut Deo subditus neque prosperitatibus elatus referret gratias largitori, onachgabad *huall de*, That pride might not seize him therefrom.

(β) Wb. 32<sup>a</sup> 20, ego reddam ut non dicam tibi quod et te ipsum mihi debes, g. con *eper-sa fritso dligim ní duit*, That I may not say to thee I have a claim upon thee.

ML. 77<sup>a</sup> 6, ut . . . . dicereturque, g. co *asberthae*.

ML. 36<sup>a</sup> 32, *ishé in sians aile: ní o-rogab terochraic ho fíur dommu ar epert a firinne less*, .i. o-*epred frisin dommae, rafetarsa at firian-su*, *acht eia fa firián tale damsa a log ar epert do firinne lat*, This is the other sense: he did not take a reward from the poor man for testifying to his righteousness, i.e. that he should say to the poor man: "I know that thou art righteous, but though thou art righteous give me my price for testifying to thy righteousness."

MI. 28<sup>b</sup> 11, quod uero posuit "dixit enim," non quia in talem diues uocem erumperit sed quia ita agat, .i. *eo n-epred inn inaei-so*, That he should utter this speech.

MI. 70<sup>a</sup> 6, appellat Indeos . . . ne . . . iniuriosa damnatione praediuicasse uideatur, .i. *onna epreid ainm dian doib*, That he might not give them a hasty name. (Ascoli suggests *ainsim* 'accusation.')

MI. 35<sup>a</sup> 8, *ni fil ainm n-assar isint salm immurgu o-epertae is dib rogabad int sainriud*, The name of the Assyrians is not in the psalm, however, so that it should be said that it was sung of them in particular.

MI. 69<sup>a</sup> 21, ut . . . appetitu rerum impetu non iudicio moueatur, .i. *eo n-epred, dugén a n-noib-ea 7 ni digén argarthae so ead accubur lium; ni opeir insin*, That he should say: "I will do this holy thing, and I will not do this forbidden thing though I desire it," he does not say that.

MI. 136<sup>b</sup> 4, aptantur autem uerba huiusmodi, non quibus illa de se insolenter utuntur sed quae meritis eorum rite conueniant, .i. *eo n-epertis ón nadmbu choir do digal forru huare ata firieitn; ni ad am insin dorigensat*, That they should say that it was not right to inflict vengeance on them, because they are righteous; that was not what they did.

Sg. 25<sup>b</sup> 6, ne quis conetur uires in duas partes diuidere, .i. *o-epred iarum is* pars minima orationis *cechtar in da leithe sin*, .i. *ui 7 res*, So that he should say that each of those two halves, *ui* and *res*, is *pars minima orationis*.

Sg. 26<sup>a</sup> 6, nec aliter posse examosin tractari, .i. *o-epertthae eia aiccent 7 cisi aimsor derb thochtias*, That it should be said what accent and what definite time it possesses.

(γ) Wb. 21<sup>b</sup> 9, in operibus bonis quae praeparauit Deus, ut in illis ambulemus .i. *i tréidiu*, .i. *rospridach, roscomalnastar, ros-dánigestar dún co dosgnem*, In three things, to wit, He hath preached them, He hath fulfilled them, He hath granted them to us that we may do them.

MI. 23<sup>a</sup> 6, nos errare tamen, si . . . ea quae agenda sunt nihilominus intente faciemus, g. *maní ní ndándenam-ní acht is co dugnem*, If not (?) that we do not do it, but it is that we may do it.

MI. 20<sup>a</sup> 14, utrumque tamen necessarium . . . ut et Deo iugiter supplicet et probitatem . . . admoueat, .i. *co n-dena degnim*, That he do good work.

MI. 39<sup>a</sup> 6, dimisit—inlaesum, eligens cum metu periculis uiuere

quam mercari peccato securitatem, g. *indas nocundraiged*, .i. *o-denad fi[n]gail ar chuinged soinnige do*, That he should commit parricide in seeking prosperity for himself.

Sg. 9<sup>b</sup> 2, non est translatum ab illis in aliam figuram, g. *o-n-denta óen torand tar[a]hesi amal na heliu*, That thou shouldst make one sign for it like the others.

ML. 60<sup>w</sup> 10, tantam mihi reditus securitatem dedit ut necessitatem transmirationis minime formidarem, .i. non, l. *coní deninn uide foto do tuidecht asin doiri*, That I might not make a long journey to go from captivity.

(ð) Wb. 14<sup>c</sup> 23, aut quae cogito, secundum carnem cogito, ut sit apud me Est et Non? .i. *co beid*.

Wb. 10<sup>b</sup> 5, reliquum est ut et qui habent uxores tamquam non habentes sint, *co beit amal innahi nadlectat setchi*, That they be as those who have no wives.

Wb. 19<sup>d</sup> 19, fratres, obsecro uos, .i. *co bethe-si* ut sum, That ye be as I am.

Wb. 11<sup>d</sup> 8, perscrutanda est conscientia si in nullo nos reprehendit, .i. *nanlanad tri aithirgi ona bés nñ indidningaba á chocubus*, Let him purify himself through penance, so that there may be nothing for which his conscience may reprehend him.

Wb. 6<sup>b</sup> 21, Christus mortuus est . . . . ut et mortuorum et uiuorum dominetur, .i. *co m-mimis less huili*, That we may all be with Him.

Wb. 10<sup>d</sup> 33, omnium me seruum feci ut plures lucrificarem, *co m-betis i n-indiub fochricce damsa*, So that they might be in gain of the reward to me.

Wb. 22<sup>d</sup> 13, quoniam non est nobis conluctatio aduersus carnem, .i. *co m-betis arma cholno leu*, That the arms of the flesh should be with them.

(b) *con-* with *ro-*.

(a) Wb. 1<sup>a</sup> 9, desidero enim uidere uos, ut aliquid inperitiar uobis gratiae spiritualis ad confirmandos uos, .i. *ní ogthindnacul (as)mbetir som, óre rolectat ní de riam: andudesta didiu di foirbthetu for n-irisee conrufailnither*<sup>1</sup> a me, It is not a complete gift which he mentions, because they previously had something of it: what, then, is wanting of the perfection of your faith, that it may be supplied *a me*.

<sup>1</sup> So Zimmer, remarking, "literae *nru* parum clarae." Stokes, "*conaru* . . . , the fourth and fifth letters are doubtful."

Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 17, *coheredes autem Christi, si tamen compatimur ut et simul glorificemur*, .i. qui similes ei erimus .i. *cororannam*, So that we may have part.

Wb. 6<sup>b</sup> 3, *sed induite uos Dominum Iesum Christum*, .i. *bed imthuge-si Domino corroaitreba indiub*, Be ye raiment *Dominio* so that He may dwell in you.

Wb. 6<sup>d</sup> 1, *Deus autem . . . . det uobis id ipsūm sapere in alterutrum*, g. *conrochra cāch alaile*, So that each may love the other.

Wb. 7<sup>a</sup> 4, *spero quod praeteriens uideam uos*, .i. *oral chāirt fuiribsi*, So that I may make a visitation to you.

Wb. 7<sup>a</sup> 17, *ut ueniam ad uos . . . . et refrigerer uobiscum*, .i. *corran cēlide libsi*, So that I may stay on a visit with you.

Wb. 7<sup>c</sup> 10, *ei hautem qui potens est uos confirmare iuxta euangelium meum*, .i. *conrochomalnid a pridchithir dūib*, So that ye may fulfil what is preached unto you.

Wb. 12<sup>c</sup> 33, *maior est qui profetat quam qui loquitur linguis nisi forte ut interpretetur (co etercerta)*, ut ecclesia aedificationem accipiat, .i. *corrochraitea sochuide triit*, That a multitude may believe through him.

Wb. 12<sup>d</sup> 29, *itaque linguae in signum sunt non fidelibus sed infidelibus*, .i. *ished torbe nammā tra aratobarr labrad ilbelre conroadamrigther dia triit*, This, then, is the only profit for which speaking many languages is given, that God may be glorified thereby.

Wb. 14<sup>b</sup> 13, *qui consolatur nos in omni tribulatione nostra, ut possimus et ipsi consolari eos qui in omni pressura sunt, per exhortationem qua exhortamur, et ipsi a Deo*, .i. *corronertamni cūch hi fuditin fochide amal nonnertarni ho dia*, So that we may strengthen all in the endurance of tribulations, as we are strengthened by God.

Wb. 16<sup>c</sup> 23, *in praesenti tempore uestra abundantia illorum inopiam suppleat, ut et illorum abundantia uestrae inopiae sit supplementum*, .i. *con-roigset dia n-airiurbsi*, That they may pray to God for you.

Wb. 23<sup>b</sup> 40, *tantum digne euangelio Christi conuersamini*, .i. *con-rochomalnid et o-ropridchid soscéle*, So that ye may fulfil and that ye may preach the Gospel.

b. 26<sup>b</sup> 7, *Dominus autem derigat corda uestra in . . . . ntia Christi*, .i. *o-rogbaid d-semrecht di Crist*, So that ye may an example from Christ.

Wb. 27<sup>e</sup> 21, orantes simul et pro nobis, ut aperiat Deus nobis ostium sermonis ad loquendum misterium Christi, .i. euangelium .i. *cororélam rúna inchoínigthea et geine Crist*, So that we may make manifest the mysteries of the incarnation and birth of Christ.

Wb. 28<sup>d</sup> 6, exemplo esto fidelium, .i. *o-rogha cách desimrecht duit*, So that all may take an example from thee.

Wb. 28<sup>d</sup> 11, in his esto, ut profectus tuus manifestus sit omnibus, .i. *o-festiar cách do foirbthetu, o-rogha cách desimrecht duit*, That all may know thy perfection, that all may take an example from thee.

Wb. 30<sup>a</sup> 24, ideo omnia sustineo propter electos, .i. *o-roghat desimrecht diim*, That they may take an example from me.

Ml. 42<sup>a</sup> 4, et notandum est quam sit in suos moderata petitio, .i. *ni guid digail du thabairt foraið acht cor-ruanat inna arrad*, He prays not that vengeance be inflicted on them, but that they may remain with him.

Ml. 66<sup>a</sup> 2, bene . . . . commendatur illi cura uirtutum . . . . quae in timore mentis pari iungitur affectu, .i. *coruagathar in [men]mae dia la deth[id] in na n-degnimae*, That the mind may fear God with care for good works.

Wb. 17<sup>a</sup> 13, *cíd intain ronmoitsem ní bo ar seirc móidme act o-robad torbe dúibsi triit .i. o-rochrete-si et o-rointsamlithe mo héu-sa et oná ruchrete-si do neuch act nech dogned na gnímu-sín*, Even when we boasted, it was not for love of boasting, but that there might be profit to you through it, i.e. that ye might believe and imitate my customs, and that ye might not believe in any save such as did those deeds.

Wb. 24<sup>e</sup> 8, sicut scitis quales fuerimus in uobis propter uos, .i. *o-rogabthe-si dessemrecht dinni*, That ye might take an example from us.

Ml. 39<sup>d</sup> 22, ut . . . . iaceretur de uia modestiae snæ, .i. *o-idroghad huall tria chumgabail 7 tri[a] molad doibsom*, That pride might seize him through his being extolled and praised by them.

Wb. 4<sup>d</sup> 19, uoluntas quidem cordis mei, et obsecratio ad Deum, fit pro illis in salutem, g. *co n-daríccad dia*, That God might save them.

Wb. 26<sup>d</sup> 7, nunc gaudeo in passionibus pro uobis, .i. *o-rogabthe-si desimrecht dinni*, That ye might take an example from us.

(β) Wb. 15<sup>d</sup> 6, occasionem damus uobis gloriandi pro nobis, ut habeatis ad eos, qui in facie gloriantur et non in corde, .i. *co m-bad sníni for móidem-si .i. co n-erbarid-si, analdenat ar*



*magistir ní dignem-ní*, So that we might be your boast, that is, so that ye may say: "What our masters do not, we will not do."

(γ) Wb. 12<sup>b</sup> 6, ut non sit scisma in corpore, .i. o-derna *each ball anas toisc dialailiu*, That each member may do what the other wishes.

Wb. 13<sup>d</sup> 30, stabiles estote et immobiles, abundantes in opere Domini semper, .i. o-dernaid *na gnímu dorigéni Crist*, That ye may do the works that Christ did.

Wb. 17<sup>a</sup> 13, si quis confidit sibi se Christi esse, hoc cogitet iterum apud se, .i. *asbeir i toisug as mug, imrddi* iterum o-derna *gnímu moga*, He says at first that he is a servant, he takes thought *iterum* that he may do the works of a servant.

Wb. 22<sup>a</sup> 12, donec occurramus omnes in . . . agnationem filii Dei, .i. oo n-dernam *a n-dorigeni side*, So that we may do what He did.

Wb. 25<sup>e</sup> 10, quoniam non posuit nos Deus in iram, sed in operationem salutis, .i. o-dernam *gnímu immafolúget hico dúan*, That we may do works that effect salvation for us.

Pcr. 1<sup>a</sup> 2, huius tamen operis te hortatorem sortitus iudicem quoque facio, .i. *ronertais damsa o-dermain hi cutrummus frim chéliu*, Thou didst encourage me to do like my fellows.

(δ) Wb. 5<sup>d</sup> 18, spiritu feruentes, .i. o-roib *irgal désorcos in spiritu indiuun*, So that the valour of the love of the Spirit may be in us.

Wb. 15<sup>b</sup> 27, semper mortificationem Iesu in corpore nostro circumferentes, ut et uita Iesu in corporibus nostris manifestetur, .i. o-donroib *ind indocbál itá crist i n-nim*, So that we may have the glory in which Christ is in Heaven.

Wb. 18<sup>b</sup> 22, communicatio sancti Spiritus sit cum omnibus uobis, .i. oo n-roib *in spirut nóib indib*, That the Holy Spirit may be in you.

Wb. 21<sup>d</sup> 5, ut det uobis . . . uirtute roborari per spiritum eius, .i. o-roib *deib in spirito foirib*, So that the form of the Spirit may be on you.

Wb. 25<sup>d</sup> 23, oramus semper pro uobis, ut . . . impleat . . . opus fidei in uirtute, .i. o-roib *gnim irisce lib i n-neurt hirisse*, So that ye may have the work of faith in the power of faith.

Wb. 26<sup>a</sup> 28, in qua et uocauit uos per euangelium nostrum in adquisitione gloriae Domini nostri, .i. o-roibh *i n-indocbál la crist*, That ye may be in glory with Christ.



Wb. 26<sup>b</sup> 30, Dominus pacis det uobis pacem sempiternam in omni loco, .i. *o-roib core dúib fri cách 7 do chach fribsi*, So that there may be peace to you from everyone and to everyone from you.

Wb. 26<sup>d</sup> 22, ut consolentur (*co dodonat*) corda ipsorum instructi in caritate, .i. *co n-roib doere leu fri cách*, So that they may have charity towards all.

Wb. 27<sup>c</sup> 20, orantes simul et pro nobis, ut aperiat Deus nobis ostium sermonis, .i. *co n-roib búaid precepte duun trisaniccatar hili*, That we may have the gift of teaching, through which many may be saved.

Wb. 29<sup>c</sup> 8, thesaurizare sibi fundamentum bonum in futurum, ut adprehendant ueram uitam, .i. *condip maith a fuirec i n-nim et o-robat i n-hellug coirp crist i n-nim*, So that their provision in Heaven may be good, and that they may be in union with Christ's body in Heaven.

Wb. 16<sup>c</sup> 24, ut et illorum abundantia uestrae inopiae sit supplementum, ut fiat aequalitas, .i. *cona roib diupart neich lelele*, So that there may be no defrauding of one by another.

Wb. 30<sup>b</sup> 8, sollicite cura te ipsum probabilem exhibere Deo operarium, .i. *cona robat dualchi lat*, So that thou mayest not have vices.

Wb. 28<sup>c</sup> 18, abstinere a cibis quos Deus creauit ad percipiendum cum gratiarum actione fidelibus, .i. *co n-robád attlúgud buids do dia treu a fidelibus*, That there might be rendering thanks unto God through them *a fidelibus*.

Wb. 34<sup>a</sup> 4, neque initium dierum neque finem uitae habens, adsimilatus autem Filio Dei, manet sacerdos in aeternum, [marg.] *o-rabad cech brathair post alium*, That each brother should be *post alium*.

102. The relation between *co-* and *co n-* when the subjunctive is not accompanied by *ro-* will be seen from the following tables. The numbers in brackets are those of the substantive verb from Wb.

	Wb.	MI.		Wb.	MI.
co + pres.	2 [3]	7	co + past	4	6
coní + pres.	1	1	coní + past	0	1
con- + pres.	2	2	con- + past	2 [3]	9 [Sg.3]
conna, connach			conna, connach		
+ pres.	1 [1]	0	+ past	0	2

It will be seen that with the present subjunctive *co* is frequent, *con-* rare. On the other hand, with the past subjunctive *con-* is about twice as frequent as *co*. At first sight this difference is very startling, but if we consider the examples we shall discover a certain principle. In most of the instances it is clear that the subjunctive does not express a direct purpose; it is not a pure final subjunctive; it will be noticed that in almost every case the leading verb of the sentence is primary (cf. § 15). With the negatives the instances are too few to base any conclusions upon. In two cases there is an infixed pronoun, Wb. 2<sup>b</sup> 4, Ml. 69<sup>a</sup> 7, whether that is due to accident or design. Of the two past subjunctives Ml. 69<sup>a</sup> 17 is apparently a pure final subjunctive, Ml. 70<sup>a</sup> 5 is not.

103. When the subjunctive is accompanied by *ro-*, then the conjunction is regularly *con-*,<sup>1</sup> written *con*, *e*, or with assimilation *cor*.<sup>2</sup> There are only three apparent exceptions—*cororannam* Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 17, *cororelam*, *coruagathar* Ml. 66<sup>a</sup> 2. In these cases the suggestion of Professor Thurneysen is doubtless right, that the simplification is due to the following *r*.

104. The general principles, then, are clear. With *ro-* the conjunction is regularly *con-*, without *ro-* the conjunction is generally *co*, except with non-final past subjunctives, where *con-* is frequent. In the later language the subjunctive with *ro-* prevails. Thus, in the LU. texts referred to above, pp. 339–40, I have found only the following instances without *ro-*: 61<sup>b</sup> 21 *o-dambennachtáis*, where the subjunctive probably expresses purpose, but might express possibility; 73<sup>a</sup> 27 *o-airlither*, unless we have here a compound verb, 82<sup>a</sup> 26 *o-apror*, certainly final. In the same texts I have noted fourteen instances with *ro-*. The spelling *cor-*, which in the Glosses is rare, is here the prevalent one, and we find *coro-* in the sense of ‘until,’ where the conjunction is certainly *con-* not *co*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the use of *ro-* with *con-* ‘until,’ § 96.

<sup>2</sup> With the variation between *con-* and *cor-*, cf. the variation between *an-* and *ar-*, *in-* and *ir-*, Phil. Soc. Trans. 1895–6, p. 81.

105. Of other final particles there are only a couple of examples:—

Wb. 15<sup>d</sup> 40, in uirtute Dei, per arma iustitiae a dextris, et a sinistris, .i. **nachinrogba** *uall* de prosperis, **nachinrogba** *derchoiniud* in aduersis, That pride may not seize us *de prosperis*, that despair may not seize us *in aduersis*.

MI. 54<sup>d</sup> 5, illud redde uicinis nostris septuplum in sinu eorum, .i. **na ruetarscara** *friu a caire*, That their reproach may not part from them.

All the instances are negatives and all have *ro-*.

106. So far, then, concerning the distribution of *ro-* with various kinds of subjunctives. And this very distribution casts some light on the position of *ro-* in the verbal system in the earliest stage of the Irish language of which we have any historical record. Before a particle could have come to be treated so mechanically it must have ceased to have, for the most part at any rate, any distinctly appreciable force. Of course it is a mere truism to say that *ro-* must at one time have been significant. That it should have become so intimately attached to certain kinds of clauses, can be explained only on the supposition that there was something in the original signification of the particle that rendered it especially suitable for such clauses (cf. § 111). In the Transactions of this Society, 1895-6, p. 146. I have followed in the footsteps of other scholars in assuming that the original force of *ro-* was, to use the terminology of Slavonic grammar, perfective. And this I still hold to be the correct view. A very strong argument in its favour is to be found in the fact pointed out in that paper that *ro-* is almost entirely absent from the *s*-subjunctive, a descendant of the Indo-Germanic perfective tense the sigmatic aorist. And from it may very well be explained the regular usage of *ro-* in certain clauses. Thus, to take a single instance, with *rosciú* 'before' *ro-* is regular except with the *s*-subjunctive, and with the subjunctive of compound verbs that do not admit of *ro-*. Compare with this the fondness of Greek  $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$  for the aorist (cf. § 111). But I was wrong in admitting that in historic Irish *ro-* was any longer felt to have such a perfective force. A prolonged study of the Irish subjunctive with much fuller materials than I then had, has convinced me that in the oldest known Irish the

formal distinction of perfective and imperfective action is unknown. One has only to compare the Irish subjunctive with the Greek to see the vast difference between the two languages. In favour of this view, too, may be urged the fact that it is only in certain classes of Irish verbs *ro-* forms and *ro-*less forms exist side by side. If the Irish had had a feeling for the difference of perfectivity and imperfectivity such as the Greeks had, they would surely have devised some means, either by the use of Indo-Germanic forms as in Greek or by new formations as in Slavonic, of carrying it through the whole verbal system.

107. So far, then, concerning the general question. But a general rule admits of exceptions, and it is necessary to consider whether there may not be some cases in Irish in which *ro-* has still some distinct force. Zimmer, *Kelt. Stud.* ii, 123-4, after Ebel, *Gramm. Celt.* 413, holds that *ro-* may give to a present and an imperfect (what I call a past) subjunctive the force of a perfect and a pluperfect respectively. This use of Latin terminology is unfortunate, for a language that did not distinguish between the perfect and the pluperfect in the indicative is not likely to have felt the need of such a distinction in the subjunctive. Still, let us look at the facts. And let us start with the past subjunctive. Here in certain clauses *ro-* seems to have, as Ebel pointed out, a very clear shade of meaning. But that this usage developed directly from the perfective force of *ro-*, I do not believe. Before going further I must call attention to a fruitful observation by Delbrück, in the new volume of his "*Vergleichende Syntax*," p. 390. After mentioning '*Modusverschiebung*,' he proceeds with reference to Latin: "Ohne mich hier näher auf die Erklärung einzulassen, nehme ich nur von der Thatsache Akt, dass im abhängigen Satze oft ein Subjunctiv erscheint, wo im unabhängigen Satze ein Indikativ steht, und dass diese Subjunctive die Bezeichnung der Zeitstufe gewissermassen aus ihrer früheren Existenz mit herüber nehmen." Let us see if anything can be got from this for Irish. Suppose we wanted to express in the language of the Glosses, "Though it has been [as a matter of fact, in past time] purified through baptism, it is unable to do well," we might say: *ce rudglanad tré bathis, níl cumacc do*

*cháingnim*. But if we are speaking not of what is, or is assumed to be, a fact, but of a mere supposition which may or may not be true—"Even supposing it to have been purified by baptism [we do not know or profess to know whether this purification has taken place or not], it is not able to do well"—how might that be expressed in accordance with the above? Surely by *ce rudglanta tre bathis, nita cumace do cháingnim*, and so it stands in Wb. 4<sup>a</sup> 6. According to my theory the peculiar force of *ro-* with the subjunctive here is derived, not directly from its perfective meaning, but is due to association with the indicative.<sup>1</sup>

108. Such is the principle that seems to me to underlie this use of *ro-* with the subjunctive in which it serves to denote time past. We must now illustrate the usage, and see how far it extends.

Perhaps it is most clearly seen in the subjunctive, which is used in rejecting a suggested reason or fact § 28. Here the subjunctive with *ro-* clearly refers to past time. Take, for instance, Wb. 16<sup>a</sup> 23: if this had been presented in the form of a direct statement, we should have had *ní dergensid-si anísu*, "Ye did not do this." Similarly, in all the other sentences in which *ro-* is present the preterite of the indicative would have been used in direct statement. On the other hand, in every instance but one in which the subjunctive is not attended by *ro-* the direct statement would have had the present indicative; in fact, in every case the present indicative stands side by side with the subjunctive. The exception is Ml. 62<sup>d</sup> 5. Here we should certainly expect in direct statement *ní robatar ar cinta friusom*. That the glossator had in his mind past time, is shown not only by *robummar* but also by the following gloss on the same Latin sentence: *durigénsat som frinni cen torgabail friu*, "Which they committed against us without offence against them." How this exception is to be explained, is not clear to me. We shall find more instances of the same kind in other varieties of clauses, most of them from Ml. From the similarity between *r* and *n* confusion between *ro-* and *no-* is very easy,

<sup>1</sup> So I would explain the past sense which *ry-* gives to the infinitive in Welsh, Gramm. Celt. 419.

and as *ML.* swarms with copyist's errors it is not certain that in any particular case *no-* is not a clerical blunder. But it would perhaps be too bold to get rid of all the instances in this way. Can it be that the formal expression of past time was not always felt to be necessary? Or did the language come to confuse an old distinction? (Cf. *com-bad ed atberad*, p. 308, l. 12.)

In the sentences cited §§ 25, 26, 91 this usage is very transparent. Take *ML.* 139<sup>a</sup> 9, *eo m-bad du doiri babil[on]e ro-gabbis*, and compare with it the neighbouring glosses in which in direct statement the preterite indicative is employed. Here, again, there are one or two instances, all in *ML.*, in which *no-* is apparently used in a sense not appreciably different from *ro-*. With these there is the same doubt as in the case mentioned before. It may just be noted that the copula does not take *ro-*.

Instances of this usage with *cia* will be found § 93*b*; a typical example has been already given § 104. The example with *coir* from *SR.* may be similarly explained: "Though He had already withered us, it is no more than we deserve." Still clearer is *LU.* 61<sup>a</sup> 15, "It were no wonder that he should have done a brave deed (the deed had already been done)": cf. *Sg.* 65<sup>a</sup> 1, quoted p. 306, l. 6. In the instance from the *Psalt. Hib.* 86 we may have a reference to past time. But in similar sentences *ML.* 35<sup>a</sup> 9, *LU.* 60<sup>a</sup> 35, we have *no-* though the action is already past.

The only remaining type of clause in which this usage clearly appears is the relative clause. The cases will be found in § 98. We will take first the clearest examples: *Wb.* 28<sup>b</sup> 1 (§ 98*c*), *ní fil ceneel na belre isin biuth di[a]-nadriethe nech*; that the verb of the relative clause is past relatively to the main verb, is clear from the preterite *ronice* that follows. So in *ML.* 107<sup>b</sup> 8 (§ 98*c*), the Latin and the general context indicate that the reference is to the past, not to the future. In the same way in *Wb.* 8<sup>a</sup> 4 (§ 98*b*) *duonad* means, I think, not what anyone might do in the future, but what anyone might have already done. On the other hand, in *ML.* 36<sup>a</sup> 29 (§ 95*c*) we seem to have a different use of *ro-*; the having is a necessary preliminary to the enjoyment, and I would compare the use of *ro-* with the past subjunctive here with the use of *ro-* with the present subjunctive in *ML.* 107<sup>a</sup> 4,

Hy. v, 67 (§ 97*c*, 109). In the same way I would take Ml. 80<sup>c</sup> 9. As to Wb. 27<sup>a</sup> 16 and 31<sup>c</sup> 18 (§ 98*d*), I am uncertain how to classify them.

109. It appears, then, that Ebel's idea that *ro-* might give a peculiar force to the past subjunctive is correct. Of course, this use of *ro-* is limited to those verbs that admit of this particle; in the case of the others the relations of time had, under the same circumstances, to be inferred from the context, and even in those verbs where *ro-* is permissible the Irish usage is by no means entirely parallel to the Latin. The Irish language is much less precise than the Latin; time-relations, which in Latin are formally expressed, must often in Irish be inferred from the context. Of this numerous examples will be found in the foregoing pages. Compare, for instance, the Irish text with the Latin in Ml. 131<sup>d</sup> 19, 73<sup>d</sup>, § 41. Or, again, look at the subjunctives with *amal*, § 51, where the time-relations are altogether unexpressed.

110. Ebel says further that the addition of *ro-* to the present subjunctive may change it to a preterite (perfect, Zimmer). Here it seems impossible to follow the great Celtist. Of the examples that he gives we must exclude at the outset clauses with *act* 'provided that,' in which, as we have seen, *ro-* has come to be a constant formal element. This leaves over some few cases of *ro-* in conditional, concessive, and relative clauses, §§ 93*a*, 98, and one with *dús*, § 92. That in these sentences *ro-* has any reference to past time, I cannot perceive. In most conditional and concessive clauses I am unable to see that it alters the meaning in any perceptible way. In Ml. 20<sup>d</sup> 4 (§ 93*a*, γ), it might, indeed, conceivably have a potential force—"though he might be without some of them"—but this is far from certain. In some relative clauses it seems, as has been pointed out in § 99*d*, to have a potential force. In the others I can discern no special meaning, and the principles that regulate the usage are as obscure to me as in conditional clauses.

111. If, then, in the greater number of instances *ro-* has no appreciable significance, how is its distribution to be accounted for? In essaying to answer such a question, I am aware

that I am on very shaky ground. Still, even at the risk of appearing to be fanciful, I would venture to throw out some suggestions for consideration. If the distribution cannot be explained from Irish itself, one can hope to solve the problem or bring it nearer to solution only by the comparative method. Naturally the first thing to do would be to call in the help of the British languages. But there, to judge from Atkinson's collections—I have none of my own—the circumstances are so different that little real help is to be looked for from that quarter. That this should be so need not surprise us, since the British languages in their earliest known stages are so much more broken down than the Irish. Since the help fails us, it is necessary to go farther afield. It has been held above that the primary significance of *ro-* is perfective. If that be so, then one would naturally turn to a language like Greek, where perfective and imperfective action is well distinguished. Now for Greek it has been pointed out that some kinds of clauses, from their nature, favour the perfective mode of expression: compare Sturm's remarks on the prevalence of the aorist with *ῥπίσ*,<sup>1</sup> with which was compared above (§ 106) the usage of the Irish *reisín*. One might perhaps, then, tentatively formulate some such theory as the following:—In some kinds of clauses from their very nature the perfective mode of action prevailed to a greater or less extent over the imperfective. In Irish this state of affairs was further accentuated by analogy; in some kinds of clauses the representatives of the Indo-Germanic perfective forms prevailed wholly or for the most part, in others the representative of Indo-Germanic imperfective forms gained the day. Of course this is speaking very roughly; the oldest Irish that we have is not so very old, and, apart from the comparative method, one can only form some conjecture about a period still earlier by observing the tendencies of the language within historical times. Nor do I profess to be able to carry the explanation throughout. I would only call attention to one or two points that make in favour of the above hypothesis, and leave the rest to time and to the students of comparative syntax. One of the strongest parallels, that between the construction of

<sup>1</sup> "Geschichtliche Entwicklung der Constructionem mit ΠΡΙΝ," p. 42.



Greek *πρίν* and of Irish *rois*, has been noted already. In Irish we have seen (§ 96) that *con-* 'until' regularly has *ro-*, where possible. Compare with this the use of *éw* with the aorist, Goodwin's Moods and Tenses, § 614, and of the Homeric *ᾠπα*, *εἰς ᾠκε*, §§ 615, 616. With the final *ara n-*, *ro-* is most common when the clause is negative. Compare the remarks of Weber ("Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze," i, p. 60) on the natural fondness of the negative clause for the aorist. With the subjunctive of will and command *ro-* is found only in negative clauses; this again suits well with the Indo-Germanic use of the aorist injunctive with *\*mē* (*μη*). In expression of wish *ro-* is regular. In Greek, to judge from the examples in Goodwin's Moods and Tenses, § 722 sg., the aorist is more frequent than the present. So much for comparison with Greek. In Irish, *act* 'provided that' is regularly followed by *ro-*; here the completion of the action is naturally before the eye. Note also the distinction pointed out above, § 102, between the use of *con-* in pure final clauses and in others. Why *con-* in final clauses should so frequently have *ro-*, is hard to say. Can it be due to association with *con-* in temporal clauses? The two chief forms of clause that mostly dispense with *ro-* are conditional and relative clauses. Perhaps further investigation of cognate languages may throw some light on this too.

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## ADDENDA.

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- § 2. In some cases in the Trip. Life—p. 10, l. 18, *an nocluinéd*, 12, l. 8, *an doadchúired*, 14, l. 6, *an nochetsfanad*, 130, l. 10, *an asbertis*—the imperfect has not the sense of repetition. Can this use have been due to the influence of some Latin original? For the use of the imperfect by the side of the perfect, cf. LU. 60<sup>b</sup> 27 sq.
- § 7. But as Professor Thurneysen has pointed out to me, *tiagam* ‘let us go’ cannot be an *á* subjunctive unless the Irish form is to be separated from the Welsh imperative, which ends in *-un*. Are they both to be put down as injunctive in origin?
- § 20 (p. 243, l. 3). But I am not quite sure of the construction of *namertamar*. In Ir. Text. i, 73, l. 7, there seems to be a parallel case: *nammongonad d’Ullaib it cinaid*. Does this mean: “Would that there had not been mutual wounding to the Ulstermen for thy fault”?
- § 110. Professor Thurneysen suggests to me that the subjunctive with *ro-* may have a potential force in other conditional sentences, e.g. Acr. 79.

VII.—NOTES ON ULSTER ENGLISH DIALECT FOR  
COMPARISON WITH ENGLISH DIALECTS BY  
THE LATE A. J. ELLIS, F.R.S., WITH SAMPLES  
IN PALAEOTYPE, COMPARISON SPECIMEN  
AND WORD LIST. By J. H. STAPLES.

*Explanatory.*

IN the Key all the palaeotype letters used in these pages for phonetic spelling, which are taken from Ellis's "English Dialects," pp. 76\*-88\*, are in parentheses on the left before their descriptions, and at the end of the descriptions, applied to all seriatim, are also in parentheses preceded by S., the corresponding alphabetic characters used by Sweet in his "Primer of Phonetics," as adopted by Sweet from those of Melville Bell according to Ellis's identification of the latter's symbols at the head of the Key in his "English Dialects." Phonetic spellings, whenever referred to in the Key, are in palaeotype in parentheses, and palaeotype letters are used for phonetic spelling throughout in this description of Ulster Dialect. In the general descriptive matter such spellings are in large brackets thus: [dhii].

The word list, which is a selection from that in Ellis's "English Dialects," pp. 17\*-24,\* and part from typical Lowland divisions, see *id.*, p. 684 et seq., has each word in palaeotype with the pronunciation either of typical Belfast or of the borders of Tyrone and Derry, near Cookstown, following the reference number, listed under vowel letters as in Ellis's divisional word lists, and the word in ordinary spelling in a parenthesis following. Opposite 356 of those words, being old English, or as headed by Ellis, "Wessex and Norse," the reference numbers are those used by Ellis; 49 numbered 01-049 are words to which Ellis gives no reference number, but classed with the first. The remainder, having reference numbers 050-0177, are put down by Ellis as English of doubtful origin or Romance.

It may be noticed that Ellis's old English vowels which he gives as old English spelling, as instanced by the vowel letters under which the words are grouped, sometimes differ from those of Sweet in his "History of English Sounds." I took some trouble at first in noting those differences, but as this description is to compare with Ellis's work alone, I have left those differences, due, it may be presumed, to dialect variations in old English, unmarked.

The words in the word list are all found in the Alphabetic Index, with the reference numbers opposite.

The comparative specimen marked C.S. I put as near as possible in a typical Belfast pronunciation.

The glossary of Ulster words is a selection of the most common or representative localisms, most of which I am familiar with, and including some peculiar expressions or sayings, for which I am in the main indebted to the compilation made of Antrim and Down words by my friend Mr. W. H. Patterson.

When I use the word "English" as referring to pronunciation in these pages, I mean that of the average educated Southern Englishman, when speaking carefully in lecture-room, pulpit, stage, or platform.

## KEY.

### *Vowels.*

- (a) English sound in "father" or "palm." S. (a).
- (æ) A more advanced tongue position of (a) not used in English, same as in French "la," "rat." S. (a).
- (ɑ) The broadest and lowest tongue position of the "a" group, not usual in English, often spelt in Scotch "mon," but with no roundness in it. A common Cockney sound in "father." S. (v).
- (aa) Long (a).
- (aw) Slightly rounded (a), not so much so as in English "awe."
- (aaw) Long (aw).
- (e) English short "e" in "bed," which is but occasionally or locally used in Ulster. S. (e).
- (ø) Narrow sound of "e" in French "té." S. (e).
- (ee) Long (e).

- (e<sup>1</sup>) Raised tongue position of (e) somewhat approaching English "ee" in "see." S. (e+).
- (ee<sup>1</sup>) Long (e<sup>1</sup>).
- (ɛ) The French broad "ê" in "bête." S. (æ).
- (ɛɛ) Long (ɛ).
- (ei) A diphthong, usual Ulster representative of English "i" in "ride" or "rite."
- (ɛv) A diphthong, usual Ulster representative of English "ow" in "how, cow."
- (e) Usual Ulster neutral vowel representing English one in "better," but differing from that, and like the German sound in "besser." S. (ë).
- (əv) { A very slightly diphthongal sound, intermediate between  
(əvv) { the old "oo" sound in "ploo" = "plough" and the  
living Ulster diphthong (ɛv).
- (ɜ) The English sound of "u" in "but." S. (a).
- (œ) The East Ulster representative of English "e" in "bed." The Ulster sound does not exist in English as a monophthongic sound. It is, I think, the French "e" in "femme." S. (ä).
- (œi) A diphthong, being a wider form (ɛi) occasionally used.
- (ei) A diphthong occasionally used, a narrower form of (ɛi).
- (i) The Continental sound of "i," short as in French "si," long as in German "biene." S. (i).
- (ii) Long (i).
- (ɪ) { A sound Mr. Ellis adopted for a sort of semi-vowel "i,"  
(ɪv) { viz. a very short sound of (i), "English Dialects,"  
(ɪvv) { p. 82\*; and as he used it in Scotch specimens in words like "few," I use it to signify this sound in such words in Ulster as (fɪv) or (fɪvv) = "few."
- (o) An open sound of "o" existing only as a diphthong, as in "hope" in English, but in Ulster completely monophthongic. S. (o).
- (oo) Long (o).
- (o) The closer sound of "o" as in French "eau." S. (o).
- (oo) Long (o).
- (ow)<sup>1</sup> Specially rounded (o) with lips as for "oo."

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ellis marked this (o<sub>u</sub>), "English Dialects," p. 84\*, but as he gives (œ) p. 86\*, as mark of special labialization "lip modifier," and as I use it thus for (aw), it seems more consistent to keep it here also.

- (*oo*) Long (*oo*).  
 (oh) A rounded sound which I can't compare to anything I have heard out of Ireland. In Ulster it ordinarily represents, and is used instead of, English "u" in "but," and strikes the ear as something intermediate between the sounds in English "not" and French "beurre." I analyze it provisionally as the sound represented by this symbol. S. (*ō*).  
 (v) The prevalent Ulster representative used instead of English "u" or "oo" as in "rude," "cool"; intermediate between French "*loap*" and "lune" and German "gut" and "grun." S. (*ü*).  
 (uv) Long (v).  
 (sh) A wider or blunter sound than (v) and only used as a short vowel. It bears the same relation to (v) as that in English between "boot" and "foot," or German "grün" and "schützen." S. (*ʌ*).  
 (y) Prevalent sound in Ulster representing, and used instead of, short English "i" as in "bit." Mr. Ellis says he commonly transcribes this by (*i*), "English Dialects," p. 87\*, and pp. 756 and 767. I use (y), as I think apparently most consistent with Ellis's symbols. S. (*ɪ*).

#### Consonants.

(b) (d) (f) (g) (h) (k) (l) (m) (n) (p) (s) (t) (v) (w) (z) have the usual English sounds, (g) being understood only hard as in "go," "get," and (h) as used only before or between vowels.

- (j) The sound of English "y" in "ye," "yacht." S. (*j*).  
 (r) Reversed "j," a soft sound of "r" used in Ulster only, in such words as "cure" (*kɪv'r*) or (*kɪvʊr*) or "poor" (*pʊv'r*). Mr. Ellis uses this for what he calls the Midland "r." From his description it seems nearest the sound sometimes used in Ulster in those words.  
 (h) A symbol I have inserted to signify a sound of "h" after a vowel.  
 (q) The English sound of "ng" in "song," "sing." S. (*ŋ*).  
 (r) A clearly trilled "r," the natural Ulster "r." S. (*r*).

*Consonant Digraphs.*

- (jh) The palatal hiss of (j) heard at least occasionally in "hue, Hughes, huge, Hume," Ellis, "English Dialects," p. 82\*.  
I use this also for the sound after a vowel like the German "ch" in "ich," which Mr. Ellis thinks different and gives another symbol for. S. (ç).
- (kh) The sound of Scotch "ch" in "Loch" and Irish "gh" in "Lough" when pronounced by natives. S. (χ).
- (kw) English "qu" in "quality," "quit."
- (dh) The English sound of "th" in "that," "this." S. (θ).
- (th) The English sound of "th" in "thin," "thank." S. (þ).
- (sh) The English sound of "sh" in "shin," "show." S. (ʃ).
- (Th) A sound resembling "th" or "t." I think it is an import into Ulster from southern Ireland, and used sometimes in "creature," "potatoes." I have adopted this from Ellis as the best to fit the sound, but possibly he applied it to another one.
- (dʒ) The mixed sound of English "g," "dg," or "j," as in "gem," "edge," "jet."
- (tʃ) The mixed sound of English "ch" or "tch," as in "chin," "watch."
- (wʰ) The voiceless "w" as in "when." S. (ʍ).
- (zh) The sound of "s" in "pleasure" and of French "j" in "je." S. (ʒ).
- (') "After or before another consonant" to signify "voice in its simplest form independent of the position of the organs,"—Ellis, "English Dialects," p. 87\*—that is, a kind of vocal or vowel-like passage from one sound to another, generally partaking of the nature of the last, as in (ap'l)="apple"; but I use it also to signify the kind of passage from some vowels to "r," which is very slight in Ulster, or to indicate the slight keeping up of voice where a syllable is dropt, as (hærsəl 'l təl) ="herself will tell," or (æni ' ʒɛz) ="any o' you."
- (˘) Indicates when placed over a vowel medial, i.e., more than short, but not full length; and when over one vowel of a diphthong, or over the vowel of one syllable in a polysyllable, indicates that the principal stress is on that vowel or syllable.

(( )) Adopted from Ellis to indicate contraction, or end of one word and beginning of next, as (shy(z)="she's."

English and other not Ulster speech sounds are sometimes alluded to for comparison, and when they are referred to, Ellis's palaeotype is always used. These are only in the descriptive matter, and are: (æ) the English "a" in "man," (eɪ) the English "a" in "hate," (u) the English "u" in "full," (u) the German in "du," (ɪ) the French "u" in "tu."

## ALPHABETIC WORD LIST.

A.	296 believe.	529 brought.
	385 beneath.	657 brown.
650 about.	016 best.	688 build.
599 above.	149 blaze.	697 bury.
0127 advertize.	09 bleach.	681 business.
158 after.	473 blind (adj.).	680 busy.
081 agent.	572 blood.	653 but.
264 ail.	90 blow.	607 butter.
335 all.	077 blue.	686 buy.
61 among.	548 board.	490 by.
194 any.	518 body.	
07 apple.	070 bog.	
342 arm.	327 bold.	C.
090 army.	569 book.	
087 audience.	594 boot.	333 calf.
263 away.	040 born.	338 call.
	0161 bottle.	083 cambric.
	577 bough.	39 came.
B.	527 bought.	46 candle.
	539 bowl.	320 care.
154 back.	353 bread.	06 cart.
361 bean.	232 break.	089 case.
0102 beast.	433 breast.	0114 certain.
434 beat.	684 bridge.	086 chapel.
015 bed.	106 broad.	363 cheap.
409 bee.	0136 brooch.	466 child.
431 beer.	574 brood.	468 children.
9 behave.	568 brother.	0129 city.



0125 civil.	674 did.	138 father.
0128 civilize.	438 die.	013 feather.
193 clean.	586 do.	298 feel.
0116 clergy.	587 done.	297 fellow.
0115 clerk.	606 door.	349 few.
069 clock.	658 down.	426 fight.
0137 coach.	0163 dozen.	477 find.
532 coal.	073 drown.	481 finger.
0148 coat.	613 drunk.	709 fire.
328 cold.	675 dry.	0100 firm.
0158 colour.	0166 due.	701 first.
603 come.	533 dull.	502 five.
0106 complete.	639 dust.	687 flight.
098. conceit.		573 flood.
582 cool.		590 floor.
552 corn.	E.	414 fly (a).
652 could.		521 foal.
0144 country.	400 earnest.	329 fold.
640 cow.	406 earth.	595 foot.
554 cross.	014 eat.	546 for.
0167 cruel.	257 edge.	0141 force.
0123 cry.	160 egg.	547 ford.
0155 cuckoo.	213 either.	042 fore.
633 cup.	324 eight.	0140 form.
0171 cure.	268 eldest.	421 forty.
	0165 employ.	655 foul.
	057 endeavour.	623 found (they).
	579 enough.	619 found (was).
D.	0112 err.	420 four.
029 dark.	208 ever.	601 fowl.
053 darn.	348 eye.	032 free.
531 daughter.		033 freeze.
161 day.		430 friend.
350 dead.	F.	609 full.
355 deaf.		636 further.
216 deal.	080 fabric.	
416 dear.	336 fall.	
368 death.	085 family.	G.
097 deceive.	403 far.	
0119 deny.	030 farm.	449 get.
0103 desert.	229 fat.	050 glance.

536 gold.	115 home.	676 lie (falsehood).
571 good.	0142 honor.	425 light.
088 grand.	523 hope.	500 like.
172 grass.	553 horn.	682 little.
366 great.	663 house.	60 long.
299 green.	641 how.	558 look.
616 ground (the).	626 hunger.	072 lost.
624 ground (they).		600 love.

## I.

H.		M.
	452 I.	
140 hail.	514 ice.	5 make.
334 half.	456 if.	51 man.
43 hand.	689 inch.	084 manner.
49 hang.	496 iron.	051 manure.
021 hard.	482 is.	195 many.
28 hare.	489 it.	341 marrow.
022 harm.		024 mark.
159 has.		245 meal.
8 have.	J.	192 mean.
347 head.		0109 measure.
08 health.	0164 jewel.	251 meat.
301 hear.	0162 journal.	302 meet.
314 heard.	0174 juice.	099 mercy.
313 hearken.	0176 just.	712 mice.
031 heart.		508 mile.
202 heat.		388 milk.
056 heather.	L.	510 mine (adj.).
384 heaven.		0132 miser.
306 height.	079 labor.	563 Monday.
447 her.	44 land.	0143 money.
312 here.	322 laugh.	562 moon.
305 high.	17 law.	044 morn.
048 hill.	351 lead (metal).	226 most.
470 him.	011 lean (adj.).	559 mother.
708 hire.	402 learn.	537 mould.
483 his.	187 leave.	665 mouse.
0157 hoe.	281 length.	671 mouth.
330 hold.	198 let.	91 mow.
534 hole.	415 lie (down).	0170 mule.

593 must (he).	096 perceive.	0135 robber.
	058 pet.	105 rode.
	0120 physician.	0156 roll.
N.	060 pie.	656 room.
	063 pin.	596 root.
141 nail.	703 pit.	05 rose (he).
020 narrow.	0131 pity.	0150 rose (a).
365 near.	0118 please.	654 rough.
0101 neat.	0108 plenty.	04 row.
359 neighbour.	578 plough.	035 rue (to).
214 neither.	03 pole.	036 run.
209 never.	0139 porter.	
387 new.	0133 position.	
458 night.	052 potatoes.	S.
446 nine.	615 pound.	
565 nose.	0107 prefer.	01 saddle.
643 now.	668 proud.	165 said.
	076 pudding.	7 sake.
	078 pussy.	48 sang.
O.		12 saw.
	Q.	261 say.
101 oak.		560 school.
134 oath.	0169 question.	182 sea.
0104 oblige.	453 quick.	092 season.
326 old.		269 self.
543 on.	R.	018 sell.
117 one.		0113 serpent.
522 open.	241 rain.	0110 servant.
0145 order.	33 rather.	019 settle.
566 other.	370 raw.	383 seven.
648 our.	094 real.	24 shame.
667 out.	093 reason.	026 sharp.
519 over.	095 receive.	354 sheaf.
79 own.	352 red.	555 shoe.
	0173 refuse (v. and	041 shorn.
	adj.).	390 should.
P.	0130 religion.	661 shower.
	685 ridge.	422 sick.
025 park.	104 road.	441 sieve.
054 peat.	0151 roast.	491 sigh.
017 pen.	0134 rob.	462 sight.

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693 sin.	0177 sure.	583 tool.
037 sit.	0124 suspicious.	039 torn.
0126 size.	250 swear.	580 tough.
705 sky.	228 sweat.	071 tow.
369 slow.	303 sweet.	0153 towel.
93 snow.	397 sword.	659 town.
067 soak.	592 swore.	0117 treasure.
068 sod.		091 treat.
074 soda.		034 tree.
331 sold.	T.	059 trial.
612 some.		0159 troop.
605 son.	143 tail.	075 troth.
65 song.	4 take.	0154 trouble.
564 soon.	028 tar.	0168 trowel.
597 soot.	183 teach.	436 true.
043 sorrow.	010 tease.	439 trust.
0147 sort.	271 tell.	437 truth.
581 sought.	311 ten.	066 try.
97 soul.	155 thatch.	0175 tune.
0160 soup.	382 their.	74 two.
672 south.	380 them.	
027 spark.	544 then.	
233 speak.	373 they.	U.
203 speech.	707 thirteen.	
064 split.	528 thought.	622 under.
589 spoon.	205 thread.	632 up.
0121 spy.	367 threat.	662 us.
02 stand.	63 throng.	0172 use.
398 starve.	634 through.	
124 stone.	95 throw.	
575 stood.	047 thumb.	V.
584 stool.	631 Thursday.	
551 storm.	463 till (prep.).	0105 vengeance.
0138 story.	471 timber.	0111 verge.
371 straw.	494 time.	0149 vote.
282 strength.	0152 toast.	
62 strong.	332 told.	
614 suck.	046 ton.	W.
604 summer.	625 tongue.	
629 sun.	557 too.	337 wall.
0146 suppose.	570 took.	54 want.

343 warm.	061 whin.	700 worse.
173 was.	112 whole.	635 worth.
152 water.	706 why.	538 would.
262 way.	501 wide.	618 wound (a).
378 weak.	505 wife.	64 wrong.
055 wealth.	467 wild.	530 wrought.
012 weapon.	475 wind (subs.).	
252 weather.	062 wing.	
235 weave.	515 wise.	
576 Wednesday.	038 wit.	Y.
440 week.	702 with.	
189 weigh.	506 woman.	340 yard.
244 well, <i>argu-</i>	507 women.	023 yarn.
<i>mentative.</i>	630 won.	487 yesterday.
266 well, <i>good</i>	045 wonder.	488 yet.
<i>manner.</i>	610 wool.	517 yew.
227 wet.	550 word.	392 yon.
200 wheat.	396 work.	435 you.
169 when.	524 world.	395 young.
065 whig.	049 worm.	419 your.

*Descriptive.*

I think I must say, that properly speaking this paper should have been read by me either many years ago, or not until such indefinite time in the future, when I might have been able to get the matter more accurately tabled as regards local differences, so as more fitly to be placed alongside of the stupendous work the late Mr. Ellis has done in English dialects. But as things are uncertain, and as I cannot tell when I should, if ever, be able fully to describe the local differences of Ulster dialect, I thought I might as well bring to light now the matter I long ago obtained relating to the subject which, so far as it goes and so far as I can point out local borders, is, I think I may say, quite fit in kind, although not in degree, to be treated as if it were a small supplement to Mr. Ellis's work, and perhaps, when compared with that, to be of some interest to dialect students. I adopt herein where necessary the system of phonetic spelling he called "palaeotype," but, of course, in some cases he would have spelt or described differently from what I do. I may confess that

personally I would have preferred Sweet's letters, but it seems to me that the value of Mr. Ellis's work is so incontestable, that decidedly the balance of advantage lies in fresh workers in English dialect phonetics doing the work so that it may in some way be supplementary to his, be readable with his key, and be measurable as much as possible with his selected specimens, unless anyone is prepared to go over his ground afresh and supersede his work, which I for one am by no means disposed to do. And dialect phonetic students can more easily estimate and allow for different spellings owing to difference of personal apprehension between two workers if a common system of speech sound representation be used by both. Professor Wright's *Dialect Dictionary* seems very properly to have other aims. Then I wish to make some statements as to my experience in the dialect which I wish taken account of by those who may hear or read and criticize my description, and which constitute my excuse for what I feel its shortcomings, although I think those shortcomings are not such as to disable this offering of mine from giving to phonetists a valid idea of a typical Ulster English, its relations to Scotch English, and, broadly speaking, a few boundaries within Ulster of particularly marked speech sounds.

My experience dates first from five years spent in business in Belfast. Before that the local vernacular was unknown to me, and though the, to me, uncouth effects of its sounds repelled me at first, their strangeness arrested my attention, and towards the end of my Belfast life of five years, while I was still busily engaged all day, and before I had looked at what anybody else had published on matters of this kind, I put on paper a description of the peculiar Ulster speech sounds known to me amongst others. I mention this to show I had, when the sounds were fresh to my ears, made some careful description of them, and notes then made are through later copies and studies part of my material on this subject now. At the end of the five years I removed into the country, and after some time was perhaps more heavily engaged than I had even been before, and though for six months of the year, at any rate, my duties, collecting rent from tenants, settling disputes among them, thinning plantations, and in part superintending farm work and labourers, gave me excellent experience in genuine dialect, other six months of these years being spent in studies in London, my necessary occupations and engagements were of a nature so remote from noting dialect

peculiarities and engrossed so much of my time and thoughts, that I never then even aimed at collecting local words or expressions, nor did I consider the question of investigating the boundaries of special speech sounds. It was not till some time after I had practically collected my experience that I made any systematic study of phonetics in the way of reading what other workers had done. This I did not do till after, owing to personal circumstances, I had given up all former work and had taken to other ways of life. After this I found the late Mr. Ellis was collecting matter for his work on English Dialects. I corresponded with and had interviews with him, after having prepared for him samples of Ulster dialect, relying on the notes I mentioned having made before I left Belfast and recollections of rural dialect. This was in 1886, and I had ceased to reside in Ireland after Midsummer, 1884. Mr. Ellis was still uncertain whether he would be able to include Ulster in his English dialects, and in the Spring of 1887 I made a round of visits to friends and relatives in Ulster in various places in the counties of Tyrone, Derry, and Antrim, ending with Belfast, when I took every opportunity of going over old or noting any new matter I could discover, which results were embodied in a series of letters to Mr. Ellis, which he carefully kept and returned me, regretting he could not see his way, I suppose from stress of time, to include Ulster in his English dialects.

In that trip in the year 1887, I noted down broadly the limits of some of the typical speech sounds, and shall give now the essential results of those notes. It might be thought I should have brought the matters to notice before, and I should have done so if I had not been deterred, perhaps, by mere feebleness or false modesty, or because my phonetic work was engrossed by the study of Scotch Gaelic speech sounds.

It may be taken that the dialect I represent is the common Belfast vernacular, but my rendering of it may, perhaps must, be much affected by the country part where I lived after leaving Belfast, that is, my father's home in the large parish of Lissan, partly in Tyrone, partly in Derry, from two to five miles from Cookstown, co. Tyrone.

In the samples I give in palaeotype, I give frequent alternative pronunciations. I do not give with the phonetic spelling the precise localities in which such or such a type prevails as Mr. Ellis does, because, as I have said, I am not able to localize them with

exactness. I know each kind, and shall state now certain spots where one kind will be found and where another, but the boundaries, which Mr. Ellis has so carefully worked out in his "English Dialects," I cannot yet and may never be able to give as concerning Ulster. For instance, "they," the plural pronoun, is near Cookstown [dhii], in Belfast [dhæ<sup>h</sup>], the latter a kind of half-way sound between English "thee" and "they," only closer, as is also the first than any corresponding English sound; and, again, the words "foot, full, put" are in Belfast [fəht, fəhl, pəht], with a blunted shortened form of the prevalent Ulster [v], the representative of English "u" or "oo" in "rude, food"; but at Cookstown, and some miles to the north, towards County Derry, and for some distance to the south, those words are [fəht, fəhl, pəht], the Ulster short [əh] being replaced in them and some other words by that [əh], a round vowel of the "o" group. How far these local pronunciations extend, I have not been able to trace. I am sure one, viz. [fəht], would be heard among the mixed population of Belfast, but it is not my typical Belfast, which I may say would be the speech of the Linen "lappers," with whom I had occasion to come in touch with. They are representative of a trained class of urban artisan. The pronunciation [fəht] I think would be considered by those who use it more "genteel" than [foht], and country servants on moving into towns are likely to drop the latter and adopt the former. The short "oo" in "good" is in Ulster always [gəhd].

It is noteworthy that this [əh] in [fəht] "foot" is the usual and prevalent Ulster representative of the short English [æ] in "but," "cut," "dull," and generally used in words where in Southern English that sound would be used instead. So the Ulster use of [pəht] for "put" equates with a Midland pronunciation of the same word [pæt].

Those who have heard or read Mr. Ellis on English dialects must have noted the importance he attaches to tracing the boundary lines of strongly marked pronunciations of particular words, i.e. what he calls his "transverse lines"; and it seems to me a great interest of Ulster dialect lies in following up, as far as we can, such of these transverse lines, if any, as cross the water. I shall here point out which of Mr. Ellis's transverse lines have crossed over to Ireland, and state some facts as to their course and influence on Irish English speech.

Ellis's transverse lines which cross the Irish Sea into Ulster



are his Southern "hoose" line 6, "Dialects," p. 19, and his Lowland line 10, "Dialects," p. 21.

His northern "soom" line 9, and southern "sum" line 8, "Dialects," p. 21, should also both be taken account of, but, as I shall show, I think they leave in a kind of borderland the whole of Ireland, and certainly almost all Ulster. I have made no study of Southern or non-Ulster Irish English.

The "hoose" line, I take it, represents the limit between a general Scotch and northern pronunciation, retaining the old English monophthongic [u] in words like "house, how, cow, now," as [huus, huu, kuu, nuu], and the more southern diphthongal pronunciation as in present English.

Now we must remember that over all Ulster that long [uu] as remaining in some Scotch pronunciations is *always* represented by [vʊ], a narrow, mixed sound, graphically and accurately describable as half-way between the German and French values of the vowel letter, i.e. between [u] and [ɪ]. So "house" [huus] in some North British speech becomes diphthongal in Ulster, as [hɛʊs], in some places [həʊs], the diphthong not having grown so strong; and although in this particular word I have not had the opportunity of hearing the original monophthong, which in Ulster would be [hʊʊs], I can vouch for its existence in the word "cow" as [kʊʊ] and "plough" [plʊʊ]. And while I am not personally familiar with the district as far as any proper observation of the prevailing pronunciation goes, I may say I have very good indirect authority, gathered independently from various individuals, for stating that there is a fringe roughly parallel with the coast in Antrim and Down, where the old English monophthongs, as still retained in Lowland Scotch, prevail, in these "house" words, but making the [u] into [v], and where other distinct marks of genuine and special Lowland utterance are to be found. Thus peasant witnesses in the Ballymena Court-house make their "cow" [kʊʊ]; and there was a saying I have heard fathered on old residents of Bangor, on the County Down coast, at the outer part of Belfast Lough, when one of the heads of the family of Ward, of Bangor Castle, had died, who had exercised much local power: [wha]l bi kyq a baqər nuʊ "who 'll be King of Bangor now?" Here we have the old genuine Scotch utterance with monophthongic [nuʊ], instead of the more predominant Ulster [neʊ], and with [wha] instead of other Ulster [hʊʊ] "who," which in the Scotch part would

mean "how." The rest of the sentence would throughout Antrim and Down and part of Derry and Tyrone be practically the same. I think it certain that the same man who said [nuv] would have called his "house" [hʉʉs].

The presence of essential Scotticisms as [twa] "two" [shʉʉn] "shoon," "shoes," [iin] "een," "eyes," [ʒə'n] "one," and the peculiar adverbial form [əva] "ava," for all of which I have repeated and independent personal authority, besides their inclusion in Patterson's glossary of Antrim and Down words, fixes this speech as within the Lowland line, and as I have just shown that it is within the "hoose" line also, then thus far the two lines in Ireland appear conterminous. Mr. Ellis indicated that in Britain the "hoose" line comes far south of the border, viz. six miles north of Great Grimsby ("English Dialects," p. 19), while he traced the "Lowland" line as very nearly conterminous *with* the border; and, perhaps, more careful local examination than I have been able to make or to find might show some overlapping of one line over the other in Ireland. There are traces right through Ulster of the great influence of the "hoose" monophthongal articulation, and perhaps the present Ulster representatives of the "ow" diphthongs are a very recent effect of the English-pale speech upon the original Scotch of the plantation settlers, but I must leave the exact boundaries of this Lowland and "hoose" fringe in Ulster unmarked. As I was writing I chanced to find a poem written by the late Mrs. Alexander, the deceased wife of the present Primate of All Ireland; called "The Legend of Stumpies Brae," in a footnote declared to embody an actual legend attached to a spot on the border of the county of Donegal. The ballad contains dialect spelling stated by the authoress to be "the peculiar semi-Scottish dialect spoken in the North of Ireland." From an examination of this, although, of course, it could have only small phonetic value, it appears probable that part of Donegal comes within this combined "hoose" and "Lowland" line; but we must remember that in its purity this is not only confined to a comparatively narrow band of territory, but is broken into by, to use Mr. Ellis's term, the "Celtic border," for Gaelic still lingers in the Glens of Antrim, a series of small river valleys drained by streams, which run from the high backbone of northern Antrim eastwards into the sea, dividing Scotland from Ireland between Larne and Ballycastle. This is an outlying, surviving Celtic remnant, surrounded on the land

side by English Scotch or English Irish speech. On the sea side the Antrim Glen Gaelic was, and perhaps occasionally still is, kept in touch with Scotch Gaelic through the Mull of Cantyre and the Southern Hebrides. The natives of the island of Rathlin, locally (Rakhari) "Raghery," lying within a few miles off the coast of Antrim, close to Ballycastle, still maintain the language. The Gaelic in Donegal, and some slight traces now or recently clinging round the Mourne Mountains in the south of County Down, is, or was in recent times, connected continuously by territorial links of speech with the general body of Irish Gaelic, so the Glens of Antrim make the only speech gap in that fringe of the more distinctly Scotch Lowland type of Ulster dialect, which I say continues Mr. Ellis's "hooose" and Lowland lines across the Irish Channel into Ulster. At the present time this fringe is intersected by the Belfast Lough, and if extending into Donegal, by Lough Foyle.

Now let us consider Mr. Ellis's northern "soom" line 9, and southern "sum" line 8. On the British side of the Channel we find that the Scotch generally agree with the southern or present standard English in making this [səm], or something near to that, so that [suum] is a purely south of the border English dialect survival. As I have said, I can only roughly describe and allude to the existence of the more distinctly Lowland fringe, so I simply could not with any certainty state how these "soom" or "sum" lines affect it. But in every Ulster speech I have ever observed, and I have always listened attentively to those I came across, [səhm] being the sound of the typical word, the southern unrounded vowel [ɜ] is represented by that rounded vowel of the "o" group, which I have mentioned as occurring locally in words such as "foot" or "put." As this [ɒh] in all Ulster speech represents the English [ɜ], as practically in not only "some" but "son, sun, front, but, cut, dull," making them [səhn, sohn, frəhnt, boht, kəht, dəhl], I think Ulster must be considered to lie in a sort of neutral ground between the "soom" and "sum" lines, because it uses a lip sound as is "soom" (suum), although of the "o" not the "u" group; and if, as I think likely, the rest of Ireland practically agrees with Ulster in rounding this sound, this neutral ground extends to the whole.

Having indicated the position which Ulster English holds in relation to these important transverse lines of Mr. Ellis, I shall

now show generally the phonetic character of Ulster speech as compared with English. The difference I have mentioned between the Ulster [ʊ] as representing the English [u], the first being a thinner sound, i.e. one formed by a narrower passage of the organs, is typical of two sets of Ulster vowels, for the Ulster long "o," which is not diphthongal like in English, is formed as [o], half in the position of or with lips as for [u] as "Joe" [dʒooʊ]. In like manner "here," as in exclaiming "come here," is much closer than in ordinary English [kəm hii'r]. So the vowel in "Jane" is closer than in English and monophthongal [dʒeen], as distinguished from English diphthongal [dʒein]; and in some words, as [kæ's] "case," [dheɪ] "they," this Ulster representative of English [ei] becomes something between [e] and [i], the latter example, as I have mentioned, being in the neighbourhood of Cookstown [dhii] with pure long [ii]. On the other hand, the "advanced" English [æ] is not used in Ulster, and in words like "man, hand, land" is represented by the deep [a] common in Scotland, and if emphatic lengthened [maan, haan, laan]; in words like "hat, cap, hang" by the shallower [a] [hat, kap, haq]; and in some words, as in "candle, saddle," and generally before "r," succeeded by a final consonant as "farm, spark," by a more advanced [a], but yet not, as should be observed, reaching to English [æ] [kan'l, sad'l].

Then there are two sounds representative of English short "i" and "e," as in "till it is," "tell red Ned," which, though they do not prevail over the whole of Ulster, are predominant in the most populous part, the north-eastern counties of Antrim and Down. Both these vowels belong to those which are classed by Melville Bell and Sweet as mixed, and both are identical or very close to forms in Scottish dialects. They are formed by the tongue being kept somewhat further back than in the English correlatives, and with regard to the second of the two with a lower general position of the tongue, thus [tyl hyt yz] "till it is," [təl rəd nəd] "tell red Ned." This East Ulster short "e" is rather a difficult sound to fix. I remember the late Mr. Ellis would not quite agree with me about it. It may be considered as of the "a" group, but in no word as a monophthong in English. The late Mr. James Lecky spontaneously analyzed it, when I pronounced the sound to him, without my offering him any opinion on it, as I had it noted down myself unknown to him, and so I have kept it as the Low mixed wide of Sweet,



which he marks as the first part of the English diphthong in "how." It seems to me also used in the French word "femme."

These two last Ulster vowels, which are very distinct in Belfast and most of County Down, I noticed in my touring in the spring of 1887, drop away towards Dungannon, but both crop up strongly again at Cookstown, and to the north of it extending into the nearest part of County Derry; but in the more western part of that county at Dungiven again the Belfast mixed [æ] is lost, though I found the mixed [y] in [hyt yz], "it is," still prevailing. In those places mentioned where I found these Belfast vowels absent the usual English ones take their place, but at Dungiven, in words of one syllable like "yet," the vowel is lengthened and perhaps slightly lowered like in English "air" [jæt]. Here, at Dungiven, I heard a laboring man, when excited driving a troublesome heifer, very distinct in [hyt] "it," with the mixed short [y], and he told me he came from Cavan, so I think this vowel must be very far spread towards the west. As to the East Ulster short "e," the name of the town of Derry, a typical test word, is at Belfast [dæri], at Derry itself as in English, again identical among the Lissan peasants north of Cookstown to what it is in Belfast, but at Bellaghy, in the south of County Derry, lying almost between Cookstown and Belfast, a few miles off the line of railway, it, as at Dungiven, slightly approaches the English and Derry sound. The true Belfast sound, again, is in full force at Kilrea, on the banks of the river Bann. Coleraine, on the Bann lower down, I have not been able to note, but Portrush, the seaport on the coast to the east of the mouth of the Bann, has got the Derry sound, which perhaps is recently implanted through the influx of visitors. There is another special peculiarity of pronunciation distinguishing, as far as I have heard, the whole of Ulster from English and partaking of the nature of Scotch. The vowel sounds as prevalent in English "her, letter, bird, word, curse" do not exist in Ulster. There they are replaced in some words, as in "word, world, curse," by the same vowel as in English "but, cut, hurry" [æ], thus [ward, warld, kars], which vowel, I may state, I have never heard in any Ulster dialect except with a following [r]. In other words, other vowels represent the English "er" vowel: thus, "her" is either [hæɹ] with the Belfast substitute for English short "e," or [hɛɹ], or if unemphatic [həɹ], so "girl" [gæɹl] or [gɛɹl]; "bird, third, fir" with the Ulster substitute for English short

"i" [byrd, thyrd, fyr]. The latter is plainly distinguishable from [fɛr], "fur" of an animal. "Herd" would be [hɛrd], "heard" [hærd] or [hɛrd]. "Sir" is in the older-fashioned speech [syr], but now becoming [sɛr], or rounded and lowered into [sɔhr], in imitation of the southerners, or made genteel into [sɔr, sɛr] or [sɛr] in analogy with "her" [hɔr], etc. Then unemphatic final syllables of polysyllabic words in "er," as in "better, letter," in Ulster the "r" being distinctly touched, have unemphatic vowels closer than in English, thus [bætər, lætər].

As in Scotch, though some English [ei] words, as "Jane, shame, sake" [shœm, seek], have closer vowels than in English, some others, as [mak, tak] for "make, take," have nearly kept the old broader sound. Also there are a good many words like as preserved in other parts of Ireland where English long "ee" sounds are [æ], as [sæ, tæɟ, bæst, plæz] for "sea, teach, beast, please." On the other hand, some of the English [ei] words, as "great, hail, nail," have a long but opener sound than in English [græt,<sup>1</sup> heɛl, neɛl]. The vowel in "say" is sometimes opener than in English, sometimes closer, always monophthongal, as [a sɛɪ] "I say," [a hærd dh'm sɛɪ] "I heard them say." Some "ee" words, as "see," "seen," "green," are as in English, but with closer "i" [sii, siin, griin]. The long English rounded "aw" vowel, as in "awe, all, tall," is represented by as long and deep, but only a half-rounded sound [aaw, aawl, taawl]. The short English "o" in "John, yon, hot" has a more purely "o" sound [dʒoon] or [dʒòn, dhòn] or [dhon, hot], the two first words, specially "John," being drawled or lengthened more or less according to emphasis. The diphthongs are not so common as in English. The "er" sound finals in English "their, your, our" are represented by the faintest possible voice glide on to the final [r], which is always distinct, [dhæe'r, juu'r, ru'r], the last being sometimes [wyr] completely monophthongic. The only approach to the vowel absorbing [r], as in English, is only an occasional use in a word like [juu'r], when the [r] may

<sup>1</sup> The difference and contrast between these two vowels of the (e) group is well exemplified by the term [græt bæst], an expression which is impressed in my memory by a story of a dialogue between a country-man and a neighbouring gentleman. The latter was rather fond of riding a good horse, and was a large, heavy man. The two met, the gentleman on a new purchase, and he invited his peasant friend's criticism. The answer came, a little clumsily, but with polite intention: "Ach yer 'aner, sure I niver see yer aner, but I see a great beast" [akh jər ənər shu'r a nyvər sii jər ənər bəht a sii ə græt bæst].

become very softened, possibly what Ellis called the Midland "r," which I represent by his symbol for that sound [ʃʊʊ'r]. Of course, [ʃʊʊ'r] or [ʃʊʊ'r] are used only when emphatic, as in "is this yours?" [yz dhys ʃʊʊ'rz]; "your hand, your honor" would be [jər haan, jər ənər]. Though I have spelt the "u" or "ew" words, as in "few, tune" [fɪʊ, tʃʊn], as diphthongs, I think these need hardly be recognized as such, and then there remain only those that represent the English "i," "ow," and "oi" diphthongs, as in "ride, write, how, cow, shout, loud, boy." These are [rɛid, rɛit, hɛʊ, kɛʊ, shɛʊt, lɛʊd, bɔɪ]. The first set are occasionally a little broader, as rəid, rəit. In "quiet" the diphthong is, on the other hand, very slight, as [kwɔit] indistinguishable from "quite," when this word is used, which is seldom. The last form sometimes replaces the "i" kind, as [bɔit] "bite," and also the "oi," as [bɔil] "boil." The "ow" sounds are sometimes, as mentioned already, but faintly diphthongal [həʊ, kəʊ], something like as heard in south-eastern England for "two," as [təʊh], or even never reaching the diphthong at all, as [kʊʊ] "cow," the endurance of which utterance far inland in a word of such common and special rustic use, points to the underlying strength of the Scotch element where other "ow" words, as "house, how," would be distinctly diphthongal.

Among consonants, the first thing that may be noticed is the complete preservation of [h], which also survives as in present Scotch, in the pronoun "it," as in old English [hyt], and then of [kh] in [laakh] "laugh," though this latter not so completely, being often dropped for the English [f], and sometimes toned down to mere [h], as [daahter] "daughter" or in the place-name [mahəra] "Maghera," and lost altogether in [maərəfelt] "Magherafelt," changed from [maghərafelt] or [makhərafelt] through [mahərafelt] to the actual present pronunciation, which in the Railway speech has dropped a syllable and become [marəfelt]. The whispered or voiceless "w" [wh] as in "which, white" is universal among all classes in Ulster as well as the whole of Ireland; thus, "wig" and "whig" would never be confused as so common in England.

Another noteworthy feature, in common with Scotch, is assimilation by or with nasals, whereby [m] absorbs [b], as [thym'l, tɔhm'l] "thimble, tumble," [n] absorbs [d] as [han'l, kan'l] "handle, candle," [q] absorbs [g] as [fyqər, hɔhqər] "finger, hunger," and [th], assimilating with the preceding

nasal [q], changes it to [n], as [strənth, lænth] "strength, length."

The "t" in "creature" and "potatoes" has sometimes a sound borrowed apparently from Southern utterance [krəThər, pəThéstəz], the latter only in careful or deliberate peasant speech. There is also an instance of phonetic variation, of which I give an instance in the comparative specimen § 6, whereby "t" between two vowels in colloquial talk may become a sort of "r" [əbəʊr yt] "about it," perhaps in analogy with the process by which "t" in Glasgow, as in "butter, water," is described as the glottal catch.

I think it can be noticed that these varieties of vowel sounds, consonant survivals and changes, are more related to Scotch than to Irish English, and though probably the Irish English or old English of the Pale as well as the speech of new plantation settlers from England in the seventeenth century may have had much influence, Ulster remains to this day more a migrant branch of Lowland Scotch than any variety of what, I think, would be deemed by strangers the distinctly more melodious "brogue" prevailing in most of non-Ulster Ireland.

This difference is very clearly noticed in coming from Dublin by the Amiens Street Station by the Irish Great Northern line to Belfast. After leaving Dundalk you generally stop at a junction station called "Goragewood." The newspaper boys are most likely from Newry or nearer, and from their cries [nʲʊzlætər, morn'nʲʊz, whyg] "Newsletter, Morning news, Whig," you at once notice you have left the breathy consonants and full vowels of the more southern Irish, and have come into a different land with a different speech.

Among phonetic peculiarities which I have described in the word list may be noticed that "father 138" and "feather 013" are pronounced alike, only the former may sometimes have slightly longer first syllable, thus: [fəðhər, fəðhər], but the first word is generally replaced by [da]. Then there are the alternative pronunciations [br̥yðhər, brəðdhər, myðhər, məðdhər] 568, 559, "brother, mother." The first are evidently Scotch, spelt by popular dialect writers "brither, mither," the second probably due to the influence of the English pale, and they would be considered the most genteel. The same English vowel sound in "one" is [wan or wəhn] 117, the latter as in second form of the former two words. In Lowland the word is [ɛən] or [ɟən], which latter reaches into the Lowland fringe in Ulster, as evidenced in



Patterson's Glossary "sorra yin" [sorre je'n], "sorrow a one"—not one. The form [wəhn], I think, is borrowed or imitated from the southern English pale pronunciation, and the less Scotch like.

I have noticed the complete distinction between "fir" and "fur," so [hi ryz] 05 "he rose" is quite different from "a rose" [ə rəwz] 0150. The form [fyn] 623, as in "he" or "they found," is in analogy with [ryz] from [fein, reiz]. It may be emphasized to [fan], as in [ənd ən dhòn hyl hi fan dhə bæst] "and in yonder hill he found the beast," while, when unemphatic, thus: [ən dheə'r a fyn ym] "and there I found him." As a participle only is heard a diphthong like "found," and that but occasionally used, as [hi wyz feund dheə'r] "he was found there." The dull [y] as in [hyt] "it," hardly distinguishable from [ə], as in the second syllable of [lætər] "letter," often replaces other vowels when emphasis is dropped. Its use is well illustrated in the alternative forms for the word "religion," the stress in Ulster as in English being on the second syllable [ryljdən] with short stressed vowel, or [rylildən] with long stressed but quite different vowel.

Of grammatical peculiarities may be noticed [a]v wənt] "I have gone," [a siin] "I saw," [a don] "I did,"<sup>1</sup> [a bi tə wərk] "I be to work," "I am, or have to work." Of course, the use of words with a meaning strange to English is common; for instance, I have heard [nərvəs] "nervous," the speaker understanding it as simply weak, applied to a tree, as "thon [nərvəs] looking thing."

# C.S.

Ellis, "English Dialects," Preliminary Matter, p. 7\*. Compare Lowland Division, Ellis, "English Dialects," pp. 684-693.

whēi dʒən hɛz nɔw dəʊts.

- (1) wəʊl, maan, ju ən hym mə bɔwθ laakh at dhys nʲʊz ə mɛin.  
hu kəe'rz? dhats nəðhər hii'r nər dheə'r.
- (2) dhəz'nt məni ə wən dɛiz fər biən lakht at. wi nɔʊw dhat,  
'downt wi? whats tə məək əm dɛi? hyts nɔw wəri lɛikli,  
ys )t?
- (3) nəu hii'rz dhə faks ə dhə kəe's, sɔw, a sɛɛ, dʒyst kwyt təwəkən,  
mən, ən bi kwəit tyl a)m dɔhn wi mə stɔwɾə. lys'n tə dhys.

<sup>1</sup> See Glossary.

- (4) a)m sert'n a hœrd dh'm *see*—schm ə dhæ' vœri wanz dhæt wœnt thru dhæ *hoowl* thyq frəm dhæ færst dhærsœlvz—æz dyd zi mysœlf, *sow* a dyd, shu'r œnœhf,—
- (5) dhæt dhæ jœhq'st sœhn hysœlf, ə lœhmp )'v ə bœ œbœut nœin jii'rz œuld, nœv hyz daaz vœs œt wans, dhœ twœz sœ kwœi'r 'n skwœiki, œn ə)d trœhst hym tœ tœl dhæ truuth œni *dee*, *sow* a wuhd.
- (6) œn dhæ œul wymœn hœrsœl 'l tœl œni'jœz at laækhs nœv, œn tœl ji rœikt af tœv, œn *now* mœw'r œbœv ryt, yf jyl œwnli ask er, *sow* shi wyl.
- (7) œni wœe shi tœuld mi hyt, whœn a æst œr, tœ œr thrii tœimz, *sow* shi dyd, œn shi kuhd nœ bœ raq œn sytj ə mœtœr æz dhys.
- (8) wœl, œz a wœz *seeœn*, shi wuhd tœl hœv, whee'r, œn whœn shi fyn dhat drœhqk'n bœest shi kaawlz hœr maan.
- (9) shi swoow'r shi siin ym wi her œown ziz ə lœiœn hyz hoowl lœnth œn dhæ grœvn œn yz guhd schnde kloowz œn ym, djyst fœrnynst dhæ duv'r ə dhæ hœus dœvn œt dhæ kœrnœr ə dhœn lœnœn.
- (10) hi wyz whyndjyn œn whympœr'n œwœe, sez shii, fœr aawł dhæ wœr'ld lœik ə wœœn œr ə wii gœrl ə fræitid.
- (11) œn dhat hap'nd djyst œz shi ('n er guhd daawhtœr yn laaw wœr kœhmœn thruv dhæ bak jœrd œv ə hœus æftœr haqœn œut dhæ wœt kloowz t'l drœi œn ə washœn *dee*,
- (12) œn dhæ kœt'l ə bœilœn fœr *tee*, wan fœin æftœrnœvn djyst thœrzde last.
- (13) œn, d(jœ *now*, a nyvœr hœrd œni mœw'r dhœn dhys ə dhat byznys, œz shu'r)z mœ neemz wyljœm djoœn andœrsœn, frœ dhat *dee* tœ dhys, œn dœwnt want tœ nœœdhœr, sœ ə dœwnt, dhœe'r nœv.
- (14) œn *sow* a (m gœwœn hœwm tœ mœ sœhpœr; guhd nœht, œn dœwnt bi sœ rœœdi tœ krœi œvœr ə maan œgœœn whœn hi wants tœ tœl jœ sœhmthyn.
- (15) yts bœht ə week fuul dhœt blœdhœrz widhœut sœœns, œn dhœts mœ last wœrd. guhd nœht.

C.S.

In ordinary spelling taken from Ellis's "English Dialects," p. 7\*, but with wording somewhat altered to suit Ulster speech.

Why John has no doubts.

- (1) Well, man, you and him may both laugh at this news of mine. Who cares? That's neither here nor there.

- (2) There's not many a one dies for being laughed at. We know that, dont we? What's to make 'em die? It's no very likely, is it?
- (3) Now here's the facts of the case, so, I say, just quit talking, man, and be quiet till I'm done with my story. Listen to this.
- (4) I'm certain I heard them say—some of they very ones that went through the whole thing from the first theirselves—as did I myself, so I did, sure enough,—
- (5) that the youngest son himself, a lump of a boy about nine years old, knew his da's voice at once, though 'twas so queer and squeaky, and I'd trust him to tell the truth any day, so I would.
- (6) And the old woman herself 'll tell any o' yez that laughs now, and tell ye right off too, and no more about it, if ye'll only ask her, so she will.
- (7) Any way she told me it, when I asked her, two or three times, so she did, and she could no be wrong on such a matter as this.
- (8) Well, as I was saying, she would tell how, where, and when she found that drunken beast she calls her man.
- (9) She swore she seen 'im wi' her own eyes a lying his whole length on the ground and 'is good Sunday clothes on 'im just forenenst the door o' the house down at the corner o' yon loaning-(lane).
- (10) He was whingeing (whining) and whimpering away, says she, for all the world like a wean or a wee girl a'frighted.
- (11) And that happened just as she and her good daughter-in-law were coming through the back yard of a house after hanging out the wet clothes till dry on a washing day,
- (12) and the kettle a boiling for tea, one fine afternoon just Thursday last.
- (13) And, d'ye know, I never heard any more than this o' that business, as sure as my name's William John Anderson, from that day to this, and dont want to neither, so I dont, there now.
- (14) And so I'm going home to my supper; good night, and dont be so ready to cry over a man again when he wants to tell ye something.
- (15) It's but a weak fool that blathers without sense, and that's my last word. Good night.

## WORD LIST.

## WESSEX AND NORSE.

Compare Ellis, "English Dialects," pp. 17<sup>a</sup>–24<sup>a</sup> and  
pp. 716–721.

- A- 5. mak (make), 4. tak (take), 8. hav or hæv (have), 7. sæk (sake), 9. bihæv (behave), 12. saw, *usually* siin (saw), 17. ləw or laaw (law), 24. shæm (shame), 28. hæ'r (hare), 33. rædhər (rather), 01. sæd'l (saddle).
- A: 39. kam (came), 43. haan or haand (hand), 44. læn or lænd (land), 46. kan'l (candle), 48. saq (sang), 49. haq (hang), 51. mæn or man (man), 54. want (want), 02. stæn or stæand (stand).
- A: or O: 60. laq (long), 61. ymaq (among), 62. straq (strong), 63. thraq (throng), 64. raq (wrong), 65. saq (song).
- A'- 74. tuu (two), 79. oown (own), 90. bloow or blaaw (blow), 91. moow (mow), 93. snaaw or snoow (snow), 95. throow or thra'w (throw), 97. sæul (soul).
- A': 101. oowk (oak), 104 and 105. roowd (road or rode), 106. bræwd (broad), 112. hoowl (whole), 115. hoowm or hæm (home), 117. wan or wohn (one), 124. stoown or steen (stone), 134. oowth (oath), 03. poowl (pole), 04. roow (row), 05. ryz (rose, *hə*).
- Æ- 138. fædhər (father), 140. hæel (hail), 141. næel (nail), 143. tæel (tail), 149. blæz (blaze), 152. wæter (water).
- Æ: 154. bak (back), 155. thak (thatch), 158. æfter (after), 159. haz or hæz (has), 160. eog (egg), 161. dæe or dæe (day), 165. sæd (said), 169. whæn (when), 172. gras (grass), 173. wæoz or wyz (was).
- Æ: 06. kært (cart), 07. ap'l (apple), 08. hæłth (health).
- Æ'- 182. sæe (sea), 183. tæetj (teach), 187. læv (leave), 189. wæe (weigh), 192. mæn (mean), 193. klæn (clean), 194. æni (any), 195. mæni (many), 198. læt (let, allow), 200. whæet (wheat), 202. hæet (heat), 09. blæetj (bleach), 010. tæe'z (tease), 011. læen (lean, *adj.*), 012. wæpon (weapon).
- Æ': 203. spæetj (speech), 205. thræd (thread), 208 and 209. n-ævər or n-yvər (n-ever), 213 and 214. n-ædhər (n-either), 216. dæel (deal), 227. wæt (wet), 226. mæest or moowest (most), 228. swæt (sweat), 229. fat (fat).

- E- 232. bræk (break), 233. *speek* (speak), 235. *weev* (weave), 241. *reen or REEN* (rain), 244. wæl (well) *argumentative*, *see* 266; 245. meel (meal), *farina*, 250. *swes'r* (swear), 251. *meest* (meat), 252. wædhær (weather), 013. fædhær (feather), 014. eet (eat).
- E: 257. ædʒ (edge), 261. *SEE or see* (say), 262. *wes* (way), 263. *ewee or ewa* (away), 264. eel (ail), 266. wæl (well), *good manner*, *see* 244; 268. eoldyst (eldest), 269. sælf (self), 271. tæl (tell), 281. lænth (length), 282. strænth (strength), 015. bæd (bed), 016. bæst (best), 017. pæn (pen), 018. sæl (sell), 019. sæt'l (settle).
- E'- 296. bilæev (believe), 297. fælə (fellow), 298. fiil (feel), 299. griin (green).
- E'- 301. hii'r (hear), 302. miit (meet), 303. *sweet* (sweet).
- E': 305. hei (high), 306. hēiht *or* hēht (height), 311. tæŋ (ten), 312. hii'r (here), 313. hark, hērk, *or* hærk (hearken), 314. herd *or* hærd (heard).
- EA- 320. kēs'r (care), 020. narə (narrow).
- EA: 322. laakh (laugh), 324. ækht (eight), 326. euld (old), 327. beul *or* beuld (bold), 328. keuld *or* keul (cold), 329. foowld (fold), 330. heuld *or* hoowld (hold), 331. sæuld *or* soowld (sold), 332. teuld *or* toowld *or* tælt (told, "telled"), 333. kaf (calf), 334. haf (half), 335. diwl *or* aawl (all), 336. fdwl *or* faawl (fall), 337. wdwl *or* waawl (wall), 338. kdwl *or* kaawl (call), 340. jard (yard), 341. marə (marrow), 342. arm (arm), 343. wärm (warm), 021. hārd (hard), 022. hārm (harm), 023. jarn (yarn), 024. mār̄k (mark), 025. park (park), 026. shārp (sharp), 027. spār̄k (spark).
- EA'- 347. hæd (head), 348. ei (eye), 349. fɪʊ (few).
- EA': 350. dæ'd (dead), 351. læd (lead), *metal*, 352. ræd (red), 353. bræd (bread), 354. shæf (sheaf), 355. dæf *or* dæ'f (deaf), 359. nēe'bær *or* niibær (neighbor), 361. bēen (bean), 363. tʃep (cheap), 365. nii'r (near), 366. græt (great), 367. thræt (threat), 368. dæth *or* dæ'th (death), 369. slōow (slow), 370. rdw (raw), 371. strdw (straw).
- EI- 373. dhæe' *or* dhii (they).
- EI: 378. wæek (weak), 380. dhæm (them), 382. dhæe'r (their).
- EO- 383. sæv'n (seven), 384. hæv'n (heaven), 385. binæeth (beneath), 387. nɪʊ (new), 028. tær (tar).
- EO: 388. mylk (milk), 390. shwhd *or* shohd (should), 392. dhón (yon), 395. jəhq (young), 396. wær̄k (work), 397. sów'rd

- (sword), 398. starv (starve), 400. ɛrnyst (earnest), 403. lærn, lærn, or lærn (learn), 403. far (far), 406. ɛrth (earth), 029. dark (dark), 030. farn (farm), 031. hart (heart).
- EO'- 409. bii (bee), 414. fɛi (a fly), 415. læi (lie down), 416. dii'r (dear), 419. ju'r or jər (your), 420. fow'r (four), 421. forti (forty), 032. frii (free), 033. friiz (freeze), 034. trii (tree), 035. ruu (to rue).
- EO': 422. syk (sick), 425. læiɛht, læht, or læit (light), 426. fəiɛht or fɛ:ɛht, fəht or fɛit (fight), 430. frəund or frynd (friend), 431. bii'r (beer), 433. brəust (breast), 434. bæst (beat), 435. juu, ji, jə, or jəz (you), 436. truɛ (true), 437. truuth (truth).
- EY- 438. dæl (to die).
- EY: 439. trəust (to trust).
- I- 440. wiik (week), 441. sy'v (sieve), 446. nɛin (nine), 447. hæɹ, hæɹ, or hæɹ (her), 449. gyt or gæt (get).
- I: 452. ə or ɛi (I), 453. kwɛk (quick), 456. ɣf or ɣf (if), 458. nɛɛht, nɛht, or nɛit (night), 462. sɛɛht, sɛiɛht, or sɛit (sight), 463. tyl (till) *prop.*, 466. tɛɛld (child), 467. wɛild (wild), 468. tɛɛldər (children), 470. hɛm (him), 471. tɛmər (timber), 473. blɛind (blind) *adj.*, 475. wynd (wind), 477. fɛind (to find), 481. fyqər (finger), 482. ɣz (is), 483. hɛz (his), 487. jəstəɹdɛ (yesterday), 488. jət (yet), 489. hɛt (it); 036. rɛn (run), 037. sɛt (sit), 038. wɛt (wit).
- I'- 490. bæi or bæ (by=*near*), 491. sɛiɛh or sɛiɛ (sigh), 494. tɛim (time), 496. ɛi'rən (iron).
- I': 500. lɛik (like), 501. wɛid (wide), 502. fə'iv or fɛiv (five), 505. wɛif (wife), 506. wɛmən (woman), 507. wiimən (women), 508. mɛil (mile), 510. mɛin (mine), *adj.*, 514. ɛis (ice), 515. wɛiz (wise), 517. juu (yew).
- O- 518. bohdi (body), 519. owvər (over), 521. foowl (foal), 522. owpən (open), 523. hoowp (hope), 524. wər'ld (world); 039. torn (torn), 040. born (born), 041. shorn (shorn), 042. foo'r (fore).
- O: 527. boht (bought), 528. thoht (thought), 529. bròht (brought), 530. ròht or rdwht (wrought), 531. daawhtər (daughter), 532. koowl (coal), 533. dɔhl (dull), 534. hoowl (hole), 536. goowld or gɛwld (gold), 537. mɛwld (mould), 538. wɛwld, wyd, or wɔhd (would), 539. beul or boowl (bowl), 543. ən (on), 544. dhəon (then), 546. for (for), 547. ford (ford), 548. bòrd (board), 550. wərd (word), 551. stòrm (storm),

552. kòrn (corn), 553. hòrn (horn), 554. kròs (cross); 043. sorre (sorrow), 044. mòrn (morn).
- O'- 555. shuv (shoe), 557. tuv (too), 558. luk *or* luhk (look), 559. mydhèr *or* mædhèr (mother), 560. skuvl (school), 562. mvun (moon), 563. mæhdæ (Monday), 564. svun (soon), 565. noowz (nose), 566. ydhèr *or* ødhèr (other), 568. brydher *or* brædhèr (brother).
- O': 569. buhk *or* buk (book), 570. tuhk, tuk, *or* tæhk (took), 571. gæhd (good), 572. blæhd (blood), 573. flæhd (flood), 574. brud (brood), 575. stæhd *or* stæhd (stood), 576. wæd'nzde (Wednesday), 577. bæv (bough), 578. plæv, plæv, *or* pluv (plough), 579. ynæhf (enough), 580. tæhækh *or* tæhf (tough), 581. sækht *or* sawkht (sought), 582. kuvl (cool), 583. tuv (tool), 584. stuvl (stool), 586. duv *or* dæ (do), 587. dohn (done), 589. spuun (spoon), 590. fuv'r (floor), 592. swoow'r (swore), 593. mæst (*he* must), 594. buv (boot), 595. fæht *or* fæht (foot), 596. ruv (root), 597. suht (soot).
- U- 599. æbæhv (above), 600. læhv (love), 601. fævl (fowl), 603. kæhm (come), 604. sæhmæ (summer), 605. sæhn (son), 606. duv'r (door), 607. bæhtæ (butter).
- U: 609. fæhl *or* fæhl (full), 610. wæhl (wool), 612. sæhm (some), 613. dræhqk (drunk), 615. pæhd *or* pævd (pound), 616. græhd *or* grævd (*the* ground), 618. wuund (*a* wound), 619. fan, fæv, fand, *or* fævd (*was* found), 622. øhdæ (under), 623. fyn, fan, *or* fand (*they* found), 624. grævd (*they* ground), 625. tæhq (tongue), 626. hæqæ (hunger), 629. sæhn (sun), 630. wæhn (won), 631. tæhrzde *or* tæhrzde (Thursday), 632. øhp (up), 633. kæhp (cup), 634. thruv (through), 635. wæth (worth), 636. færdhæ (further), 639. dæht (dust); 045. wæhnæ (wonder), 046. tæhn (ton).
- U'- 640. kæv, kæv, *or* kuv (cow), 641. hæv *or* hæv (how), 643. næv *or* næv (now), 644. sæhk (suck), 648. ev'r *or* wv'r (our), 650. øæv (about), 652. kæhd, kæhd, *or* kyd (could), 653. bæht (but); 047. tæhm (thumb).
- U': 654. ræhf *or* rækh (rough), 655. fævl (foul), 656. ruv (room), 657. brævn (brown), 658. dævn (down), 659. tævn (town), 661. shæv'r *or* shæv'r (shower), 662. øhv (us), 663. hæv *or* hæv (house), 665. mæv (mouse), 667. æv (out), 668. præv *or* præv (proud), 671. mævth *or* mævth (mouth), 672. sævth (south).

- Y- 674. *dyd* (did), 675. *dreí* (dry), 676. *lei* or *lii* (*a lie, falsehood*), 690. *byzi* (busy), 681. *byznys* (business), 682. *lyt'l* (little).  
 Y: 684. *brydj* or *bryg* (bridge), 685. *ryg* (ridge), 686. *béi* (buy), 687. *fléht* or *fléiht* (flight), 688. *byld* (build), 689. *ynsh* (inch), 693. *syn* (sin), 697. *buhri* or *bæri* (bury), 700. *wars* (worse), 701. *fyrst* or *far-t* (first), 702. *wyth* or *wi, as in wi ji or wi jez* (with—with you), 703. *pyt* (pit); 048. *hyl* (hill), 049. *warm* (worm).  
 Y'- 705. *skéi* (sky), 706. *whéi* (why), 707. *thyrtyin* (thirteen), 708. *héi'r* (hire).  
 Y': 709. *fél'r* (fire), 712. *méis* (mice).

## ENGLISH.

Compare with "English Dialects," pp. 719, 720.

- A. 050. *glans* (glance), 051. *manør* (manure), 052. *pəThétəz* or *prhétiz* (potatoes), 053. *darn* (darn).  
 E. 054. *pəet* (peat), 055. *wəalth* (wealth), 056. *hædhær* (heather), 057. *yndævər* (endeavor), 058. *pəet* (pet).  
 I, Y. 059. *tréial* (trial), 060. *pæi* (pie), 061. *whyn* (whin), 062. *wyq* (wing), 063. *pyn* (pin), 064. *splyt* (split), 065. *whyg* (whig), 066. *trei* (try).  
 O. 067. *soowk* (soak), 068. *sod* (sod), 069. *klok* (clock), 070. *bog* (bog), 071. *tow* (tow), 072. *lòst* (lost), 073. *drèun* (drown), 074. *sowdà* (soda), 075. *tròhth* (troth).  
 U. 076. *pohdyn* (pudding), 077. *bluv* (blue), 078. *pəhsi* (pussy).

## ROMANCE.

- A. 079. *labør* (labor), 080. *fəbrik* (fabric), 081. *ədjənt* (agent), 083. *kəmbrik* (cambric), 084. *manør* (manner), 085. *fəmlí* (family), 086. *tʃəp'l* (chapel), 087. *awdiens* (audience), 088. *graañ* or *graand* (grand), 089. *kée's* (case), 090. *armi* (army), 091. *tréet* (treat), 092. *seezən* (season), 093. *reezən* (reason).  
 E. 094. *ree'l* (real), 095. *riséev* (receive), 096. *pərséev* (perceive), 097. *diséev* (deceive), 098. *kənséet* (conceit), 099. *mərsi* (mercy), 0100. *fyrn* (firm), 0101. *neet* (neat), 0102. *béest* (beast), 0103. *dizərt v., dæzərt s.* (desert), 0104. *əblaidj* (oblige), 0105. *vəndjəns* (vengeance), 0106. *kəmpléet*



(complete), 0107. *pryfàr or pryfèr* (prefer), 0108. *plèanti* (plenty), 0109. *mèozhèr* (measure), 0110. *servànt* (servant), 0111. *verdj* (verge), 0112. *èr* (err), 0113. *serpènt* (serpent), 0114. *sert'n or sartn* (certain), 0115. *klèrk* (clerk), 0116. *klèrdji or klèrdji* (clergy), 0117. *trèozhèr* (treasure), 0118. *plèez* (please).

I, Y. 0119. *dinèi* (deny), 0120. *fyzzyshèn* (physician), 0121. *spei* (spy), 0123. *krèi* (cry), 0124. *sèspleshès* (suspicious), 0125. *syvyl* (civil), 0126. *sèiz* (size), 0127. *advèrtèiz* (advertize), 0128. *syvylèiz* (civilize), 0129. *syti* (city), 0130. *rylydjèn or rylidjèn* (religion), 0131. *pyti* (pity), 0132. *mèizèr* (miser), 0133. *pèzyshèn or pèzishèn* (position).

O. 0134. *rob* (rob), 0135. *robèr* (robber), 0136. *brùwtj* (brooch), 0137. *kùwtj* (coach), 0138. *stori* (story), 0139. *portèr* (porter), 0140. *form* (form), 0141. *fors* (force), 0142. *anèr* (honor), 0143. *mèhni* (money), 0144. *kòhntri* (country), 0145. *ordèr* (order), 0146. *sèpùwz* (suppose), 0147. *sort* (sort), 0148. *kùwt* (coat), 0149. *vùwt* (vote), 0150. *rdùz* (a rose), 0151. *rdùst* (roast), 0152. *tùwt* (toast), 0153. *tèvyl* (towel), 0154. *trèhb'l* (trouble), 0155. *kùhkùv* (cuckoo), 0156. *roùwl* (roll), 0157. *hoùw* (hoe), 0158. *kòhlèr* (color), 0159. *trùup* (troop), 0160. *sùup* (soup), 0161. *bot'l* (bottle), 0162. *djùrn'l* (journal), 0163. *dòhz'n* (dozen), 0164. *djù'l* (jewel), 0165. *ymploè* (employ).

U. 0166. *dìù* (due), 0167. *krùul* (cruel), 0168. *trèul* (trowel), 0169. *kwèstshèn* (question), 0170. *mìùl* (mule), 0171. *kìù'r or klìù'r* (cure), 0172. *jùs* (use, s.), 0173. *rèfìùsz* (refuse, v. and s.), 0174. *djùs* (juice), 0175. *tìùn* (tune), 0176. *djchst*, *adj.*, *djyst*, *adv. and prep.* (just), 0177. *shùu'r* (sure).

## GLOSSARY.

The selection of words in the following list, being representative of Ulster peculiarities, is made with the view of excluding most of those which seem equally common, and with same meaning, in Ulster and Scotland. I have added a few known to myself, which are not contained in Patterson's Glossary, some of which, he states, are unknown to him, and to these I make special allusions, referring to him as P. Some of the words with the same meaning are to be found in Jamieson's Scotch Dictionary; to each of these is appended J. Some other words, though not found in that Dictionary, have been kindly identified for me by Mr. Webster, Librarian of the Edinburgh University, as existing in Scotch. To each of these W. is appended. When words have been found in Jamieson's work with varied forms or meanings differing from the Irish, or only ascribed to special localities in Scotland, or given me by Mr. Webster, not being mentioned by Jamieson, those forms and meanings or localities are appended under J. or W. respectively. To most words I give the palaeotype spelling with the pronunciation I know at the left, then to all Mr. Patterson's spelling, or some other popular spelling in the case of a word inserted by me, then the meaning. After some words I have appended Gaelic words, which appear cognate. They are in both Scotch and Irish spelling if these differ and if I can find the word in O'Brien's Irish Dictionary.

When the meaning of a word, as given in the descriptive text, is one used in addition to the ordinary English meaning, it is preceded by +. Mr. Patterson's or a popular spelling is in italics.

- A *əbree*'rd, *abreard*, when the braird (corn has just sprouted, showing above ground).  
*aawl* sorts, *all sorts*, scolding.  
 B bad səs, *bad cess*, bad luck.  
 bad skran, *bad scran*, bad luck. J. notes "scran" as ability, means for effecting any purpose.  
 bi tə, *be to*, obliged to, have to. W.

byd dhə teim ə dee, *bid the time o' day*, ordinary salutation or remark made by a wayfarer meeting anyone on the road, i.e. to say "good morning," "fine day," etc. W. notes "pass the time o' day."

biiz, *bees*, is, ex. "when that work bees finished."

brū, *broo*, opinion, judgment, not noted by P., heard in Tyrone, ex. "I've no a good broo of it," alluding to the prospect of weather. Gaelic "breath," judgment. J. favourable opinion, "Nae broo of them ava." J. points to Icelandic "bragd" = sapor, odor. Noted by W. in Ayrshire as common report or rumor.

C keeli, *cailey*, a call or friendly visit, Gaelic "ceilidh." Though I cant find that J. notes this, I know it in the Aberdeenshire English of Braemar.

kəʊlɜ, *caillyea*, a talk round the fire.

keelɜkɰh, *cailleach*, a potato of more than a year old. Gaelic "cailleach," old woman. J. gives "cailliach" in Sc. in the Gaelic sense.

kant, *cant*, to sell by auction. Gaelic Sc. "canntail," Ir. "cantail." J. notes "cant" as to sing in speaking, to repeat as in recitation.

karnapshəs, *carnaptious*, quarrelsome, fault-finding.

kari an, kariɣnz an, *carry on, carryings on*, to act improperly or boisterously, improper or boisterous conduct. Noted by W., but supposed by him to be of English slang origin.

tshyti rən, *chitty wren*, common wren.

tshyɜrlyq, *chitterling*, swallow.

klabər, *clabber*, mud. W. suggests kinship of "glaur," clot.

kleen, *clean*, + quite, ex. "I clean forgot it." W.

klod, *clod*, throw, ex. clodding (clodden)stones. J. notes in south of S. as to throw forcibly, as one throws clods, and as in E. to pelt with clods.

klɔti, *clooty*, left-handed. Gaelic "clith," left. "Clooty" used by Burns as fam. name for Devil, different word?

kolloog, *collogue*, a confidential chat together.

kollop, *collop*, a slice of meat. W. I am familiar with the term in Sc. as meat minced by the butcher.

kəhm, *come*, + make, ex. "come speed," make haste.

krɜʊl, *crowl*, dwarf, hunchback. J. a puny feeble child.

krɜʊl, *cruel*, + very, ex. "cruel good." J. sic. W. notes "horrid gude" in Ayrshire. "*Cruel haan (hand) of himself with the drink*," a mess of himself with drink.

køhlæn ban, *cullion ban*, wood anemone, "Anemone nemorosa."

P. does not give this, but "ned cullion" as heard in co. Derry; the former is the word used at Lissan, in the Tyrone borders of co. Derry. Gaelic "cailin ban," fair girl.

D da, *da*, father, "dad."

dœndjærsəm, *dangerous*, dangerous. W.

darl'n, *darlin*, "darling," (adj.) nice, (subs.) something nice; ex. "Oh twas the darlin," said of a piece of plum pudding.

dœ en deeli, *day and daily*, every day. W.

dæləgon, *daylignon* or *daligon*, daylight gone or going, evening twilight. J. notes "dayligaun" in Clydesdale.

dii'r noouz, *dear knows*, nobody knows, God knows. W.

dimeən, *demean*, to lower or disgrace. J. "deman" to maltreat.

dirə̀kli, *directly*, precisely, exactly.

dollakhən, *dollachan*, large lake trout coming up small rivers in their season from large lakes, like salmon.

dəhn, *done*, did. ex. q. "Who did this?" a. "I done it," but not as an auxiliary or substitute for another verb. ex. q. "Did you *feel* it?" a. "I *did* so." Noted by W. as Sc. in some places.

druvyls, *dooless*, helpless. J. "doless, dowless," feeble without exertion.

dəhnsi, *donsy*, sick looking, sickly. But see Burns' "Address to the Unco Guid": "their donsie tricks" = unlucky. Noted by J. as pettish, testy.

dəhndəhkiti, *dunduckity*, a sort of dingy color, ex. (a saying) "dunduckity mud color the color of a mouse's diddy."

E erləs, *earles*, earnest money. J. "arles, arlis, erlis."

*ears*, a Belfast expression, "I cant hear my ears," meaning the speaker is deafened by a noise.

ørørən, *erran, errand*, + any action or deed, ex. "If a mak an erran to yer face it 'll no be to kiss ye" (said in anger). J. "erandis," affairs, business.

øls, *elae*, + ex. "you and you else," i.e. you and others of your neighbors or class.

iiv'n, *even*, + to condescend, to put one's self on a level with, ex. even one's wit to him. So by P. J. same meaning in Sc. Also known to me as to presume, ex. "D' you think I'd even to understand it?" referring to a sermon

of which the speaker expressed admiration but holding beyond his intelligence. J. to equal.

- F fəond of, *fend off*, to ward off, "fend off post" = post to protect from injury by carts. J. to defend, to support, to maintain.

fəot'l, *fettle*, to settle. J. to tie up.

fəhty, *footy*, trifling, mean. J. mean, despicable.

frokhenz, *froughans*, blaeberries, "*Vaccinium myrtillus*," pronounced also "froənz." Sc. Gaelic *fraochag*, Ir. G. *fraochóg*.

from dhat, *from that*, from the time, ex. "From that I went." W. *freitfuhl*, *frightful*, timorous (Tyrone). Not noted by P.

- G gəzebo, *gazebo*, staring, looking, building, stand at racecourse. So by P. Also known to me in the sense of guy or scarecrow.

gyt, *get*, + is usually or often named, ex. "His name is Conway, but he gets Timoney too." This is an alias of which no secret is made, and which is not regarded as a nickname.

gomerif, a fool. J. "gomrell."

gorb, *gorb*, greedy person. J. "gorble up," to swallow up with eagerness. W. "gorb," a young unfledged bird.

gra, *gra*, affection. Gaelic "gradh."

gy ən, *gy and*, very, ex. "gy and hot" = very hot. J. "gey" = tolerable, "a gey wheen" = a considerable number.

- H heə'r, *hair*, ex. "no a hair feard," not a hair afraid, i.e. not at all afraid. J. a very small portion or quantity.

heet, *hait*, (heat?), anything, ex. "deil a hait" = devil a thing. W. Also in Ireland = feeling or temperature, ex. "How d'ye like the heat o' thon day?" which may be said when the weather is quite cold.

hardi, *hardy*, frosty.

heə'r, *hare*, person up to pranks or dodges, a larky person. ex. "He's a queer hare": a Belfast expression I have heard more than once, but P. says unknown to him; = queer fish, queer customer.

hækh feeth! *heck faith*, exclamation, oh my faith. W.

həv ər ji kəhmyŋ ən? *how are you coming on?* "How do you do?"  
 „ də ji stəən't? *how do you stand it?* "How are you keeping?"  
 „ „ „ gəot jər həlth? *how do you get your health?* "How's your health been keeping?"

hohqkerz, *hunkers*, haunches, hind quarters. ex. "The corn was that short, a jinny wren could have set on her hunkers and picked the top pickle off": said to illustrate the poverty of the crop. J. "to sit on one's hunkers"—to sit with the hips hanging downwards.

I yn kuv'rs, *in course*, of course. W. notes as possibly Scotch.

yndjaokt, *inject*, eject.

yndjaoktment, *injection*, ejectment.

{ P. omits and says unknown to him. They are usual in Tyrone and at Kilrea on the Bann.

ynseons, *insense*, explain.

J djap, *jap*, to splash water. J. notes "jawp, jaup, jalp"—that portion of water which is separated from a wave when it is broken by its own weight or by some resisting obstacle.

K keem, *kaim*, fine toothed comb. J. notes "kaim"—comb.

kaek'l, *kekke*, giggle. J. notes "kekkeil"—cackle as a hen. Eng. chuckle?

L lapkok, *lapcock*, an armful of hay made into a coil, and in Ireland the next process of making hay after it has been shaken out from the swathe. It is so arranged that the rain would do it as little harm, and the sun and wind as much good, as possible. This is my own definition amended by a friend (not P.'s) from observing the practice. I heard a Scotch bailiff comment upon it as an advantageous custom unknown to him.

lapper, *lapper*, a class of skilled workmen whose business it is to cut, fold, and pack linen goods.

lashynz, *lashins*, lots, plenty, ex. "lashins of potatoes." J. to "lash" water or any liquid, i.e. to throw forcibly in great quantities.

laugh with the wrong side of the mouth, to cry. W.

leezi baed, *lazy bed*, a system of growing potatoes by spade work on lea land, in which ridges are marked, the tubers with manure laid on the sod and covered by soil dug from trenches on the ridge sides. J. quotes Maxwell applying same term to same practice in the West Highlands.

leot olooun, *let alone*, besides, ex. "I fell in and got hurt, let alone bein' all wet." W.

lost, *lost*, + cold, wet, ex. "Ye'll be lost if ye go out the day."

lohmp, *lump*, + ex. of use, "lump of a boy," "lump of a girl,"  
i.e. a well-grown one.

- M *meet*, *mate*, "meat," food of any kind. W.  
meizert, *misert*, miser. J. (adj.) extremely parsimonious.  
moeli, *moily*, hornless cow, also (adj.) hornless. J. "moylie,"  
hornless bullock. Gaelic "maol," bald.  
mornz morra, *morn's morrow*, the day after to-morrow. W.  
mortlæl, *mortal*, "mortal," very, extremely great, ex. "He was  
a mortal big one," "He was in a mortal hurry." W.  
notes "mortal" in same sense.  
marfiz, *murphies*, potatoes. J. gives this as Sc. too. I have  
inserted as probably of Irish origin.
- N *nyvør af byz bak*, *never off his back*, never ceasing to advise,  
scold, or look after a person, in a teasing way.  
not kan, *not can*, cannot, not able to, ex. "You 'll not can do  
that." W.
- O obliidjment, *oblegement*, obligation. J. notes "oblisment" and  
W. "obleegement" in same sense.  
offer, *offer*, attempt, ex. "Dont offer to do it." W.  
an, *on*, + to (in marriage), ex. "His daughter was married on  
Jones of Lisburn." W.  
ornæri, *ornery*, "ordinary," plain-looking, ugly.  
eut e dhe fees, *out o' the face*, without stopping, ex. "I'll do  
that out o' the face."
- P *paramoudra*, a large cylindrical mass of flint; said to be  
gibberish coined by a facetious quarryman in answer to  
a query by the late Dr. Buckland when geologizing  
among the county Antrim Chalk rocks. It is not of the  
vernacular, but probably originated in Ulster.  
peottid an, *petted on*, to be fond of a person, as a child or tamed  
animal, so that it will always follow for food, and pines  
in its master's or mistress's absence. W.  
piæne roowz, *piano rose*, the flower pæony.  
plant'n, *plantin*, plantation of young trees.  
pleezment, *pleasement*, what pleases, ex. "I was glad to hear  
it, but perhaps it was no pleasement to you."  
*prod*, poke. J. notes as to prick.  
pøhlæn, *pullan*, the fresh-water herring of Lough Neagh,  
"Corregonus Pollan." J. Pollac, a kind of fish.
- Q kwytt, *quit*, stop, ex. "quit clodden stanes," stop throwing  
stones. J. "quat," to give over.

- kwæ'r, quare*, "queer," used in a variety of senses, ex. "quare and nice" = very nice, and see "hare," also "quare dale" = great deal. J. notes "queer," entertaining, amusing, affording fun.
- R. *raad, red*, + done work (pt. of *rid*?), ex. "What time will you get red?" J. "red, rede, or rid," to clear, to put in order.
- red loanin*, "red lane," the inside of the throat.
- red out, red up*, cleared out, tidied, ex. "When 'll you get thon (that) place red up."
- rii, raaw, ree raw*, untidy. W. notes "reel rall."
- rimeamber, remember*, remind, ex. "I'll remember you about it." W.
- rxiv, rise*, split. J. to break up land.
- rohfnas, roughness*, + plenty, abundance, ex. "Them people has a great roughness among them." J. "rouchness," full housekeeping, ex. "There's aye a deal o' rouchness about you house."
- rohllan, rullion*, big, coarse, dirty fellow. J. a coarse-made masculine woman, a rough ill-made animal.
- rohndael, rundale*, working farms in partnership.
- S. *salli, sally*, willow. J. sauch.
- sawlt, salt*, to raise biddings at an auction. This is the meaning I remember of it. P. does not note it in his glossary, but tells me he would understand it as to exact an exorbitant price, or to cheat by causing a man to pay such. Saltus?
- skræekh* or *skræeh* } *scraigh*, a scream as cry of gull. J. v. to scream;  
s. a shriek.
- scan*, see "bad scan."
- skruu meus, screw mouse*, the shrew mouse.
- skohnnær, scunner* or *scunder*, disgust. J. as in Ulster sense. Gaelic "sganradh," scare.
- skohtj gras, scutch grass*, couch grass.
- seawndyb'l, sevendible*, thorough or severe, very great in size or quantity and in same sense adverbially, *sevendibly*.
- shandridan, shandrydan*, an old shaky carriage. W.
- shannækh, shannagh*, a confidential chat. J. "It is ill shannagh in you," It is ill on your part.
- sheever, shaver*, a wag, funny fellow, a keen shrewd fellow, also simply as fellow, ex. "a little shaver." J. a wag.



- shædd'n, *sheddin*, the place where roads divide. J. "shed," to divide.
- shòhkh, *shough*, ditch, i.e. the hollow that is made when the stuff making the bank alongside a field is dug out, that bank in Ulster being called "ditch." J. "seuch" = a furrow, a small ditch. W. notes "shough" locally as ditch.
- skœlf, *skelf*, a splinter, flake, or chip. J. "skelp," a splinter of wood. W. notes "skelf" as not unknown and with the Ulster meaning.
- skyf, *skiff*, a slight shower. J. "skift."
- skymp, *skimp*, to stint. W.
- slap, *slap*, a gap through a fence, wide enough for a cart to pass, if needful to stop cattle blocked up with old branches. J. a breach in a wall or hedge.
- slyp, *slip* of a girl, an expression corresponding to "lump of," applied to growing children. J. a girl in her teens.
- smyr, *smirr*, a faint drizzling rain.
- snœd, *sned*, to top turnips. J. to prune, to lop off.
- sow, *so*, that, ex. "so I did," that I did.
- sup'l, *souple*, supple, nimble, active. J. flexible.
- soo'r, *sore*, miserable, ex. "a sore day at the stooks," a miserable wet day for working in the fields at the sheaves of corn; "a sore fool," a miserable fool. W. notes "sair," hard, as applied to time or occupation.
- sorrø æ heet, *sorra a hait*, "sorrow a heat," nothing, not at all, specially used in matters of bodily or personal feeling. ex. q. "Did he hurt himself?" a. "Sorra a hait," i.e. not a bit, not at all.
- sorrø mœnd ji, "*sorra mend you*," you deserve it.
- sorrø je'n, *sorra yin*, "sorrow a one," not one. J. "sorrow" = E. plague, pox, deuce.
- sort, *sort*, to repair. J. to fit, to suit.
- sosh, *sosh*. P. gives saucy, snug, comfortable. I have heard it thus: "sosh wee sheep," i.e. of good make and condition, likely to turn out well. J. snug, comfortable, as applied to the external situation.
- sòhkh, *sough*, hollow, sobbing, groaning sound by wind or running water; the sounds coming from a great crowd at a distance, a rumor or report. "Keep a calm sough till the tide comes in," have patience. J. "souch, sough," a rushing or whistling sound.

*spark, spark*, to splash with water or mud. J. to bespatter.

*spohdz, spuds*, potatoes. W. Although not noted by J., I found well known in S. of England.

*akwəonsh, squench*, quench.

*styl*, still, + always, ex. "he's still asking me." J. still and on without intermission.

*stuup, stupe* or *stoop* (steep?), to bathe or sponge any part. J. a vessel for holding water.

*sohtah en, such an*, an emphatic use of such, ex. "such an a fine day," such a very fine day. Comp. J. "siccan," such kind of.

*sohm* or *suhm, sum*, one full-grown cow or bullock of three years old, or horse of that age, grazing on land. The horse is reckoned in some places a "sum" and a half. P. quotes Harris, "Hist. of Co. Down," as giving 8 sheep, and in some places 6 sheep and 6 lambs, to the "sum."

*sohp, sorra, sup sorrow*, to repent, to be sorry for a thing.

*swyrl e wyn, swirl o' win*, a blast of wind. J. a whirling of any kind as that caused by wind. W. notes with same as Irish sense.

**T** *tak, tack*, + bad taste in a thing.

*teol e dhe xi, tail o' the eye*, the corner of the eye. W.

*tammeks, tammocks*, little knolls in a bog, common on Irish bogs, and often of such size that one can step from one to the other, the interval being too soft to tread on. J. hillocks.

*tardjyn, targin*, very, magnificently, ex. "targin fine horse." J. "targe, tairge," to beat, to strike; "tairgin," severe examination or reprehension. W. notes "daigond, dagont" with the Irish sense.

*the pigs ran through it*, something prevented it.

*think a heap*, appreciate highly. W.

*think long*, to feel a longing, to miss much. J.

*think shame*, to be ashamed of. J.

*think pity*, to feel pity.

*tyjht, ticht*, well set up, tidy and neat, ex. "a ticht clean fellow." J. "ticht, tight," prepared, girt for action.

*thraaw, thraw*, twist, turn, ex. "wha scarce can thraw her neck half roun tae bid guid morn her neighbor." J. to wreath, to twist.

*thru ydher, thro ither*, confused, untidy. J. "through other,

- throu 'ther," confusedly, confused in regard to mind or manner. Noted by W. in Irish sense.
- throow, *throw*, + to cause, ex. "It throws us that we cant get the place red out."
- dhon or dhòn, *thon*, yon, that, used often instead of "that" and to the exclusion of "yon" in Ulster. J. notes it locally as used in Fife and the Lothians.
- tow'ri, *tory*, a deceiving person, a rogue, applied in banter as a term of endearment. J. notes it as only used opprobriously.
- travel, *travel*, to walk, ex. "I travelled it every foot of the way." Noted by W. especially as to "walk" instead of "trotting" a horse.
- two-eyed beefsteak*, herring.
- U ohnderkənstəhm'l, *underconstumble*, understand, comprehend. W. notes as jocular Sc. with same meaning.
- up the country people*, used in the more populous parts of Antrim and Down for persons from any part of Ireland except North-East Ulster. W. notes it as a not unknown term in Sc.
- W *wants a square of being round*, applied to a person not quite wise.
- wəɔd, *wed*, weeded. W.
- wham'l, *whamml*, to fall in a sprawling way. J. notes "whambl" in Fife, to overturn, and "whamle," the state of being upside down.
- what come on ye*, what happened to you. W. notes "what come over you."
- white-headed boy*, a favourite boy.
- whyteryt, *whitterit*, the stoat, "*Mustela erminea*." J. notes "whittret" applied in Sc. to the weasel, which does not exist in Ireland.
- wohnner, *wunner*, "wonder," used of or to a sprite of or queer-looking child; ex. "Come here, ye wunner ye."
- Y jammeryn, *yammerin*, complaining, grumbling. J. "yammering," a continued whining.
- jæet, *yeat*, a gate. J. "yat."
- jəɔl, *yell*, a dry cow, a barren cow. J. "yeld," barren, what gives no milk. W. notes "yell" as of same sense.
- juv'rnz, *yourns*, "your ones," the people of your household, your servants. "Henderson's wans" (ones), Henderson's

servants, retinue, or tenants. So "our'ns, his'ns, their'ns."

*sez, yez*, "yous," you, an emphatic form common in Ireland. I suggest that this may be adopted from the Gaelic emphatic affix "se," thus "sibh" pronounced (shi) or (shiv) unemphatic, "sibhse" (shish<sub>e</sub>, shivəs<sub>e</sub>) or (shivəs<sub>e</sub>) emphatic.

VIII.—THE PROVERBS OF ALFRED. By the Rev.  
Professor SKEAT, Litt.D.

[*Read at the Society's Meeting on Friday, May 7, 1897.*]

THE thirteenth-century piece known as "The Proverbs of Alfred" was printed by Dr. Morris for the Early English Text Society in 1872, at p. 102 (and the following pages) of his *Old English Miscellany*.

Of this piece there are (or were) three manuscript copies.

The first to be considered is that which once existed in MS. Cotton, Galba A. 19; not noticed at all in Dr. Morris's Preface. I suppose the reason for not noticing it is, that it suffered in the fire which damaged so many of the Cotton MSS.; for Kemble remarks that "it is now lost." He adds that there is a copy of it in the Bodleian Library; but this is certainly a mistake. Bodley's librarian has carefully examined that famous collection, and nothing of the kind is known there.

Nevertheless, the first 30 (short) lines have been preserved by Wanley, in his Catalogue, p. 231, and might as well have been consulted; in some respects, it looks as if this must have been the best of the three copies.<sup>1</sup>

The second copy is that in the library of Jesus College, Oxford. It was printed by Wright in "*Reliquiae Antiquae*," i, 170; and was taken by Morris to form his "Text I."

Wright's text is fairly correct; and it is obvious that Morris's text has been reread with the MS. itself.

As I have compared these copies, I here give the collation, with a few remarks.

19. Morris, *wes*; Wright, *was*; in the second instance.

51. Morris, *monne*; Wright, *monnen*. One would like to know which it is. *Monno*, of men, is probably right in any case.

<sup>1</sup> Thus, in l. 27 it probably has the true reading: "*Wolde ye nu liþen and lusten yure louerd*," i.e. "*Would ye now hearken and listen to your lord*." In the other copies *nu liþen* has been altered to *nu leden*, or to *mi leode*, i.e. my people.

59. M. W., we. Morris here notes that the correct reading is *þe*, meaning "who." But it is obvious that the correct reading is *wo*, as in the Trinity MS., *wo* being (as I shall show presently) another spelling of *who*. This is shown by the alliteration also.

105. M. *lorþeu*; W. *lorthen*. The line is not in the Trinity MS. *lorþeu* is probably right; see Stratmann. But Stratmann also has *lorþein* in the same sense; so that Wright's reading is not impossible.

125. M. *þat*; W. *the* (as in Trinity MS.). Either reading gives sense.

186. M. *lone* or *loue*; W. *love*.

201. M. *gnyde*; W. *guyde*. Here *gnyde*, rub to pieces, is right.

231. M. *wile*; W. *wele*. The sense intended is "will."

236. M. *menep*; W. *moneth*. The sense is "bemoan"; which, in M.E., was rather *meneth* than *moneth*. The mod. E. *moan* was, originally, a substantive only.

245. M. *þin* (as in MS. Trin.); W. *thine* (wrongly).

260. M. *alyue*; W. *a lytte* (wrongly). Trin. MS. *oliue*.

293. M. *for swunke* (without a hyphen); W. *for-swunke* (rightly). The reading in the other text shows that this is a misprint in the E.E.T.S. edition.

295. M. *nule*; W. *vule* (wrongly).

319. M. [N]eure; W. *Evre*. Morris's correction is not needed; for *ne* occurs in l. 320.

337. M. *vnlede*; W. *vulede* (wrongly). The error is noted in Stratmann.

340. M. *ys*; W. *nys* (which is admissible).

379. M. *le*; W. *be*. There is here some mistake in the MS. See *Lø* in the Glossary.

400. M. *sulue*; W. *selve*.

453. M. *arixlye*; W. *arulye*. See *rixlien* in Stratmann.

The only remark I have to make on this text is, that I am quite sure that l. 438 must be wrong in both prints as to the reading *werende*; this obviously ought to be *wexende*, as in lines 168, 433. I mention it because I suspect the MS. is right. The distinction between *r* and *x* in such a MS. is so slight, that it may easily have escaped notice. The Glossary suggests *wexende*, for the fault is obvious.

I now come to Text II, printed from the Trinity MS. marked B.14.39. This was first printed by Wright, in "Reliquiae Antiquae," i, 170; but with several mistakes. It was next

printed by Kemble, in his "Salomon and Saturn," p. 226; also with several mistakes. And lastly by Morris, in his "Old English Miscellany," without correction of the former errors; so that, in fact, no correct copy of it has yet appeared. Dr. Morris was not in a position to correct the errors, from the nature of the case. Let us hear what he says in his Preface, p. ix.

"The second text is printed from Wright and Kemble; copies which they seem to have transcribed independently from a MS. formerly in Trinity College Library, Cambridge. To speak plainly, this valuable MS. has been stolen from the Library by some one who has abused the generosity of the authorities of Trinity College, who are ever willing and ready to afford every facility to those desirous of consulting their valuable stores of antiquity."

Here Dr. Morris expressed what was then, with much reason, a general belief; but it is now known that the MS. was not stolen; it had only gone astray. Its temporary loss was quite accidental, and no one was to blame; and it is at present again reposing in its ancient home, none the worse for its protracted absence. The circumstances were given in detail in a letter by Mr. Aldis Wright, which appeared in the *Times* of July 13, 1896. In company with some printed books belonging to the same library, it was accidentally packed up and sent away to a former fellow of the college. It so happened that the parcel was never opened, and after thirty-three years was returned to the college without having been interfered with. Mr. Aldis Wright had suspected that some of the college books had thus gone astray, and wrote to inquire about them; whereupon he not only regained the books which he sought, but, much to his astonishment, found the long-lost MS. amongst them.

As Dr. Morris had no opportunity of consulting the MS., it is only necessary to notice the editions by Wright and Kemble.

It is clear that Wright's text, issued in 1841, was printed from a transcript without being corrected by the MS. when in type.

Kemble's text, in 1848, was printed, no doubt, from a transcript which Kemble had himself made independently; but it also appears that, whilst in the press, Kemble took the opportunity of consulting, not the MS. itself, but Wright's printed copy. In consequence of this, he has repeated a very remarkable mistake. But before I proceed, I must say a word as to my mode of reference.

Morris numbers the lines throughout, but he has rearranged the sections, so as to make them agree with those of the Jesus MS. He also unluckily reduces the 37 sections to 34; still, the numbering by sections is the only one that really helps us in comparing one text with another. He gives them in the following order, viz., 1-8, 10, 9, 11-13, 16, 17, 21, 20, 25, 19, 23, 29, 26, 14, 15, 18, 22, 24, 27, 28, 30-34; and includes sections 35-37 as part of 34. The confusion thus introduced makes it a troublesome task to compare the different copies, as so much time is lost in finding the place. And the confusion is rather increased than diminished by numbering the lines as if the order of sections were the correct one. Whenever this piece is re-edited, some better mode of reference should, if possible, be devised. As it is, I can only refer to the lines in Morris's edition, although they do not at all correspond with the lines in the MS. Fortunately, however, Morris gives Kemble's numbering of the sections, with which he agrees up to section 34, and the few sections at the end are all in the right order.

I now return to my promised curious example, in Morris, l. 294.

Here the scribe of the MS., wishing to write the word *tre*, a tree, had the misfortune to write *ter*. Wright copied this faithfully, but it is clear that he also made a note, in his margin, that *tre* was meant. Hence his printer naturally substituted *tertre*, all as one word.

When Kemble printed his text, he evidently had his doubts as to this queer word. So he consulted Wright's text, but evidently thought that *ter* might be some part of another word; hence he printed it *ter tre*, as two words. Morris went back to Wright's text, and again printed *tertre* as one word, with a note in the Glossary, to the effect that *tertre* is an error for *tre*.

The result is, of course, that all three texts are wrong. The reading is simply *ter*, which is a mere error for *tre*, which Kemble had already translated by "tree," as the context demands.

I give this example in order to show that none of the texts can be depended upon. Kemble's text to some extent depends on Wright's, so that Wright's is the text which requires most attention.

Accordingly, I have collated it with the MS. throughout, and found many errors. The difficulties are numerous, but can mostly be surmounted. And here comes in my chief discovery, viz., that



none of the editors had any clue to the peculiar nature of the spelling.

On this I am able to throw a flood of light, as will soon appear.

The moment that I opened the MS., I noticed the peculiar handwriting; and observing the peculiar forms of some of the letters, particularly the occasional use of the double *v* for *w*, I felt tolerably sure that I had to do with a MS. written by a Norman or Anglo-French scribe. Fortunately, this admits of the most positive and conclusive proof; for, as Mr. Aldis Wright pointed out to me, we find at the bottom of the first page of the poem, these four characters, each with an explanation above it, viz.: *ȝ* (glossed *iye*); *p* (marked *w* in the French form, made with two interlaced *v*'s); *ʝ* (glossed *ant*); and *þ* (glossed *iþorn*).

The meaning of this interesting note is most significant. The scribe had a piece of English to write out; and before he could do so, he had to learn four new characters. The first was *ȝ*, which was named *yee* (pronounced as mod. E. *yea*); but, being a Norman, he was unable to sound the initial *y* without prefixing the very slight vowel-sound *i*. In trying to say *yea*, he said *i-yea*; and dared to write it down so. For a precisely similar reason, he found it easier to say *ithorn* than *thorn*, and he actually so wrote it.<sup>1</sup> As for the A.S. *w*, represented by the old *wen*, he naturally explained it by a French *w*; and lastly, in explaining the usual contraction for *and*, he gave to this rather common English word a French pronunciation, and called it *ant*.

We have now the clue to the whole process; and it proves a master-key. It frequently happens that out of his four new symbols, the scribe forgets which was which, and freely writes one for the other. Nearly every *w* throughout the piece is wrong, except when the French *w* is employed; in other places, the A.S. *w* is made with its first stroke too high, so that it sometimes looks like a short *thorn*; and not seldom, it cannot be distinguished from the thorn-letter at all, and we are left to guess which will best suit.

In l. 147, Wright has the form *swinkin*, which is doubtless meant. Kemble, more conscientiously, prints it as *sginkin*. The MS. itself has neither of these forms, which shows how little

<sup>1</sup> I have no doubt that, for a similar reason, the symbol *z* was sometimes called *i-zed* or *i-zod*, which is the origin of *izzard*; a word which has so puzzled the etymologists that they usually explain it as *a hard*; a rather unlucky guess, seeing that it is a *soft s*.

we can depend on the printed texts. The MS. has "s̄inkin," where ; is one of the scribe's new letters. He has actually forgotten, as I have said, which was which, and has written ; in place of the A.S. *w*. This is the obvious and easy solution of this extraordinary word. So also *roȝen* for *rowen*, 145; *ȝrīde* for *werīde*, 182.

This leads us at once to the worst fault of the editions, viz., that they make no distinction between ; and *g*, but print them both, quite impartially, as *g*. It is hard upon the scribe, because he has done his best; and, barring such errors as that last noted, has frequently distinguished them with perfect accuracy. Thus, in ll. 14, 15, where the editions have *mugen* and *gure*, the scribe has *mūȝen* and *ȝure*, which are quite right; *mūȝen* means "we may"; and *ȝure* means "your." The spelling *gure* is misleading; and *gū* for *ȝū*, i.e. you, which occurs repeatedly, is equally bad.

It is material to observe further, that the MS. copy, though written continuously, is divided into lines and couplets by the alternate use of a dot and a sort of inverted semicolon. This is a source of some errors in Wright's text. Thus, l. 51 ends with the word *mon*, followed by the latter of the above marks; which Wright turns into *mones*, as if the mark meant *es*, an error which Morris follows. Kemble has *mon* correctly, showing that his transcript was made independently. As a matter of fact, *mon* is wrong; it ought to be *monne*, gen. pl., "of men," as in the Jesus MS. But here, again, the clue to the error is to bear in mind that the Norman scribe was not very strong in his English declensions; he evidently thought that *mon* would do. But *mones* is wrong, anyhow.

Similarly, in l. 47, where Kemble has *gleu* and Wright has *gleues*, Wright has again turned the symbol denoting the end of the former half of the couplet into a suffix *-es*, which destroys the sense. *Gleu* is the A.S. *glēaw*, which Kemble translates by "wise." As it is a singular nominative, the suffix *-es* is impossible.

It would be easy to give a large number of examples in which the MS. is better than the editions; but I prefer to proceed to what is the true subject of this paper, viz., to show what are the spellings and peculiarities which a Norman scribe would most revel in or be likely to adopt. We must put ourselves in his place. In the thirteenth century, when Anglo-French was still the native language of some of the most learned scribes, there must have been many a well-taught man, well acquainted with

French and Latin, who was determined to learn English, and would soon be able to talk it fluently enough, though he could not always pronounce it. The pronunciation presented great difficulties, and the temptation to express sounds by French symbols, according to his own pronunciation, was naturally a strong one. However this may have been, this is what this scribe certainly did; and it may easily be shown that the scribe of Havelok was just such another. I am inclined to go further, and say that, in *all* our thirteenth-century pieces, we should always be on the watch for such possibilities; for it can hardly be doubted that the Normans were, on the whole, wealthier and better educated than the humbler English. Such men could read and write and talk English so as to be understood; but they must have had a desperate struggle before they finally triumphed over the sound of the *thorn* and of the guttural which some of them denoted by the symbol *gh*. In the fourteenth century they had learnt their lesson, and we find that their old difficulties had, by that time, disappeared. But in the course of the struggle the guttural *gh* perished, and only its symbol survived. To take the case of the M.E. *gh* in *might* and *night*, from the A.S. *miht* and *niht*. The nearest sound, for a Norman, was that of *s*; if he said *mist* and *nist*, he could make himself understood, though the sound, to an Englishman, must have sounded oddly enough. At any rate, the Normans constantly wrote *st* for *ght* or *ht*. Thus, in l. 539, Wright and Kemble, like the MS., have the form *miste*, with the sense of *might*. This seems to have been the point to which Morris alludes in his note 5 on p. ix, where he says: "It is somewhat strange that Kemble and Wright should have both, in very many cases, mistaken a short stumpy *g* for an *s*." Accordingly, in his text, the word appears as *migte*. The point is, of course, that the MS. spelling *miste* was intentional; and the remark about the "short stumpy *g*" is unlucky. The MS. has in this word and many others, the long *s* (*f*), which is totally unlike *g*. In fact, the sound of the M.E. *ght* is usually denoted, throughout the piece, by a long *s* and a *t*.

Still, the scribe was aware that *st* was not correct. So he sometimes adopts other methods. In l. 79, he has *riēt* for *right*, showing that he knew that the sound was guttural. But in l. 78 he writes *cnit* for *knight*; he evidently could not abide the look of such a form as *cnict*. However, in l. 87 he writes *cnith*, a form which I will explain presently.



Next, as to the sound of *th*. When the *th* was voiceless, a Norman of course pronounced it as *t*. This occurs repeatedly at the end of a word, where the substitution does not much matter: hence we have *souit* for *soweth*, l. 82; *biouit* for *bihoveth* (behoves), l. 87; *gryt* for *gryth*, security, l. 91; *frit* for *frith*, peace, l. 92; *wenit* for *weneth*, l. 160; and many more. So also *blithnesse* for *blithnesse*, l. 50. The voiced *th* (as in *that*) he could replace, when final, by a *d*. Hence, in l. 492, the word *mud* means "mouth." So also *widutin*, without, 119. That the scribe found a special difficulty in the sound of *th*, is proved further by the fact that he also uses *d*, in suffixes, for the voiceless *th*. Examples are: *mused*, mouseth (said of a cat), 295; *weeped*, weepeth, 326. Sometimes he has *þ*, correctly; as in *bringep*, 333; *folowep*, followeth, 332.

Of course, he is troubled by the initial *h*, and not unfrequently inserts it, strangely enough, in the wrong place; as in *heke*, eke, 9, 33; the *herl* and the *heþeling*, i.e. the earl and the atheling, 74; *helde* for *elde*, old age, 153. If the editors had understood this, they would not have gone so sadly astray in l. 148. Here Wright has *hineselpe*, and Kemble has *heni selpe*. However, Morris made an excellent guess, and nearly got it right; for his glossary says, "miswritten for *uniselpe*, misfortune." But the right solution is somewhat simpler; the number of down-strokes has been miscounted, and the word has been simply misread; the MS. actually has *hunselpe*, which is perfectly correct, when the needless *h* is removed.

It is curious that the sound of the English final *t* was not always caught. It seems to have differed from the French *t*; and, as the scribe of Havelok constantly writes *th* for it, it may have been more explosive. However, our scribe frequently renders it as *d*; writing *wid* for *wit*, 119, 221; *hid* for *hit*, it, 328; *þad* for *þat*, 332. In l. 132, Kemble has *it*, which Morris follows; but Wright has *id*, and so has the MS. itself.

On the other hand, the scribe writes *hunt* for *hund*, a hundred, 122; *isait* for *isaid*, i.e. said, 328. And when, as said above, he writes *cnith* for *cnihht*, he does not mean *th* to express the sound of the thorn-letter, but wishes to express what sounded to him like a strong explosive final *t*, whilst he ignores the preceding guttural.

Very characteristic of French is the strong trill of the *r*; as in *cherril* for *cherl*, i.e. churl, 92; *arren*, are, 582. Such

a combination as *lth* must have been difficult; hence we find *welpe* for *welpe*, wealth, 220; cf. *salit* for *salt*, 470. Final combinations like *ld*, *nt*, were not easy: hence *chil* for *child*, 430; *wen* for *went*, i.e. wendeth, wends or goes, 221. So in Havelok, we find *shel* for *sheld*, shield.

A peculiarly English sound was *ng*. The scribe betrays his embarrassment by writing *kinhis* for *kinges*, kings, 2; *kine* for *king*, 36; *brinhit* for *bringeth*, 257; *pinhes* for *thinges*, 48; *tunke* for *tunge*, tongue, 282; *Enkelonde* for *Engelonde*, 12, 17. On the other hand, he has *bipeng* for *bipenk*, i.e. bethink, 399.

Another difficulty was the initial *wh*, which a Norman treated as *w*, like a modern Cockney: hence we find *wad* for *what*, 131; *wen* for *when*, 172, 175; *wanne* for *whanne*, when, 170, 186; etc.

The Normans disliked *wu* at the beginning of a word, and simply dropped the *w*, just as when we hear 'ooman for *woman*, and 'ood for *wood*. Curiously enough, in writing, they omitted, not the *w*, but the *u*; as in *wrsipe*, worship, 32; just as in Havelok we find *wlf* for *wulf*, a wolf. Sometimes two Norman pronunciations occur in one word, but it is easily deciphered when we have the key. In l. 120, we have *unwrd*, where the *w* is put for *wu*, and the final *d* for *th*; hence *unwrd*=*unwurþ*, i.e. of little value. The Jesus MS. has *enwurþ*. Similarly, the *wrsipe* quoted above stands for *wurshipe*; for *s*=*sh*, see below.

We also find confusion between *w* and *v*, which again is, or rather used to be, a characteristic of London talk. In l. 54, we have the mysterious word *frowere*; but it merely means *frowe*, from the A.S. *frofor*, consolation; see *frofse* in Stratmann. The Jesus MS. has *frouer*, with *u* for *v*, as usual. On the other hand, *vile* (so in the MS.) is put for *wille*, will, 294.

Another trouble was the English *sh*; for, at that date, the French *ch* was pronounced like the *ch* in *church*, as in modern English. Hence, when the unfortunate man has to write down *shal*, he spells it *scal* in l. 163, and *sal* two lines below.

Returning once more to my point of departure, viz., the confusion between the symbols þ, ȝ, and the A.S. *w*, I note that, in l. 136, *ȝise* is written for *wise*; the Jesus MS. has *wyse*. In l. 65, the MS. has þif; here Morris suggests that we should read *ȝif*, because the Jesus MS. has *if*. This is not quite the right answer; what we ought to read is *ȝif*. On the contrary, we find *wrazed* for *wraped*, made angry, 276.

In every case where the contraction for *and* occurs, Morris naturally prints *and* in italica. But we ought to observe, nevertheless, that the scribe's own spelling was *anf*, as already shown.

In connection with the curious form *ter* instead of *tre*, there is more to be said. The scribe seems, for some personal reason, to have been troubled with the letter *r*, which he is wont to misplace. I wish here to draw attention to a sound principle of criticism, viz., that such a form as *ter* for *tre* should not be passed over as if it were a mere blunder, void of significance. We should carefully note it, because the fact of such a transposition may recur. Indeed, there are at least two more examples of a like kind.

In l. 320, Wright has—"for þanne hue bed i-wuarþed (?)" ; and places a note of interrogation after the last word. The Jesus MS. has—"If heo beo i-wreþþed," i.e. if she be made angry. We thus see that, as in other places, *þanne* really means *when*, i.e. when. *Hue* means "she"; *bed* is put for *beð*, i.e. "is." And *i-wuarþed* must stand for *i-wreþed*, made angry. Knowing this, one comes to examine the MS. more closely, and lo! it is a case of transposition. The scribe first of all wrote *i-wreþed*, and then found out his mistake; so he tried to correct it by writing a small *r* (which Wright misread as *u*) above the line, just between the *w* and *a*. This does not mean that we are to have two *r*'s in the word, but that the *r* is in the wrong place; i.e. we are to read *i-wreþed*, which is quite right.

This enables us to set right a most difficult passage, which would otherwise be almost hopeless. In ll. 125, 126, we find: *so gres deit on þe reiþe*, where the Jesus MS. has *so gres doþ on eorþe*, i.e. as grass doth on earth. Of course *deit* is the same as *det* elsewhere, and represents the A.S. *deð*, doth; so this word is easily disposed of. But when we come to look at *þe reiþe* closely, we find the same phenomenon as before. The scribe first of all wrote *þe reþe*, and then discovered that the *r* was in the wrong place. So he wrote a small *r*,<sup>1</sup> as before, above the line, just between the *e* and *þ*. As before, he does not mean us to retain both the *r*'s, but only that we should alter the *r*'s position. Hence the simple solution of the difficulty is that we are to read *þe erþe*, i.e. the earth. On the other hand, we must not put upon the scribe blunders which he never made; there is a remarkable one in l. 323, where all three editions have *fro* in the place of *for*,

<sup>1</sup> Hence Wright has *reiþe*; he misread this small *r* as *i*.

which alone will suit the sense. And when the MS. is re-examined, the word turns out to be *for*, correctly and plainly written. I suspect that this was due to a simple misprint in Wright's text, which Kemble followed.

The strange form *Urotu* in l. 318 is to be thus explained. In the first place, the MS. really has *Arotu*, though the *A* is ill formed. Next observe that *Arotu noth* is equivalent to *Eure þu ne arede* in the other text. Hence it stands for *Ared þu not*, i.e. accept not as counsel, do not agree to; cf. A.S. *ārædan*. A Norman would pronounce *Aræd þu* as *Aræd tu* or *Aræt tu*; which (when the words are run together) becomes *Arētu*, one *t* being dropped because the preceding vowel is long. Just because the pronunciation was not understood, the word was easily misread.

A collation of Wright's text with the original MS. is given at the end of this paper.

The next question of interest is this: Are there any other pieces of a similar character?

No doubt, there are several such.<sup>1</sup> I can at once instance the "Lay of Havelok the Dane," in which nearly all the same peculiarities occur; and I regret that I did not see the full significance of them at the time of editing the work. I noticed several of them in the Preface, without knowing what they really meant. But it now becomes obvious that the poem was written out by a Norman scribe, better conversant with the pronunciation of Anglo-French than he was with English.

The chief peculiarities are these:—

1. Misuse of initial *h*; as in *holdes* for *olds*, *hete* for *ete*, *Henglishes* for *Englishes*; see H in the Glossary. Conversely, we find *auelok* for *Hauelok*, *aueden* for *haueden*, i.e. had, *osed* for *hosed*, i.e. provided with hose or stockings.
2. Loss of final *d* after *l* or *n*; as in *hel* for *held*, *bihel* for *biheld*, *shel* for *sheld* (shield), *gol* for *gold*; *lon* for *lond*, i.e. land.
3. Uncertainty as to initial *wh*. At one time we have the traditional spelling *hwan* for *whan*, when; *hwere* for *where*; *hwil*

<sup>1</sup> In "Reliquiae Antiquae," i, 48, 144, Wright prints two more poems from the same MS.; viz. "The Five Joys of the Virgin" and "Judas." Both afford examples of similar Anglo-French spellings, such as *brist* for *bright*, *ant* for *and*, and the rest. Curious examples are *suc* for *such* (*scal* for *shal* being in the same line); *yemme* for *yef me* (give me); *e* for *he*; *herude* for *heruþ*, hear ye; *wi* for *whi*; *ybouat* for *y-bought*.

for *while*, while. At another time, the French symbol *qu* is employed for this sound, as in *qual*, a whale, *qui*, why, *quan*, when. But not unfrequently, the scribe drops into his natural habit of substituting a mere *w*, as in *wo* for *who*, 4, *wil* for *whil*, while, 6, *wat* for *what*, 118.

4. For initial *wu*, only *w* is used, and this *w* was a vowel merely; as in *wlf*, i.e. *ulf*, a wolf, *wluine*, i.e. *ulcine*, a she-wolf; *wman*, a 'ooman, a woman. That *w* was used as a vowel, is apparent from such words as *hw*, how, 93; *w*, how, 120, 288; *yw*, you, 453; *hus*, a house, 1141.

5. The symbol *th*, quite distinct from *þ*, is used to denote a final strong explosive *t*, especially when a preceding guttural is suppressed. Hence we have *neth*, a net; *uth*, out; *woth*, I wot, I know; *leth*, let. Also *brouth*, brought; *nouth*, naught; *rieth*, right; *knith*, knight. In the strange-looking word *with*, meaning *white*, we have *w* for *wh*, and *th* for the final *t*. The difficulty of the final *ght* in *knight* is shown by its variations of form; thus we find *kniet*, 32; *knith*, 80; *knith*, 87; i.e. *ght* appears as *et*, *eth*, and *th*, all three.

6. The final E. *th* was commuted for simple *t*, as in *hauet* for *haveth*, hath, 564; *seyt*, saith, 647; *herknet* for *herkneth*, hearken ye, 1; *wit* for *with*, 100.

7. The scribe found the E. *ng* a difficult sound. Hence we find *bringhe* for *bringe*, *þinghe* for *þenge*, 65, 66.

8. He is not quite sure as to how he should give the sound of *sh*; hence *sho*, she, *scho*, she, in two consecutive lines, 125-6; *same* for *shame*, 1941. Here again are three symbols, viz., *sh*, *sch*, and *s*, for one simple sound.

9. The French trilled *r* comes out in such spellings as *arum* for *arm*, *harum* for *harm*, *koren* for *korn*.

A careful examination of the poem proves that similar characteristics occur in it repeatedly, throughout the 3001 lines. Quite near the end we find *douthres* for *dughters*, i.e. daughters; *hw*, how, followed by *hwou*, with the same sense, in the next line; *rith* for *right*; *euerildel* for *euerilk del*, every bit; *nithes* for *nighes*, nights.

In some poems we find the same characteristics, but less frequent and less strongly marked. Thus, the earlier text of Layamon follows the traditions of Old English spelling; but the latter text shows some tolerably clear cases of Anglo-French. If



we take, e.g., the short piece in Morris's Specimens, vol. i, we soon observe such things as the following:—

1. A difficulty as to E. *sh*; *sipes* for *shipes*, ships, 7; *sipe*, ship, 184; *salt* for *shalt*, 378; *sal* for *shal*, 180.

2. The use of *w* for initial *wh*; *wat* for *what*, 53; *wane* for *whanne*, when, 377; *ware* for *whare*, where, 419; etc.

3. A trouble as to initial *h*; *his* for *is*, is, 68, 122, 124; *hin* for *in*, i.e. inn, lodging, 262; *hooldre* for *coldre*, elder ones, 374; *hazedo* for *azedo*, asked, 530.

4. The occasional loss of initial *y*; as in *ou* for *you*, 165.

5. A difficulty as to *ng* and *nk*. Hence we find *dringe*, to drink, 546; *dringe dringþ*, drinks a drink, 550; *drong*, drank, 565.

The traces of French pronunciation are not very marked, but they are quite discernible, and should not be overlooked. If, for example, we should be disposed to regard *sal* for *shal* as being, in this case, a mark of Northern dialect, as is so frequently the case, we should of course be wrong. For the whole poem abounds with marks of a Southern dialect.

On the other hand, there are many good examples in which the spelling is reasonably free from such foreign influences; I do not observe such in the Ancren Riwe, or in the older text of Layamon, or in the Ormulum. And, of course, it is always possible that some of these peculiarities may be dialectal; we cannot trust to one test alone, but must find several of them exemplified in the same piece before we draw a conclusion.

Take, for example, the "Old Kentish Sermons," No. 13 in Morris's Specimens, Part I, supposed to be written about A.D. 1250. They occur in a MS. in the Bodleian Library, together with their originals in French. It is certain that the translator must have known French, and the chances are that he was a Norman. They abound with French words, such as *conseil*, *aparailed*, *aperede*, *glorius miracle*, *ensample*, *cuuenable*, *sacrefise*, *signifieth*, all in the first 50 lines. And we find unmistakable signs of French spellings, such as these; all within the first 85 lines.

1. The use of *w* for *wh*; *wer* for *where*, 13, 18; *war* for *whare*, where, 27; *wat* for *what*, 27; *wet* for *what*, 46; *wanne*, when, 56; *werefore*, 77.

2. The use of *s* for *sh*; *solde* for *sholde*, 14, 18, 32, etc.;

*seywinge*, a showing, 34; *seawinge*, a showing, 6; *seawode*, showed, 41. In the last three cases, *sh* is denoted by *se*.

3. A difficulty as to initial *h*; *hie* for *ie*, I, 74; *hi-funde* for *i-funde*, found, 22.

4. A difficulty as to *ng*; *kink* for *king*, 41; *offrinks* for *offringe*, 37, 39.

5. A difficulty as to initial *y*; as in *hys* for *ye*, i.e. *ye*, 71.

6. A difficulty as to sounding *lk* together; hence we find *ileke* for *ilke* in l. 84. This spelling Dr. Morris relegates to a footnote, but it is quite correct from a purely Anglo-French point of view; and that is why it recurs twice, in the very next line.

7. Such a spelling as *blisco* for *blisse*, *bliss*, would hardly have occurred to a Saxon scribe; the use of *ce* for *se* is French.

8. But it is when we come to examine the use of the thorn-letter in final unaccented syllables that the case becomes quite certain. Thus the word *signifieth*, 59, also appears both as *signifiet*, 62, and *signified*, 55. In addition to this we find *amuntet*, amounteth, 57; *defendet*, defendeth, 60; *habbet*, have, 70; *ofseruet*, deserveth, 78; *luued*, loveth, 83; and the remarkable form *hatedh*, hateth, 82. The reader who has not the clue might imagine that *signified* is a past tense; but this it assuredly is not. And this shows the importance of examining a given piece in order to see whether it has come under the pen of a Norman scribe. For when this is ascertained, such a word as *mudh*, occurring farther on in l. 126, presents no difficulty; it was the natural way in which a Norman would write the word for *mouth*.

"The Story of Genesis and Exodus," edited by Dr. Morris for the Early English Text Society, and expressly stated to be a translation from the Latin, has some very suspicious points about it. Thus we find the following:—

1. Confusion as to initial *h*; as in *addo*, had, 1918, 2060; *eðen* for *heðen*, hence, 2188; *hunkinde*, unkind, 534; and many more.

2. A difficulty as to *wh*; hence *wan*, when; in fact, no word beginning with *wh* occurs in the Glossary, but a large number begin with *qu*. The occurrence of *wað*, for *quað*, quoth, is surely remarkable.

3. A difficulty as to *sh*, which occurs but seldom, as in *shauen*, shaven, *shent*, destroyed, *sheren*, to shear, etc., in the Glossary. But *s* is much used instead, as in *sal*, shall; *salt*, shalt; *soren* for *shoren*, shorn, *sruð* for *shrud*, shroud, clothing, etc.; see the

Glossary. Cf. *weis* for *weish*, he washed; and observe that the word *she* is written both as *she* and *sge* (= *sze*).

4. Uncertainty as to *th*; thus we find *wid* for *wið*, with, repeatedly; *dat* for *ðat*, that, *ðan* for *ðan*, then, etc. But the fact is that the symbols for *d* and *ð* only differ by a fine stroke, which is sometimes wrongly omitted. Still, such spellings as *dhogt* for *thought*, thought, *ðhing* for *thing*, and the like, are very un-English; and it is remarkable that *ð* is used for *þ* throughout. The very characteristic letter *þ* does not appear to be used at all.

5. More certain is the substitution of *semet* for *semeth*, seemeth, 2169, *haued* for *haueth*, hath, 3746, 4006, 4121, etc.; of which I daresay there are more examples, although verbs seldom occur in the present tense in this poem.

6. We find *coren* for corn, 2155, 2159.

7. The word *offiz* contains the French letter *z*, which is worth notice, as we have observed that *þ* is absent.

Perhaps it requires a more careful investigation before this can be quite settled; but I have not much doubt as to the probable result.

In some cases it will doubtless be found that the Norman scribe had learnt his lesson fairly well, and is very seldom guilty of any lapse. Such seems to have been the case with the copy of King Horn given in Morris's Specimens. Yet I notice just one or two points as to this copy which can best be explained by the supposition that the scribe was a Norman.

Thus, in l. 8, is the characteristic spelling *miste* for *mighte*. In l. 249, we find *doster* for *daughter*, daughter. In l. 410, *plist* for *plight*. In all three cases the *s*, as usual before *t*, is the long *s*. In l. 445, we find *uel* for *wel*; and in l. 923, *wanne* for *whanne*, which is correctly spelt in l. 925. In four instances at least, we find *supe* for *swipe*, very; as if *swi* were difficult to sound; ll. 178, 375, 810, 860. In l. 603, *wullez* is miswritten for *wulleþ*, by confusion between *z* and *þ*; letters which an English scribe would hardly confuse. I notice one other point which I do not understand, viz. the use of *i* for *e* in many places; as in *dipes* for *depes*, 640; *tires* for *teres*, 654, 676, 972; *ize* for *eze*, 759, 987; *isiye* for *iseye*, 760, 988; *ires* for *eres*, 971. If this means that *e* was already beginning to be sounded as *i* (in *machine*) in 1300, it is a very extraordinary fact.

In particular, it would be well if some one with the necessary leisure would make a careful study of the spelling of the famous

Domesday Book. As far as I have been able to examine the question, I have every reason to believe that, in the course of the preceding remarks, the guiding principles of the peculiarities of spelling which there occur have been sufficiently indicated above. It is clear that the scribes were Norman, and that they spelt English names according to *their own* pronunciation, which was frequently far from correct. In glancing, for example, at the portions of Domesday Book for the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, which have been edited with indexes referring to the place names, I find illustrations of most of the peculiarities that have been already pointed out. The following are examples taken from these indexes, in which the English names are given in their modern forms :—

1. We find *w* for *wh*; as in *Watendone*, Whattingdon.
2. Also *s* for *sh* or *s-h*; as in *Gomeselle*, Gomshall. Compare *Scepertone* for Shepperton. And *c* for *ch*; as in *Celeorde*, Chilworth; *Cebeham*, Chobham; *Cisendone*, Chessington.
3. The omission of *h*; as in *Orselei*, Horsley; *Merstan*, Merstham.
4. *N* for *ng*; as in *Beddintone*, Beddington; *Codintone*, Cuddington; *Edintone*, Addington; *Padendene*, Paddington; *Cisendone*, Chessington. Cf. *Waletone*, Wallington, where *ng* is suppressed.
5. Loss of *d* in final *ld*, *rd*; as in *Notfelle*, Nutfield; *Herefelle*, Harefield; *Scaldefor*, Shalford; *Northala*, Northolt.
6. Final *d* for final *th*; as in *Sudwerche*, Southwark; *Becesworde*, Betchworth. So also initial *t* for *th*; as in *Torp*, Thorpe.
7. Simple *u* (written *o*) for initial *wu* or *wo*; as in *Odetone*, Wotton. Hence, in combination with the preceding change, the final *-worth* regularly becomes *ord* or *orde*; as in *Celeorde*, Chilworth; *Orde*, Worth; *Tudeorde*, Tudworth; *Taleorde*, Talworth; *Waleorde*, Walworth. Such spellings are easily understood, now that their principles are known.

Perhaps the most remarkable use is that of *ch* for the A.S. hard *c*; it clearly means a strongly pronounced *k*, the *h* being added to denote this; for the Norman *ci* was pronounced as *si*. Hence it is that Kingston appears as *Chingestone*, Kingsbury as *Chingesberie*, and Kempton as *Cheneton*. Cf. *Bocheham*, Bookham; *Wochinges*, Woking; *Sudwerche*, Southwark.

I cannot now pursue the subject further; but I hope I have shown how necessary it is, in consulting Early English MSS., to

examine not only the dialect, but the possibility of Norman influence, as betrayed by the difficulty of pronouncing certain English consonants, especially *gh*, *th*, *sh*, *wh*; sometimes *w*, especially in the combination *wu*; initial *h*; *ng*; and some final combinations, such as *ld*, *lt*, *lk*. It is quite as necessary to observe the traces of Norman influence as to know the dialect in which pieces are written. As many of our earlier pieces are Southern, we should be particularly careful when examining pieces in that dialect.

One more consideration, and I have done. The general result is one of the highest interest. It is likely enough that, in the earliest times after the Conquest, the Normans despised the English language, and would gladly have suppressed it; a view which is encouraged in many of our books on history. Yet it expresses nearly the reverse of the main truth. As time wore on, many a Norman student, well instructed in some monastic school, and capable, from his knowledge of French, of learning Latin easily, was attracted rather than repelled by such native English literature as he could attain to, having very likely learnt to talk it, more or less correctly, from his mother or his nurse or some of the servants. It is notorious that English was respelt upon French models, and this implies a close practical acquaintance with English on the part of Norman scribes. Finding that the lower classes, and even many others among the English, steadily declined to learn French, the Norman, with his greater capacity and flexibility, gradually made up his mind to learn English. His hardest task was to pronounce some of the consonants correctly; but it is clear that he and his successors persevered in it till they finally conquered every sound but that of the *gh* in *might*, which was at last abandoned by general consent. Let us remember that the Norseman, on conquering Normandy, learnt a wholly foreign language, viz. French; and with equal adaptability, on arriving in England, again learnt what was to him, at that time, a foreign language, though it happened to be nearly akin to the Norse of his forefathers. This reveals a capacity, a readiness, an adaptability, amounting almost to genius; and we can hardly wonder that the fusion of such a race with the duller but very resolute and determined Saxon has resulted in producing a modern nation which is fit to lead the world, especially in the very matter of language in which our Philological Society is particularly interested. So far from suppressing the native literature, we have



clear evidence that the Normans sought after it, cherished it, edited it, respelt it, and frequently translated into it their own lays, such as the lays of Horn and of Havelok; or if indeed those lays were translated by Englishmen, it is nevertheless certain that they were transcribed by Normans, who saved them from loss. We can none of us tell, at the present day, whether we are more Norman or more Saxon by descent; wherefore it behoves us to honour our ancestors of both races, and to give them their due. For myself, I propose to abandon for ever the notion in which I was once brought up, viz. that the Normans tried to destroy our English literature. On the contrary, in many cases, they did all that lay in them to save it, with considerable success.

#### COLLATION OF WRIGHT'S TEXT WITH THE MS.

It would be a long task to bring Wright's text into perfect agreement with the MS. throughout, because he has ignored the usage of the scribe as regards the A.S. *w* (wen) and the A.S. *ƿ*. This would not have mattered, if the scribe had used only one form of *w*, and one of *ƿ*. But as he uses two forms of *w*, one of which is liable to confusion with *ƿ* and *ƿ*, whilst the other is always a *w*; and as he uses both *ƿ* and *g*, with quite different sounds (the former of which is sometimes confused with *ƿ* and A.S. *w*, whilst the other is used regularly), the complication can only be put right by a reprint of the whole piece, which I hope hereafter to achieve. I shall therefore take Wright's text as the only safe basis, and here notice such departures from the MS. as are more or less puzzling. I must also number the lines as in Morris, though it is certainly wrong in more ways than one. I may also observe here, that all the editors neglect the metrical points in the MS., which, as shown above, Wright sometimes turns into *es*. I print the A.S. *w* in italics.

14. muƿen. 15. ƿure. 27. *we* (error for ƿe); nu (not mi). 28. ƿure. 29. ƿu. 31. ƿu (with a capital); error for *wu* = how, as in 71. 33. ƿure. 34. samne. 35. werin. 37. Armo may fairly be read as Arme. 38. of liuis dō. 42. ƿure. 47. gleu. 51. mon. 67. hi[s], for he; the *s* is cut away. 69. cunnie. 82. aftir. 83. alsuipich (!); meant for al suiwich, error for al swich. 85. oƿe. 88. kenliche (with latter stroke of *n* cut away).

97. cnich<sup>a</sup> (*the s above the line*). 122. h de (*with letters cut away after h*). 123. ant he as heȝed saȝin (*with letter cut away after d; saȝin is for sawin, i.e. sown*). 125. gre (*with letters cut away after e*). 126. þe reȝe (*altered to þe erȝe, as shown above*). 127. i (*with letter cut away after i*). 128. wrȝere (*with French w; Kemble has it right*). 131. g . . . (*with letters cut away*). 134. ȝie (*sic; not guge, as in Wright; error for wise*).<sup>1</sup> 136. he his ȝife (*with long s; read he his wise*). 137. like (*nothing lost*). 138. þeoh. 140. ȝiuen. 143. se (*i.e. so; not ge, which Morris explains as yea*). 145. . . nge (*beginning cut away*); roȝen (*error for rowen*). 146. aȝen. 147. . o (*first letter cut away*); his; sȝinkin (*for swinkin*). 148. hunselȝe. 149. . ch wel is him aȝueȝe. 151. ȝanen (*with dot over the ȝ, altered to yapen in later ink, absurdly; Morris suggests to read wanne, which gives no sense; read wunen, i.e. to dwell*). 153. . . he muȝe (*beginning cut away*). 154. he miȝt (*with long s; part of the h is cut away; but read he*). 157. *First letter out off; ȝueȝe (as in 149)*. 158. bitoȝen (*perhaps for bitowen*). 163. leȝen. 165. oȝene. 167. wdode (*error for wode*). 168. þ (*with a flourish above; for þat*); muȝe; helden. 170. rimen (*alt. to rinen?*). 181. ȝif. 182. iwiȝ ȝerlde ne þinc þu neure (*read i þis werlde ne þinc þu neure; in þinc, the n and c are run together; hence Wright read þin; the next word is þu, not wil, as the sense shows*). 183. wurȝen (*all one word*). 184. Acte (*plainly*). 185. loue or lone. 186. þanne (*or wanne*) hit is. 187. þer fro. 188. oȝene. 196. sȝiȝe (*with dot over y; for swiȝe*). 198. ȝif. 202. driftin (*with long s*). 203. Moni mon. 204. eire or erre (*probably for erre*). 206. forlesed (*one word*). 207. betere. 208. iborin. 212. lust me. 213. leȝ dere (*nothing before leȝ*). 214. ȝu. 217. ou (*at the end of a line; next line begins with re, close against the edge; read ou[e]re-goȝ, i.e. surpasses, as in Jesus MS.*). 219. *The word before senden is illegible; it is nuȝe or mide (not nu)*. 227. ȝif. 228. areȝe. 235. Soreȝe ȝif. 236. ten areȝe. 237. bimenid. 243. þiru (*sic*) herte one (*a letter before one has been erased*). 244, 245. areȝe. 246. þ, *with flourish above; for þat, as in 168*). 250. achte. 251. her (= ere; *no stop after it*). 252. for achte. 259. þat (*misprinted þai*). 273. seȝe. 276. wraȝed (*error for wraȝed*). 281. wimmon. 282. swift (*error for swift*). 283. þauc. 287. ȝung. 291. ȝif;

<sup>1</sup> Of course the scribe is quite wrong; he had to copy *ȝunge* (young); but missed his place, and caught up *ȝie* from l. 136.

for-swúken (*for for-swunken*). 292. wuere (*with wu for w*). 294. þat ter ben ne ville. 298. is. 299. dreije. 306. brit on. 315. werje (*for weje?*). 318. *Not* Uretu, *but* Aretu (*for Ared þu*). 320. iwarþed, *altered to iwrapped, as explained above*. 323. offer þanne for. 326. Hue weped (*two words*). 333. seruþe (*sic*). 337. vimmon. 349. at hinden. 350. welþe (*one word*). 351. Gin. 358. bitechen, *altered, apparently, to bikechen*. 361. saje. 362. þurch. 363. lesin (*end cut off*). 386. wure (*for ure*). 391. miþ (*for miþ; not must*). 399. *Not þe we mus; perhaps we þeuuif (with a smudge after þe); cf. l. 500.* 401. leren. 402. muþe. 406. wiþ is þad wel doþ; *altered to if þad wel doþ wis*. 407. huile he is in þis werld; *altered to huile he is þis werld is*. 408. þe nende. 410. quad. 412. aþen. 413. manie. 414. aþen. 416. tellen. 429. þif. 436. wurþen. 437. þif. 442. taþte. 445. were. 464. amorþe. 469. siijh (*former i not dotted*); soreþe. 473. morþe. 474. ben muchillestin (*so Kemble*). 487. lo.e (*for loþe; one letter erased after o*). 489. visto. 492. þanne (*or wanne*). 497. þif; bi-þete. 498. biþete. 500. þeuues. 506. troyþe (*for trouþe*); deþh. 507. þif. 508. awei. 516. þif; duþe. 522. wer; *may be þer*. 524. saiþe. 525. þif. 530. mid muþe moneþen. 536. doþ; mon. 542. þiin helde. 544. gin. 546. daþes duþen. 555. for-þeten. 557. þif. 561. moþe; strenþe. 566. daþis. 570. atenende. 576. sigen (*error for seþen*). 578. fele; Wright *has fale (sic); but it is fele, with some later alteration*. 579. her (*not hert*); i.e. hair. 582. daþis. 593. wuidewis (*with wu for w*). 594, 595, 596. ginne. 596. riþten. 597. miþten. 613. þunge. 617. þef. 621. fot (=sot). 624. ginne. 634. taite; *or tatte; I think it is tatte*. 638. listis. 641. helder mon. 647. wile. 651. þe (*twice*). 654. deit; *or dett*. 657. wiþinnin. 666. onsuerren. 667, 668. uole (=wole). 684. ten (*not teir*). 685. is (*not his*); ben (*not beir*). 696. daþes. 702. aquet. 703. iwil. 708. þis *may be wis (i.e. wise)*.



TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,  
1897-8.

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IX.—MEMORANDA ON MEDIAEVAL LATIN.

By J. H. HESSELS.

No. 1.

ON THE NEED OF A NEW MEDIAEVAL LATIN DICTIONARY.

[*Read at the Philological Society's Meeting on Friday, May 6, 1898.*]

It is owing to Dr. Furnivall's never-failing kindness and sympathy with his fellow-workers, that I appear to-night before this Society to speak on a subject which I hope may claim your attention. Last Christmas, when I told him that I had taken in hand again the Mediaeval Latin Dictionary, which some years ago I had laid aside for other work, and that I had just finished reading Bracton's treatise *De Legibus Angliae* for this purpose, and wished to print my list of Mediaeval Latin words extracted from this book, in order to show what might be done, he suggested that this list should come before, and be issued by, this Society.

Before I approach my subject I may state briefly that the late Mr. John Murray (the father of the present head of the firm in Albemarle Street) entertained, for a good many years, the idea of bringing out an abridged translation into English of Du Cange's Dictionary of Mediaeval Latin, under the editorship of the late Rev. E. A. Dayman. Some years ago Mr. Murray engaged me to assist in this work, but in 1882 he abandoned the scheme, after having spent a considerable sum of money on it. I am not aware of any other efforts having been made in this country to publish a Dictionary of Mediaeval Latin.

After my relations with Mr. Murray had come to an end, I continued the dictionary for some time on my own account. But when, by the end of 1884, the Consistory of the London-Dutch Church invited me to prepare their historical letters and

documents for publication, I laid aside the dictionary, from which I could expect no remuneration, for work for which I was to be paid. When this work, which always proved to be a very heavy and sometimes an unpleasant task, came to an end last year, I took up the more congenial dictionary again.

My own wish has always been to compile a Dictionary of Mediaeval Latin on the basis of Du Cange's well-known *Glossarium*, but from materials to be collected from the Cartularies and other works published on this subject during the last fifty years in this country and on the Continent.

Du Cange's Dictionary is still a grand work. The first edition of it was published in 1678, in 3 volumes folio. A second appeared at Frankfurt on the Main in 1681; a third in the same place in 1710. In 1733 the Benedictines of St. Maur published a fourth edition in 6 vols. fol., which was reprinted at Venice in 1737, and at Basle in 1762. In 1766 Carpentier issued a supplement in 4 vols. fol. at Paris. Adelung, a German scholar, published an abridged edition at Halle in 1772-84, in 6 vols. 8vo, augmented with words collected from German documents. Then followed what is usually called the Henschel or Didot edition, in 7 vols. 4to, at Paris, 1840-50, which was reprinted, with additions and emendations, sixteen years ago at Niort in France.

The work remains, down to the present time, the great source of information which every student of the Middle Ages, every historian and philologist, must have recourse to, at one time or another, for details regarding their subjects. But a book of this kind, brought together in the seventeenth century, cannot but be filled with errors, shortcomings, and defects.

The successive editors of Du Cange's Glossary left his articles and explanations intact. If they added anything, either a new word, or a new or an amplified explanation, they did so in separate paragraphs. If they corrected him, or endeavoured to do so, their emendations were inserted in separate sentences or paragraphs. This was no doubt the proper thing to do. But by this process, pursued through two centuries, a good many of the articles have become so bewildering that it is sometimes impossible to choose between all these different, and very often conflicting, explanations and emendations.

Du Cange's Dictionary does not merely give the interpretation or explanations of words. If it did, and if it were merely my plan to do the same, it would not be so difficult or laborious to

supplement and improve his work. If, for instance, we had merely to explain or translate the meaning of *baculus* (a staff), or *abbas* (an abbat), or *feudum* (an estate or fief), our task would be easy. But when we have to trace the history of a *baculus pastoralis*, or the social position and condition of an abbat, or the etymology of *feudum* and the varieties and history and conditions of estates granted under the title of *feudum*, our difficulties appear almost insuperable.

It would scarcely seem necessary to treat of such an expression as *liber homo* in a Dictionary of Mediaeval Latin. Taken at first sight it could hardly convey any other meaning but that of a *free man*, as distinguished from a *slave* or a *servant*. But in some documents the expression also means a person who is exempt from taxes, or certain feudal services, or who is not bound to the tenancy which he is holding. Therefore, from a social and historical point of view, the expression cannot be omitted, and will have to be treated at some length.

To treat of the phrase *cir illustris* would seem unnecessary. Yet several articles have been written on it, on the one hand to prove that it was assumed as a title by the Merovingian kings, on the other hand to prove that these kings did not exclusively use this title.

The word *servus*, which at first sight seems plain enough, will, from a social point of view, have to be dealt with in a somewhat elaborate way. Authors on mediaeval history are apt to take this word as invariably indicating a *slave*. And consequently their notions of the social condition of a *servus* all depend upon this translation. A brilliant writer of the present day hints that the phrase *servus servorum Dei*, by which the Popes designate themselves in their charters and other official documents, means "the serf (slave) of the serfs of God." Now, assuming that the Popes were sincere in their humility, they could only mean that they were the most humble *servants* of God. God is worshipped and served. But would it be right to say that men are His *slaves*, or to think that God would look upon men as such? The Greek *δοῦλος*, which seems everywhere to be equivalent to *servus*, is said to mean nothing but *slave*. But in our Authorized Version the Apostle Paul calls himself the *servant* of Jesus Christ. And so far we are, I think, all expected to go. A *servus* is not everywhere a *slave*; in many instances he is nothing but what we now call a *servant*, and it would be well if we could get some

clearer notions as to the *servus* of the Domesday Book and other documents.

These few hints are sufficient, I believe, to show what is to be done, and that such words as *baculus*, *abbas*, *feudum*, *servus*, etc., and such expressions as *liber homo*, *vir illustris*, etc., cannot be neglected or omitted, if the new dictionary is to be what it ought to be.

Now, assuming that the new editor is aware of all these requirements, is he to lead and to guide students, or merely to follow others? If he is to lead and to guide, it appears to me that he would have to examine himself into all cases like those which I have specified above. He would have to read and excerpt all the original manuscript sources likely to yield reliable information on his subjects. Would such an examination, such a research, be physically possible for one man? Would any man, however learned and industrious he may be, be able to ascertain from these original sources the history of the *baculus pastoralis*, when it came into use, for what purpose it was used, what symbolical meaning was attached to it, etc.? Would he be able to ascertain everything connected with the *abbas* and other dignitaries? Perhaps he would. But the dictionary embraces hundreds of other questions, all demanding equal care, and an equal amount of research, if it were to lead. I believe I may say that it could never be expected to do so, at least not in every respect, if it were compiled by one or two or even half-a-dozen men.

Well, then, the editor would have to follow. That is to say, he might extract, or work up, from various other dictionaries and special treatises such explanations of words and things as would come within the scope of his own dictionary. For instance, in Dr. Smith's well-known *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, and in other similar dictionaries, the *abbat* is treated at some length. Why should he not take over from these works whatever suited his purpose?

Some years ago I came to the conclusion that some such plan would have to be adopted, if the work were to be done by one or two men. I made a trial with the word *sacramentarium*, endeavouring to see how far my own notes, supplemented by information derived from Smith's Dictionary, could serve as an article for the new Du Cange. I knew that it was dangerous to copy others, but intended, of course, to verify my quotations. What was my experience? On one reference alone I spent nearly



three days; for this reason:—The writer of the article *Sacramentary* says (on p. 1829, first col., line 12 from foot): "The Leonian [Sacramentary] has a prayer to be said at the blessing of fruits on Ascension Day (Murat., *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, i, 313); but there is no hint of its purpose except in the words of the prayer itself." Now, I found in col. 313, to which we are referred, a prayer to be said on Ascension Day, but nothing about the "blessing of fruits" on that day. I read further and tried other places in the volume, but without result. At last I wrote to the writer of the article for an explanation. He replied that "what he had said was a mistake, that he seemed to have trusted to his notes without ascertaining if the comparison in them was good at all points. The passage should read: 'The Leonian has a prayer for the blessing of the honey and milk on Whitsun Eve, which has to be interpolated in the canon (ibid., 318), but there is no direction whatever for this. In the Gelasian a benediction of fruits to be similarly inserted in the canon on Ascension Day is preceded by the rubric: *Inde, etc.* (Murat., *u.s.*, 588. This misprint is due to the printer).'"

After this experience I thought no more of copying from anyone.

Du Cange lived in a time when difficulties of etymology, history, etc., were easily overcome, either by ignoring them altogether, or by explaining them in a way which no one could test or wished to test. It was, therefore, not so difficult to him to satisfy. But nowadays we are more exacting, and for this reason, perhaps, we receive at times too many explanations, that is to say, guesses and explanations are so inextricably mixed up with facts, that one is occasionally reading books of several hundreds of pages without getting much wiser as to the real subject of the book.

Perhaps, treating subjects like the Domesday Book in a guessing way is all that we are at present able to do. Its contents are vague, because at the time of its compilation there was no need for a more elaborate treatment, the topics with which it deals being well understood. But we, living under different conditions, find it difficult to understand those which obtained eight centuries ago. Still, it seems strange that after all that has been written on the book, we have not yet any clear definition of the social condition of the *liber homo*, the *servus*, the *cotarius*, the *bordarius*, the *villanus*, etc., etc., who are mentioned in nearly every line; nor even of the history and development of *sack* and *sok*, though it would seem easy to trace this by the help of

etymology, and the analogy of similar political questions. And it is rather discouraging to find the most learned writer on the Domesday Book assert that only a century hence its materials will be clear and ready for handling.

Having explained that, as far as I can see, the editor of the new Du Cange will find it almost impossible to lead and to guide in matters of history, etc., and very dangerous to follow the footsteps of others, I now come to the philological and etymological part of the proposed dictionary, and what it is to include in this respect.

A great number of German and other scholars are at present working at a *Thesaurus* of classical Latin, and they make preparations for it as Germans are wont to do. They first of all started in 1884 a periodical called *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie*, of which ten octavo volumes have hitherto been published. In this periodical all possible questions connected with the Latin language are examined, discussed, and settled before they are worked off for the *Thesaurus*.

The printing of this *Thesaurus* has not yet been begun, I believe, because the German Government and the German public do not like to start it yet, as the editors profess that they cannot make it exhaustive, and that something must be left to future generations, an idea which militates, they say, against German thoroughness.<sup>1</sup>

It is strange that this feeling is so strong in this particular direction. For, after the Germans had realized that the historical volumes, published in their great series known as the *Monumenta Germaniae historica* of Pertz, cannot implicitly be trusted, they resolutely commenced to re-edit them all. But even these new editions are constantly corrected, supplemented, and commented upon, in their own periodicals and in separate books. Why should they not deal with the projected *Thesaurus* in the same way?

This *Thesaurus* is meant to include not only *classical Latin*, but also all words and meanings formed within the Latin language itself, in the post-Classical period, down to the eighth century, I believe. It will record, if I am not mistaken, all the developments, changes, transformations, alterations, confusion, etc., to which Latin, like all other languages, was subject. Philologists now comprise these processes under the one term *evolution*, which

<sup>1</sup> From the first part of the eleventh volume, published last June, it now appears that the printing of the *Thesaurus* will shortly be commenced.

worked, up to a certain period, in two totally different directions. In the first place, it worked within the Latin language itself.

For instance, (1) Deponent verbs were conjugated like *actives*: ex. gr., *furare* for *furari*. (2) Words developed new meanings: *discutere* does not mean *to investigate, discuss* in classical Latin, but it has that meaning in the *Lex Salica* (ch. 57. 1). (3) To simple verbs prefixes were added without any additional meaning or force, as *instringere, destringere*, by the side of *stringere*, and *extringere*, which latter is a Romance formation. We also find *resedēre, adsedēre, consedēre*, so frequently that we cannot regard them as corruptions of the classical *residēre, assidēre*, and *considēre*, but as regularly formed from *re-, ad-, con-,* and *sedēre*; likewise *detenēre*, by the side of *detinere*, etc., etc. (4) New verbs were formed from substantives or adjectives or participles. Ex. gr., from the classic *spondere* was formed in classical Latin *sponsus*, a bridegroom, and this produced the late Latin *sponsare*, which first meant *to engage, undertake to marry, to affiancé*, and still later *to marry, espouse*, as we find in Gregory of Tours. (5) Newly formed substantives took their place by the side of old ones, without any difference in meaning. So by the side of *paganus*, an inhabitant of a pagus, a countryman, arose *pagensis*, and in the *Lex Salica* we have *conpagensis*, a fellow-inhabitant of a pagus.

It would not be difficult to enlarge further on this one direction in which evolution worked. But the subject is vast. For example: Gregory, Bishop of Tours, who was born in 538 at Clermont in Auvergne, and who wrote in the typical Latin of his time, has lately been the subject of most elaborate studies on the part of French and German scholars. Two of the latter (Drs. Arndt and Krusch), while editing his works for the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, have analyzed his language, phrases, and peculiarities with respect to words, syllables, and letters, with such minuteness that the index to this edition alone shows what may be done in this part of Latinity, and it will also show the editor of a new Du Cange the magnitude of his task, unless he leaves this part of Latinity to the German "Thesaurus." Apart from this German edition, Gregory's Latinity has been dealt with by Max Bonnet, a French scholar, in a separate volume of 800 closely printed pages, in which he only makes selections from his author, telling us that, in order to exhaust his subject, he would require an *entire dictionary*.

The other direction in which evolution operated on Latin resulted in the formation of the *Romance* languages—French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Wallachian. It is not my intention to deal with this point, and I merely remark that these languages are the result of evolution, not of revolution; they are not transformations of one language into another. But Mediaeval Latin, with which I wish to deal, is the result of revolution; it is transformation of one or more languages into another. It is the result of incorporation, engrafting.

In order to explain this point, and also the mode in which I should propose to have the new dictionary worked up, I have, in consultation with Dr. Furnivall, drawn up two lists of Mediaeval Latin words. The first contains words extracted from the *Lex Salica*, of which I published an edition in 1882 (London, Murray, 4to); the other list contains words extracted from Henr. de Bracton's *De Legibus Angliae*.

I have chosen the *Lex Salica* because it is the very earliest document in which we find foreign words (namely, Frankish) transformed into quasi-Latin, and doing service to form sentences. And I have chosen Bracton because I had read his whole work with the view of exploring gradually the English historians and legal documents for the new dictionary, English having been scantily, and very often erroneously, dealt with by Du Cange and his successors. Bracton's words may be usefully put side by side with those of the *Lex Salica*, as he comes almost at the end of Mediaeval Latin. The first text of the *Lex Salica* was probably compiled between A.D. 486 and 496, while Bracton is supposed to have written his book before A.D. 1269.

The two lists are not complete, perhaps not even quite correct; but it was not advisable to spend time on making them perfect, as the etymology, for instance, of a good many words is still uncertain, and can only be dealt with when their whole chronological history is known. But the two lists, such as they are, may serve the purposes of comparison, and be, on the one hand, a starting-point, on the other hand a kind of resting-point.

There are no earlier documents than the *Lex Salica* containing Mediaeval Latin words, that is to say, foreign words formed like real Latin words, and making part of Latin sentences in books or documents. Latin had, indeed, incorporated words from the Gallic and Germanic languages long before the time of the Salic Law, as the Romans had adopted several words from



the dialects of the Franks, Burgundians, Alamanni, Goths, etc., who served in their armies. Such words, however, are mentioned casually, or as curiosities, by Latin post-Classical authors, and are, consequently, recorded already in dictionaries of classical Latin.

But the Lex Salica is a separate, independent document, which must have been written down, as I said before, between A.D. 486 and 496. In the former year Chlovis, a king of the Salian Franks (as distinguished from the Rhine Franks), defeated the Romans at Soissons, and made himself master of Gaul, first as far as the Seine, a little later as far as the Loire. The Franks were then still heathens, and it may be presumed that Chlovis, desiring to acquaint his new subjects (that is to say, the Romans settled in Gaul, and the Romanized Gauls) with the Frankish laws, and facilitate their administration, caused them to be translated into Latin.

The very first chapter shows the nature of this translation and the Latin made for this purpose. The heading of the chapter is: De *mannire* (of summoning), from the Frank. *manian*, *mannian*. And the first paragraph runs: Si quis ad *mallum* legibus dominicis *mannitus* fuerit, et non venerit, *mał reapten* . . . . solidos xv culpabilis judicetur.

*Mallus* is from a Frank. *mall* or *mahl*, a public assembly where justice was administered. We have, therefore, in two lines two Frankish words transformed into Latin, merely by having a Latin ending added to them. After the word *venerit* comes *mał reapten*. *Mał*, with a stroke through the *l*, occurs frequently in the Lex, and is supposed to be a contraction for *malberg*, from *mal*, already mentioned, and *berg*, where the *mall* was held.

*Reapten* has been explained by Professor Kern to mean the act of re-banning, from the Frank. *re-* = Goth. *us-*, *again*, and *apten* for *aften*, a judicial prosecution. It is one of those purely Frankish words which occur everywhere in the Law, and are now called Malberg glosses, though they are hardly glosses in the proper sense of the word. They seem to have been retained by the translators of the Frankish law, partly because they were technical words, used only on the *Malberg*, and partly because they were too comprehensive in their meaning or too difficult to be translated into Latin.

Of these glosses, however, none have been inserted in the present list, because they never were Latinized like the other

words. Only those Frankish words which occur as parts of Latin sentences have been taken up.

The supposition that the first Latin version of the Salic Law (which practically consists of 65 chapters, and is represented by four MSS.) was made before the Frankish Court embraced Christianity, that is, before 496, is founded upon the fact that it contains no traces of Christianity. Such a word as *basilica*, which occurs in chapter 55, does not there mean a church, but a dome-like shrine or chest. On the other hand, the word *ecclesia*, which does mean a church, and occurs also in chapter 55, belongs to a later family of texts, the so-called *Lex emendata*. Likewise the Christian terms *diaconus*, *episcopus*, *presbyter*, etc.

The Latin of the texts may be said to stand midway between Latin proper and the French of the ninth century, some characteristics of which are distinctly foreshadowed in the language of the Lex. For instance, an initial *s*, if followed by a consonant, takes an *e* or *i* before it, and the *s* is turned into *x*. In this way *spoliare* passed into *expoliare*, *spolium* into *expolium*; *scrofa* became *isicrofa*, and, by the same cockneyism which turned *occisus* into *hoccisus*, the prefixed *i* is often spelt *hi*. This semi-Latin *e*, *i*, *hi* often found its way into the glosses: ex. gr., *scuto*, *excuto*, *hischoto*. The glosses *extrabo*, *isicrabo*, *hischrabo* must have arisen from *scrabo* (*schrabo*) or *strabo*. On the other hand, *palmitare* first became *expalmitare* by prefixing *ex*; this must have turned into *espalmitare*, *spalmitare*, *ispalmitare*.

I pass by, as immaterial to my present purpose, the question as to whether the Latin texts of the Salic Law, as we have them, are translations from an *original Frankish* text (now lost to us), or translations from the memory of Frankish lawyers appointed by Chlovis to reduce the Law to writing.

The two lists show a gap of 800 years in Mediaeval Latin to be filled up. During all these centuries literary and popular Latin, and the various Teutonic dialects, supplied Mediaeval Latin with the words required to publish laws, charters, etc., etc.

About the same time as the Salian Franks, or soon afterwards, other German tribes had their laws compiled for them in Latin, intermixing words of their own language with the Latin, and giving the former a quasi-Latin look, or using them without any alteration. In this way we find, for instance, *caballus*, *batuere* come in from popular Latin, *mallum*, *alodium* from the Frankish. Some of these foreign-Latin words were turned into the language

of the country where they had done service, ex. gr. *allodium* became *alleu*, and such words, when their origin was forgotten, were again turned into Mediaeval Latin. For instance, the Med. Latin *missaticum* produced the French *message*, and the latter was retranslated into *messagium*. So, again, the German *hariberga* was turned into (the Langob. Med. Latin) *alipergus* = Ital. *alberga*, *albergo* = Med. Latin *albergaria*. These proceedings we see happen in all the Romance languages.

Bracton, I need not say, used only a limited part of the Mediaeval Latinity of his time, and mostly words of a certain class, so that a list of his words is merely a guide as to what words he used, not as to all the quasi-Latin words in use in England in the thirteenth century.

As regards the Lex Salica words in my list, it will be seen that a good many are not derived from the Frankish, but are modified forms of classical or late classical Latin words, or classical Latin words with developments in their meanings. Such words belong to the 'evolution' mentioned before.

Perhaps no other document has been subject to so many influences of mispronunciation and misreading on the part of copyists. Such words as *abantonia*, *accipiter*, *achramire* show that there is a multitude of modified forms, none of which, however, can be omitted or neglected, if we wish to have a picture of the writing of different periods, and the growth and corruption of languages.

Several words had no further existence than in the Lex Salica. They were no longer used, or replaced by others, or have not yet been found in other documents.

For instance, the first word on the list is used only once, as a quasi-Latin (but corrupt) word in a Latin sentence. It never occurs again anywhere, except in modified or corrupt forms, as so-called *Malberg glosses* in the tenth chapter of the Lex: *ambitania*, *ambotanea*, *amba othonia*, *amba* (texaca), for *ambahtania*, *ambahtomia*, *ambohtonia*, an accus. of *ambahtani*, from an assumed masc. *ambaht* (stem *\*tja* = Goth. *andbakties*) or *\*ambahtio* = O.Sax. *ambahtio* (stem *ambahtjan*). And in chapter 13 as (*malz*) *antania* (in cod. 2); *antomia* (in 6, read *amtonia*); *antonio* (in 8); *anthonius* (in 9, read *amtonio*); *authumia* (in 10, read *amtonia*): all accusatives of *amtoni*, *amtani*, better spelt *ambtani*.

But the principal part of the word occurs again under *ambascia*, and it is still alive in our words *ambassador*, *embassy*, while it

is familiar to all classical scholars under the form *ambactus*, used by Caesar when speaking of Gallic conditions. It is possible, as etymologists contend, that this *ambactus* gave rise to ambassador, etc., but it seems that the Franks brought their cognate word with them, and it is common in all Germanic dialects.

In the second word on the list the English *to abate* will be recognized. Under the simple *battere* further particulars will be found. The third word is obscure both as to origin and meaning. The fourth has a place in the list on account of its form, it having a *b* for *p*.

In *abonnis*, *obbonis*, we have probably the Romance *boneta*, *bonetum*, Fr. *bonnet*.

*Accedere* is inserted because its meaning differs somewhat from the meanings of the word in classical Latin. *Accipiter*, already found in classical Latin, is here inserted on account of its modified forms. As to *a-chasius*, its principal part is found in the English *hest*, *behest*. In *achramire* we have the word from which the Bracton word *arramare*, *arramiare* (with change of conjugation) must have been formed, and its chief part is still alive in *to cram*.

In fact, a great number of these Teutonic or Latin words, or their roots, have lived on for a long time, either in French or O.Eng., or in other directions, and a good many are still in daily use among ourselves. This will become clearer when the etymology, now omitted in most instances for reasons stated above, is added to the words. Some of our most familiar words appear here under strange disguises. One illustration will suffice. Under the *u* (*v*) there is *uipida*, *uopida*. Professor Kern, with his extraordinary knowledge of languages, explains these two words as variations or corruptions of a Frank. word, which in O.Fris. is *wapul*, *wapel*, *wepel*, a pool, morass. I think that *uipida*, *uopida* are corruptions, as *i* and *d* may arise, and have often arisen, from *u* and *l* coming together. We then have *uipula*, *uopula*, the counterpart of the O.Fris. *wapul*, etc., which we still find in the Eng. *wabble*.

It seems to me that if the dictionary were worked up gradually by means of lists like these, we should obtain slow but sure results.

Next to the Lex Salica, in point of time, come the *Leges Burgundionum*, *Visigothorum*, *Ribuaria*, *Alamannorum*, *Lombardorum*, *Baiuvariorum*, *Frisionum*, *Saxonum*, *Angliorum* et

*Werinorum*, *Chamavorum*, *Romana Burgundionum*, *Romana Visigothorum*; the *Capitularia*, *Formulae*, etc., etc.

These laws, *Formulae*, etc., the dates of which can be approximately fixed, would furnish a vast quantity of words for the dictionary, and if we could have lists of them drawn up similar to that which I have extracted from the *Lex Salica*, they might, I think, serve as hand-lists for all further work, and so be guides to the editor and his helpers.

The above so-called Barbarian Laws, with the exception of the Salic Law, have all been edited by German scholars for their great national collection, the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, and it would naturally occur to anyone that we had merely to excerpt the admirable indexes and glossaries to these editions for the dictionary.

But, in the first place, these indexes and glossaries do not always give the meaning of the words, so that, if we do not know it ourselves, we must look up the reference and read the context. Secondly, in consulting the *Lex Visigothorum*, of which an edition has been published by the Portuguese Government, and another by Professor Zeumer for the *Monumenta*, we see that each edition has an index, but each index records some words which are not registered in the other. Professor Zeumer's index gives references to the pages, so that if it gives words not mentioned in the Portuguese index, no harm is done by the latter's omissions. But the Portuguese index gives no references to the pages, so that, where it records words not found in Professor Zeumer's index, there is no means of finding them in the text, except by going through the law from the beginning till you find them. It is clear that in cases of this kind one would save time by making one's own index.

My list of Bracton words is compiled from Sir Travers Twiss's edition for the Master of the Rolls' Series. This is known to be a bad edition, but I had no choice. I published a new edition of the *Lex Salica*, because none of the existing editions satisfied me, and because I found a publisher (Mr. John Murray) ready to bear the expenses. But no editor of a new Du Cange, whoever he may be, could think of first preparing new editions of all the Latin works which he knows to be badly edited.

I may give a few illustrations of the difficulties which an editor of the dictionary will meet with in books of this kind, or rather everywhere. In my list I print *amitiva* (a female cousin), *amítivus*

(a male cousin), just as Sir Travers printed the words. The *Digest*, however, has *amitina*, *amitinus*, that is, an *n* where the Rolls edition has *v* (for *u*). I have examined two Bracton MSS. in the British Museum: one (Stowe, 380) of early thirteenth century has *n*, but a later one (Add. 32,340, of the fourteenth century) apparently *u*. Also three MSS. in the Cambridge University Library: one (DD., 7. 14) has in fol. 205<sup>b2</sup>, l. 5 from foot, *amicinus* or *amicivus*, *amicina* or *amicina*; the second MS. (EE., 4. 4) omits nearly the whole of the passage in which the two words in question occur; the third MS. (DD., 7. 6) omits all that follows in Sir Travers' edition after p. 414 till the end of the second book, and consequently also the passage in question.

It took me some hours to obtain this unsatisfactory result, as the Bracton MSS. are not easy for reference, the chapters not being numbered. I have no doubt that the forms in the *Digest* are correct.

Such difficulties are sure to arise in great numbers, and the solution of each of them must necessarily take time, if they can be solved at all.

There happen to be a few more words in the Bracton list which will explain this point further. Perhaps when I name them it will be said that these words are English, not Latin. But as it would be my plan to record all Mediaeval words occurring in a Latin sentence, I had to insert them in the list.

First, *cone*, which the editor of Bracton wrongly printed for *coue*, misreading *n* for *u*. It is correctly explained in the Oxford English Dictionary. Second, under *coraagium* there are other misreadings of Sir Travers Twiss, fortunately also corrected in the Oxford Dictionary.

But under *couthutlaughe* the Oxford Dictionary has, I think, misunderstood Bracton, and fallen into error. The Dictionary says that "the term *couthutlaughe* is applied, according to Bracton, to a person knowingly harbouring or concealing an outlaw; or perhaps, more properly, to the offence of doing so."

Now, Bracton, speaking of a banished person (ii, 336), says: "The English call such a person an *utlaughe*, and a *frendlesman*, and anyone *knowingly* feeding such a person after his outlawry and expulsion, or receiving and holding communication with him in any way, or harbouring and concealing him, ought to be punished with the same punishment with which the *outlaw* is punished."

So far there is nothing obscure. But Bracton proceeds: "I say *knowingly*, because an outlaw may be known and recognized, or unknown and unrecognized, and hence he, who harbours one who is known and recognized, is to be punished with the same punishment."<sup>1</sup> Here follows, in Twiss's translation, "*and* he is termed a *couthutlaughe*." But the Latin has merely "qui dicitur *couthutlaughe*"; there is no *et* to correspond to Twiss's *and*.

The passage, as it stands, is somewhat obscure. If we had *ac* before "qui dicitur," there would be no difficulty, because in that case the sense would be plainly "the person who knowingly receives an outlaw is to be punished with the same punishment as the one called a *couthutlaughe*." But without *ac*, which I have not found in any of the three MSS. consulted by me, we must, I think, place "qui dicitur" in apposition with "notum et cognitum" of the preceding line.

It should be observed that the MS. which Twiss used as his base has as marginal summary: "*Cum utlaugh* qui scienter talem receptaverit." This summary Twiss translates: "He who knowingly receives such a person is a *com-outlaw*."

The Oxford Dictionary has apparently overlooked this marginal *cum-utlaugh*, otherwise it would not have referred *couth-utlaughe*, in contradiction to its meaning, to the person who harbours the outlaw. It seems plain that this term denotes *the known (and recognized) outlaw*, and that the marginal *cum-utlaugh*, *com-outlaw*, refers to the person who harbours the outlaw. *Cum-* (*com-*) is the same prefix as the later *con-*, which appears in *con-brethren* in the Oxford Dictionary.

That this interpretation is correct appears also from the Stowe MS., referred to above, which has in the margin, "Quid sit utlaghe et cuthlaghe" (*sic*), and in the text, "tali pena puniendi sunt sicut *cudhutlaghe*." The reading of the three MSS. in the Cambridge University Library agrees with Sir Travers Twiss's text.

I have hitherto said little about the work that is to be done with respect to English Mediaeval Latin, though attention should be directed to it almost more than to any other branch of Latinity. Nothing could be more urgent than the systematic reading of all English works and documents on Mediaeval Latin, as Du Cange

<sup>1</sup> Scienter dico, quia aut potest esse notus et cognitus, vel ignotus et incognitus, et unde qui notum et cognitum receptaverit, pari poena puniendus est, qui dicitur *couthutlaughe* [other readings: *cuth utlaghe*, *cuthutlaghe*].



is much less satisfactory in this respect than in others. I am afraid, however, that our texts have, hitherto, not been published with that care, or rather with that training, which is required in the editor of Mediaeval texts. The system of printing the texts as they appear in the MSS., with all their contractions, adopted in this country with respect to certain documents, as, for instance, Domesday Book, the Close Rolls, the publications of the Commissioners on the Public Records, etc., is certainly preferable to that of normalizing all the various spellings of Mediaeval texts, which is adopted in the Master of the Rolls' Series. On the latter system I have already written a good deal in *The Academy* of 1884, to point out how it deprives us of manuscript evidence, the only evidence that ought to guide us in etymological and philological studies. I also pointed out how the glossaries and indexes to the volumes of the Rolls Series only register the words which are usually called Mediaeval Latin (ex. gr. *acapitare*), but not those post-Classical formations of Latin which were coined by Mediaeval authors in analogy to the formation of words in the Classical period. And yet to know whether and where these words occur is necessary to the study of Mediaeval Latin, English, French, etc., in the compilation of dictionaries, etc.

In reference to this point, I quote here a passage from Dr. Luard's preface (p. xxxvii) to his last volume (vii) of his edition of Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora*:—

"In the glossary there will be found, it is believed, all the words which an ordinary reader would expect to find explained. Of course none are given which are in the ordinary dictionaries of classical Latin, unless they occur in an unusual sense. Nor have I thought it necessary to include words, such as *antipapa*, *febrilis*, etc., which, although searched for by philologists as not being recorded in the ordinary Latin dictionaries, afford no difficulty as to their meaning, and could scarcely be expected to be registered in a work of this kind. Indeed, to make a glossary of Matthew Paris so exhaustive as to embrace all words of post-classical use, or whose history for linguistic purposes is interesting, would be to compile a dictionary, and would be out of place in an edition of the author."

Dr. Luard wrote this, when I pointed out to him how necessary it was to have such words as *antipapa*, *febrilis*, etc., which Matthew Paris uses, and which, perhaps, earlier authors used



before him, recorded in some way or another, as they were not quoted in any dictionary, and offered to supply him with a list of similar unrecorded words if he would insert them in his glossary. This he thought was out of the question, though I felt sure that the insertion of my list would not have required many pages. Of the above two words *febrilis* is in Forcellini's dictionary, but quoted only from a glossary, while *antipapa* is not in any dictionary, as far as I know.

As I hope to enter into greater details about (English) Mediaeval Latin on a future occasion, I now conclude by a few words more regarding the list of Lex Salica words. The references are to the chapters of my edition of the Law (published in 1880, London, John Murray). In the majority of cases where etymology has been given, Professor Kern has been followed, whose learned commentary on the Frankish words in the *Lex Salica* appears in the same edition, col. 431 sqq. I am aware that some of his etymologies and explanations have been disputed by German scholars, as, for instance, of *mitio* by Professor Brunner (*Juristische Abhandlungen: Festgabe für Geo. Bessler*; Berlin, 1885; 8vo). But Professor Brunner's views were, in their turn, disputed by Dr. E. Hermann, in a treatise (*Noch ein Wort über Mithio*; Leipzig, 1890; 8vo), in which Dr. Hermann speaks with no great certainty himself. Under these circumstances, and considering that the present lists are not published in a permanent form, I thought it better to adhere for the present to Professor Kern's explanations.

#### LEX SALICA.

- Abantonia (for ambahtonia, from a Frank. *ambaht*), a handmaid, work-woman, 83.  
 abapere, abatere, abattere, abatutus, abbattere, see *battere*.  
 abbundire, abundire, (sibi) habundare, (se) abmundire, (se) habundire, (se) alundire [origin and meaning unknown, perh. for *admundire*, to place into the *mundum* or protection], 14. 4.  
 aber, for *aper* (q.v.).  
 abiectius, summoned to a court of justice, 50. 3 (cod. 9). See *iactius*.  
 abis, for *apis* (q.v.), a bee.  
 abmundire, see *abbundire*.  
 abonnis (perh. for ubonnis), obbonis (perh. from a Frank. *ûb*, *ob* = *hûra*, O.H.G. *hûba*, D. *huif*, a hood, and *bonni*, a headband, coif), a hood, 76. 1. See also *obelivis*.  
 abundire, see *abbundire*.  
 accedere, to enter upon the possession of anything, 44. 9 (cod. 10 etc., but here perh. for *accidere*); 59. 2, 3, 4; 78. 3.  
 accipiter, accepiter, acceptor, acceptor, haccepitor, a hawk used in falconry: accipiter de arbore (= Germ. *baumfalk*), 7. 1. Accipiter depertica, a spear-or bar-falcon, 7. 2; Sept. C. 1. 4; cf. also 7. 3, Sept. C. 3. 2.  
 acclamare, see *adclamare*.  
 acfatmire, hacfamire, adfathamire, affactumire, afatumiri, affatumire, adframire, and, wrongly, adramire, achramire, adhramire, (to bring to

the *fathm*, i.e. *plexus*, *sinus*, hence) to *adopt* [if the forms *acf-*, *adf-* are correct], or to *transfer*, *bestow*, *convey* to another [if the forms *aff-*, *afa-* are correct, though the latter may likewise stand for *adf-*, *acf-*, *af-*]. 46 (rubr. ; Tab. of Rubr. 46. See further *adfarimus*.  
*achasius*, *achius*, *adesius*, *adhesius*, *hacesius* from a Frank. *ant-* or *an-chasia*, *-hesia* = A.S. *hæs*, a command: *behas*, E. *behest*; hence *anthási* 'and-*hesi*', an acknowledgment, recognizance; hence, a *fee of recognizance*, 72. 1, 2.

(1) *achramire*, *achramire*, *adchramire*, *adcramire*, *adframire*, *adharamire*, *adhramire*, *adhrammire*, *adramire*, *adhramire*, *afframire*, *aframire*, *agramire*, *alhrammire*, *charamire*, *hachramire* (from Frank. *at-*, *ant-*, *an-chrami-an* (*hramian*), O.N. *hremma*, to pinch, squeeze, clutch; hence), (1) to *seize*, *take possession of*, 37. 1, 2. (2) to *impute*, *attribute*, *refer*, *appeal* to another, 47. 1.

(2) *achramire*, for *acfatmire* (q.v.), 46 (rubr. of cod. 6.).

*acutarius*, *agutarius*, *agutarius*, *agutarius*, *argutarius* *canis*, *ueltris*, a *hound*, *sporting-dog*, 6. 2 (cod. 5 etc.; cod. 10 has merely *agutarius*, as a sub-st., without *canis* or *ueltris*). See the Dictionaries of Class. Lat. *actuarii*.

*ad*, for *a* and *ab*, *from*, *by*: ex. gr., 22. 1<sup>b</sup> (cod. 2; 27. 3 cod. 1; 32. 5 cod. 6; 39. 2 (codd. 2 and 3); 40. 10; Part. 9<sup>1</sup>).

*adchramire* = *achramire* (q.v.).

*adelamare* (*adel-*, to *vate*, *inveigh against*: *cartam falsum adelamare*, Extrav. B. 3.

*adchramire* = *achramire* (q.v.).

*ad-re-dere* = *cr-dere* (q.v.).

*adducere*, *aducere*, (1) for *abducere*, to *lead*, *take away*, 14. 2 16. 2 of L. Em.; 2, to *lead to*, *bring to*, *conduct* to, 27. 16<sup>b</sup> (cod. 10), 13. 3 to *produce*, *bring with one's self*, 78. 7, 9; Extrav. B. 2. See also *ducere*.

*admissarius* = *admissarius* (q.v.).

*ad-sius* = *achasius* (q.v.).

*adacimus*, *adfatimus*, *afaetumip*, *afatomiae*, *afatomie*, *afatumiae*, *afatumiae*, *afatomiae*, *afatomie*, *afattoone*, *afatumiae* the bringing to the *fathm*, i.e. *plexus*, *sinus*, hence) a *taking to one's lap* or *bosom*, *adoption* [unless *adf-*, *af-*,

*aff-* stand for *abf-*, which would mean *the giving up*, *abdication*]. 46 (rubr. ; Capit. 10; 73. 2; Table of Rub. 46. See *acfatmire*.

*adfatmire*, see *acfatmire*.

*adfatimus*, see *adfacimus*.

*adframire*, 1 = *achramire* (q.v.). (2) = *acfatmire* q.v..

*adharamire* = *achramire* (q.v.).

*adhesius* = *achasius* q.v..

*adhramire*, *adhrammire*, (1) = *achramire* (q.v.). (2) Wrongly for *acfatmire* (q.v.).

*adiacthius*, *adiacthius*, *adiacthius*, *adiacthius*, *adiacthius*, *summoned to a court of justice*; see *iactinus*.

*allassare*, *allassare*, to *tire*, *worry*; see *lassare*.

*admallare* = *mallare* (q.v.).

*admanere*, *admanire*, *admonere*, *admonire*, *admunire*, *ammonere*, to *summon someone*, *privately* or *judicially*, to *fulfil a judicial obligation* sometimes = *mannire*, (q.v.), 40. 6 (cod. 2 etc. ; 10; 47. 1, 2; 57. 1 L. Em.; Part. 9<sup>1</sup>, 12<sup>2</sup>, 17. [The notions *mannire*, *admanere*, *admonere*, *monere*, *commonere* do not seem to have been kept separate; cf. *admanere* by the side of *admonere* and *admonire* in 40. 6; *monitus*, by the side of *manitus*, *mannitus*, *admanitus* in 56. 5; *commonere*, by the side of *admonere*, 47. 1, 2.]

*admasserius*, *admassarius* = *admissarius* (q.v.).

*admirare* = *migrare* (q.v.).

*admissarius* = *admissarius* (q.v.).

*admissarius*, *admissarius*, *admasserius*, *admissarius*, *admissarius*, *amassarius*, *amassarius*, *amissarius*, *amissarius*, *armassarius*, *etmissarius*, a *station*, 38. 2, 3, 4, 12 of cod. 6 etc..

*admittere*, for *amittere*, to *lose*, *forfeit*, 107. 2 codd. 1 and 2.

*admonere*, *admonire*, see *admanere*.

*admonitio*, *admonitio*, *amonitio*, a *summon*, 40. 8; 50. 2 etc.

*adpreciare*, *adpreiare*, *adpraetiare*, see *pretium*.

*adramire*, *adhramire*, (1) = *achramire* (q.v.). (2) Wrongly for *acfatmire* (q.v.).

*ad-silire*, *ad-silire*, *as-silire*, to *attack*, *assail*, 13. 14 cod. 6 etc.; 14. 4 cod. 6 etc.; etc., etc.

*ad-sedere* = Lat. *ad-sidere*, to *settle anywhere*; see *sedere*.

*adstringere*, see *stringere*.

*adtruitionis*, see *truistis*.

aduenire, (1) probably = Fr. *advenir*, to come, used with respect to posterity, descendants, 78. 3. (2) to come to, amount to, 101. (3) to arrive at, reach (class.), Pact. 15.

adulterare clauem, to make a false key, 11. 5.

aedictus, edictus, an edict, 78. 1. (One MS. has *dicta*.)

aedoniare, see *idoneus*.

aelocare, for elocare, to hire; see *locare*.

aeneum (class. *aënum*), aenium, pneum, eneum, enium, gnium, hineum, hinium, hinneum, ineum, inium, gnea, (1) a kettle or pot, 64. 1. (2) the kettle or pot used in the boiling-water ordeal, 14. 2 (cod. 2); 16. 3 (cod. 2); 53 (rubr.) 1. 5; 56. 1-3; 94; 106. 6, 7; Pact. 4-6.

aequa, a horse, see *equus*.

aestimare, estimare, extimare, instemare, intomare, stemare, etc., to estimate, to value, 9. 7 (of cod. 2 etc.), 8 (of cod. 2 etc.); Extrav. B. 4.

aestimatio, estimatio, a valuation, appraisal, 9, 8 (of cod. B. H. and Lex Em.); Recap. B. 2.

aetas, etas, etas (media), 24. 7 (cod. 3-9); (perfecta), 73. 1; (maior), Extrav. A. 5. 3.

afatemie, afatoniae, afatomie, afatumiae, afetumiae, see *adfacimus*.

afatumiri, affatumire, see *acfatmire*.

affatomiae, affatomie, affattoone, affatumiae, see *adfacimus*.

affatumire, see *acfatmire*.

afframire, aframire, see *achramire*.

agatarius, see *acutarius*.

agens, one who acts (as judge?) in a lawsuit, 78. 7, 9.

agnicolus, agniculus = *anniculus* (q.v.).

agramire = *achramire* (q.v.).

ag-sonia, sac-cionia [the first perh. for *acht-sonia*; the second for *sac-sonia*], a judicial, lawful excuse, 96.

agutaricius, agutaritus, agutarius, see *acutarius*.

ahramire = *achramire* (q.v.).

alacina, see *latina*.

alassare, see *lassare*.

albus, alesus, alius, allus, alus, callus, clalus, collus, hallus, a kind of tree, perhaps the hazel, 41. 2, 4 (and 4 of cod. 3 etc.). [From this word the Fr. *haller* is derived.]

alesus, see *albus*.

alia mente, aliamenae (in) = Fr. *autre-ment*, 15 (codd. 7-10).

alius, see *albus*.

alodis, alodes, alodis, alodum = hereditas, an inheritance, 59 (rubr.).

Alodis terrae, 59. 6 (of cod. 10).

Alodis patris, 99.—In the Tab. rubr. the codd. H, B, G have here: de intestatorum hereditatibus.

allus, see *albus*.

alninus, of or belonging to the alder, 60. 1.

alodes, alodis, alodum, see *alodis*.

altare, an altar, 55 (Lex Em. 58. 1).

alundire, see *abbundire*.

alus, see *albus*.

amachallum, see *machalum*.

amallatus, amallus, see *gamallus*.

amasarius, amassirus = *admissarius* (q.v.).

ambascia, ambasia, ambassia, ambaxia, a charge, office, employment, 1. 4; 96.

amisarius, amissarius = *admissarius* (q.v.).

amittere, (1) to lose (by death): uxorem, 73. 1 (so class.). (2) to lose, forfeit, 45. 2<sup>b</sup> (cod. 4 etc.; the codd. 1-3 have *demittere*).

ammallare, for *admallare*, see *mallare*.

ammallus, see *gamallus*.

ammonitio, amonitio, see *admonitio*.

anata, aneda, anedes, aneta, anetes, a duck, 7. 4.

ancilla, a maid-servant, handmaid, 10. 1, 3 (of codd. 2 and 4), etc.

andocmito, andoctemito, andometo, androctema, antoctimetho, a semi-Latinized Frank. *andōtōmītha* (dat. -tho), informality, an unlawful doing, 51.

andruscio, andrustio, andustrio, see *truscio*.

anecrenodum, canecreutum, chanecreutum (a semi-Latinized (ane-)channechrenod), a hand-gift, present, 100.

aneda, anedes, aneta, anetes, see *anata*.

anguila, anguilla (class.), anquila, anquilia, an eel, 27. 19. Angularitius, angularicius, of or belonging to an eel, 27. 19 (26 of codd. 5 and 6).

aniculatus = *anniculus* (q.v.).

animalia, neat, 3. Cf. 9; 16. 2 (cod. 2). 3; 37. 1; Extrav. B. 9.

anniculus (class.), annicolus, annocolus, annuculus, agnicolus, agniculus, aniculatus, annecolatus, anneculatus, annicolatus, anniculatus, honocolatus, a year old, of a year, yearling, 2. 4, 9, 10; 3. 2; 4. 2; 38. 6; Sept. C. i. 3.

annona (class.), anona, corn, grain, 16. 3; 22, etc.

annuculus = *anniculus* (q.v.).

anguila, anquilia = *anguila* (q.v.).

- ansar, anser, ansera, *a goose*, 7. 4; also called *anser* and *Ansera domestica*, *ibid.*
- anstrutio, see *trustis*.
- anteortare, ante ostare, *to obstruct* (f), 27. 18 (cod. 6 etc.). See *ostare*.
- anthmallus, for hantmallus (from a Frank. *hantmal*, O.S. *handmahal*, M.D. *hantmael*), *a court of justice*, Extrav. B. 1. See also *mallus*.
- antruscio, antrusio, antrussio, antrusticio, antrustio, antrutio, antrutionus, see *trustis*.
- aper, aber, *a boar*, 33. 5 (of cod. 5 etc.).
- aperire, (1) *to uncover, lay open*, 8. 1 (cod. 2). (2) *to break open*, 9. 8 (cod. 2). (3) for *operire*, 41. 4 (cod. 3).
- apiarium, *a beehive*, 8 (rubr. of cod. G).
- apis, abis, (1) *the bee*, 8. 2 (codd. 7-9), 4 and 5 (cod. 10). (2) *a beehive*, 8. rubr. and 1, 2, 3 (some codd. have *uas*, *uasus*, *uascellum*). (3) wrongly for *avis*, 33. 1 (codd. 6 and 6).
- appellare, (1) a Law-term, *to address, accost, appeal to*, 1. 3 (codd. 1. 2, 5. 6; cod. 4 and Lex Em. have *denuntiare*; cod. 10, *mannire*); 46. 3. 4. 6; Pact. 2 (codd. 1, 2, 5; the other codd. have *ligare, obligare*), 4 (cod. 2). (2) *to call anyone a name*, 30. 2.
- arare class., *to plough, to till*, 27. 23, 24.—Arans, *a ploughman*, 27. 19 (L. Em. and in note of cod. 10; codd. 7-9, B-H have *arator, arrator*).—Aratrum, arratrum, *a plough*, *ibid.*
- arbor, m. and fem.: 27. 18 and 15 (cod. 6), (theft of fruit-trees), 7. 11 (of cod. 6 etc.). Accipiter de arbore, see *accipiter*.
- arca, arcus, for *ascus* (q.v.).
- ardere, trans., *to set on fire, burn down*, 34. 2 (of cod. 6).
- are-tato, aristaco, aristatio, aristato, aristo, aristator, cheristonica, cheristaduna, *an enclosure made of stakes over a tomb*, 15 [18]. 3 (cod. 7 etc.); 55. 3 (cod. 6 etc.).
- argutarius, see *acutarius*.
- aripennis, arpennis, arripens, *a measure of ground, half an acre*, Pact. 14.
- aristaco, aristatio, aristato, aristo, see *aristato*.
- arma 'oath on arms', 102.
- armessarius = *admissarius* (q.v.).
- aroena, see *caroen*.
- arpennis, see *aripennis*.
- arpex = *erpez* (q.v.).
- arratrum = *aratrum* (q.v.).
- arripens = *aripennis* (q.v.).
- artifex, *a bondman who had learned some craft*, 10. 6 (cod. 5 etc.).
- Homo artifex, Recap. B. 23, 24.
- asallire, see *adsallire*.
- ascendere (adsc.), *to increase, run up*, said of a debt, 50. 2 (cod. 2 etc.); of a *causa*, 78. 7.
- ascus, aschus, asclius, arca, arcus, cescus, *a small vessel, a bark*, 21. 3, 4; Sept. Caus. 3. 3.
- aspellis, aspellias, expellis, adj., *given to perdition*, 55 (17, of cod. 7-9); 70. 1.
- assus: in asso, in assum, *furtively*, 2. 3 (codd. 1 and 2; the other codd. have in furto, in furtum).
- atributari, attribute, a corrupted Frank. word, *a deer having a sign*, 80.
- atrium (ecclesiae), *an entrance*, Pact. 14.
- aucellus, auicula (class.), *a little bird*, 7. 10 (of cod. 5 etc.). [Aucella, aucilla, in postclass.]
- aves: (theft of hawking-birds and poultry), 7; (of game birds), 33. 1.
- aufa = *naucus* (q.v.).
- auferre, (1) *to take away, bear off*, 14 (16. 2 of L. Em.), 3 (of cod. 10: abstulit); 39. 2 (cod. 10, note).—(2) For *offerre*, *to show, exhibit*, 37. 3; 78. 6, 7.
- auica terra, in Extrav. A. 2, perhaps a misreading for *auita terra*, or *auitica terra*.
- auicula, see *aucellus*.
- aurifex, *a goldsmith*, 10. 6.
- Bannire, *to summon*, 1 (in Lex Em., Cod. S., where it is a correction for *mannire*).
- baptismus, *baptism*, Prol. i.
- barbarus, 14. 2 (in codd. 7-9, B, G, H; codd. 1, 3, 4 have) barbarus salicus = francus saligus (of cod. 2) and francus (of codd. 5, 6, and Lex Em.); cod. 10 gives the term as distinct both from Romanus and Salecus Francus.
- barca = *barcus*, 1 (q.v.).
- barcus, bargus, barca, barga, (1) *a gibbet*, 41 (74. 1 of cod. 7 etc.); tab. rubr. 75 (cod. 7 etc.). In other places of the Lex also called *furca* (q.v.) or *palus* (q.v.). (2) *a hand-barrow*, 74. 1. (3) for *parcus*, *an enclosure, park*, 81. 3.

- barginam (?), 102.  
 bargus, see *barcus*.  
 baro, a man, 31. 1, see further *sacebaro*.  
 baruulus, for paruulus (q.v.).  
 basilica, a dome-like shrine containing a relic, 55. 6, 7 (of cod. 6 etc.); Sept. C. 6. 5; Sent. S. S. 1.  
 battere, batere (batteredit, battiderit), to beat, 24. 4\*; 35. 4 (of cod. 6 etc.); 66.—*abaptare*, abatere (abat-erit), abattere, abbattere (abbatiderit), to take, tear down, 41 (74 in cod. 7).—abatutus, taken down, 41 (rubr. of cod. 6).—debattere, debaptare, to beat violently, 24. 3 (codd. 7-9). Some codd. have *percutere*, some *trabattere*; see below.—subatere, subbatere, subbattere, sobattere, to draw off, carry off by force, 2. 3; Recap. A. 9, B. 10.—trabattere, trabattere, trebattere, tribatere, tribattere, transbattere, to ill-use, ill-treat (and thereby cause an abortion), 24. 3; Sept. C. 7. 2; 38. 6 (cod. 3 etc.), 13 (of cod. 6; cod. 10 has *tribare*).  
 beneficiarius seruus, a servant belonging to an estate granted in beneficium, Capit. 7.  
 beneficium, an estate granted for use, Extrav. B. 10.—= *res praestita*, in Tab. rubr. 52 (88, of codd. B-H).  
 beodis, beodus, beudus, beotus, obeodus, ibodis, a table, 46. 5.  
 berbix, uerbex (uerbécis), uerbix, ueruex (class.), ueruix, uirui, a wether, 4. 2-4.  
 bergus, see *malber*.  
 bestia, a beast, Extrav. B. 9.  
 beudus, see *beodis*.  
 bimatus, bimulus, bimus, binus, two years old, 2. 5; 3. 2; 4. 2; 38. 6.  
 bis aut tres (aliquid) dicere, 57. 1 (cod. 7 etc.).  
 boni homines, 46. 6 (codd. 7-9, F, G, H). Bona carta, Extrav. B. 4. Cf. 78. 7: *rachymburgii antrutionis boni credentes*.  
 bos, an ox, 3. 3; 37. 1; 47. 1; Sept. C. 2. 5.—bos, bouus cerni, a deer-cow, 80.  
 brachiale, brachile, brachilis, brachille, bracilis, an armlet, fillet, band, 27. 31 (cod. 6 etc.).  
 bructis (dat bructe), for a Latinized Frank. *brucht*, a breast, 20. 4 (cod. 5 etc.).  
 buccus, a buck, 5. 3 (L. Em.).  
 Cabalicare, caballare, caballicare, caballigare, to mount, ascend a caballus, 23.  
 caballus, cabellus, cauallus, a male horse, 9. 1; 10. 1; 27. 4; 37. 1; 38. rubr., and § 11 (cod. 6 etc.); Extrav. B. 9.—c. carrucaricius, a cart-horse, 38. 1 (cod. 1).—c. spadus (spathus, spatius, spadatus), a castrated horse, 38. 3 (cod. 6 etc.).—For chamallus = gamallus (q.v.), 47, 4th sect. of cod. 4.  
 cabra, for capra (q.v.).  
 caelare, see *celare*.  
 (1) calcare, in 81. 3, if the word be genuine it may mean: *vestigium alicujus insequi* (cf. Du Cange. h. v. 2), but it may be a corruption for *caelare* (q.v.).  
 (2) calcare solem, see *colocare*.  
 calida (scil. aqua), the hot-water ordeal, 82.  
 callus, see *albus*.  
 calx, the heel: mulierem ingenuam praegnantem c. percutere, 76. 4.  
 cambeare, cambiare, camiare, campiare, concamiare, to exchange (Fr. *changer*), 37. 1, 2.  
 cambortus, camborta, a hedge-pole (?), 34. 1.  
 camiare, see *cambeare*.  
 camisia, camisa, camicia, (1) a covering, cloth, 41. 2; (2) a shirt, 58. 4.  
 camludius, see *conludium*.  
 campiare, see *cambeare*.  
 campus, (1) a field, 2. 2, 4 (cod. 10 and L. Em.); 27. 8, 23, 22 (cod. 2 etc.), 18 (cod. 6 etc.). (2) a land-mark, boundary, 74. 1.  
 canecreutum, see *anecrenodum*.  
 canis, a dog, 6; 14. 6 (cod. 6 etc.); 33. 4 and 5 (cod. 6 etc.); 81. 3; Sent. S. S. 3.  
 (canon, canones) canones, the canonical laws, Pact. 14 (cod. 2).  
 capalare, see *capulare*.  
 caper, a he-goat, 33. 3 (of cod. B.).  
 capillus, the hair of the head, 76. 2.—Capillaturiae, capillatoriae, the festival on which the hair of boys was cut for the first time, 100.—Capillare, excapillare, excapillare, to disorder the hair, 76. rubr., 1, 3.  
 capitale, neut. and masc., the capital sum, principal (*haubiltgeld* in the fragment of the O.H.G. translation of the Lex Sal.), the equivalent which was to be paid besides the *dilatatura* (q.v.), and the fine, 2. 4; 9. 1, 2, 3; 10. 7 (cod. 6 etc.), etc., etc.

capitula pro lege tenenda. Capit. 12.—Capitulare, *a collection of laws*, Extrav. B. 5.

capolare, cappolare, cappollare, cap-pulare, *see capulare*.

capra, cabra, *a she-goat*, 5; Recap. A. 5.—Capridus, capritus (Prov. cabrit, *a young goat, a lamb-goat*, 5 (codd. B, G, H, and Lex Em.).

captare, cuptare, *to see, look*, 58. 2 (codd. 5 and 6 intus captare; cod. 10 intus casam cuptare, L. Em. intus cuptare, intercaptare).

capulare, capolare, capalare, cappolare, cappollare, capulare, *to cut, cut off, cut up, hew, chop off*, 7. 11 and 12 (cod. 5 etc.); 14 (18. 3 of cod. 7 etc.); 16. 3 (cod. 3 etc.); 24. 4 (codd. 5, 10); 27. 15, 33 (cod. 6 etc.); 29. 2, 3, 11 (cod. 6 etc.); 16 (cod. 6 etc.); 34. 1; 55. 3 (cod. 6 etc.); 84; Sept. C. 2. 6, 3, 6, 4, 5, 5. 5. (2, *to take, catch*, 13. 11 (cod. 10, note; or perh. here for *copulare*).—Concapulare, the same as *capulare*, 27. 15.—Transcapulare, transcapolare, the same, 29. 9 (cod. 5 etc.); Sept. C. 5. 5.

caput, (1) *the head*, 17. 3, 5, etc. (2) *a head of cattle*, 2. 7; 38. 4. (3) = capitale (q.v.), 10. 7 (cod. 6); 27. 4; 40. 4 (cod. 2); 65. 1 (codd. 1, 5 and L. Em.); 75 (cod. 11); 102; Pact. 9.

car, *see carra*.

carere, *to forfeit, lose*, Pact. 2.

caroen, caroenā, caroenno, carouneno, carvenna, charenoua, charoena, charoenna, aroena, haroueno a dat. instrum. of a Frank. derivative from a verb answering to Engl. to harrow, A.S. herewian, herwan, hyrwian, hyrwan, O.H.G. harawan, herwen, etc.), *a harrying, plundering*, 61 rubr.

carpantarius, carpentarius, *a waggon- or carriage-maker*, 10. 3.

carra, carrum, carrus, carus, *a scaggon, cart*, 14. 6 (cod. 6 etc.); cod. 9 has *car*; 27. 8, 10<sup>b</sup>, 12; 34. 2, 4 (codd. 5 and 6; 84; 107 (cod. 10); Sept. C. 3. 4; Sent. S. S. 3.—Caruca, carrua, carruca, carruga, perh. the same as *carra*, or perh. *a plough*, 34. 2 (cod. 3, where = *erpex*, *a harrow*, in the other codd.); 38. 1.—Carrucaricus caballus, *a cart horse*, 38. 1.—Carcare, cargare, carrare, carrigare, = *carro invehere* (Fr. charger, *to convey in a cart*, 27. 10<sup>a</sup> or cod. 10), 13 (codd. 7–9); 84.

—Descarcare, descarrare, discarcare, discare, discarecare, discaregare, discargare, discaricare, discarrare, discurrare, *to unload from a car* (Fr. décharger), 27. 10<sup>b</sup>, 13; Sept. C. 3. 4.

caroenno, *see caroen*.

carrua, carruca, carruga, *see carra*.

carta, for charta, *a writing, document, charter*, c. regis (14. 4, codd. 7–9, B, G, H = *praeceptum*).—c. ingenuitatis, Capit. 11.—auctor legitimus cartae, Capit. 11.—falsare cartam, Capit. 11.—falsa, bona carta, Extrav. B. 3, 4.

caruca, carus, *see carra*.

carvenna, *see caroen*.

casa, *a hut, cottage, house*, 8. 2 (cod. 2 etc.); 11. 1, 2, 3 (cod. 7 etc.); 12. 1; 13. 1 (cod. 2 etc.); 16. 1, 2; 27. 32 (6 etc.); 34. 4; 41. 9 (cod. 2 etc., where there seems to be a confusion between *casa* and *causa*); 43. 3; 46. 2, 5; 50. 3; 52. 1; 56 (cod. 2, 57 etc.); 58. 2; 72. 2; 78. 7.

cassaho, cassatus, *see gasacio*.

castrare, *to castrate*: (1) as the legal punishment of a servus, 12. 2; 25. 7; 40. 4<sup>a</sup> (codd. B–H), 4<sup>c</sup>, 11; Recap. A. 8—(2) an act of violence, crime, 29. 9; 104; Sept. C. 5. 5.

catena, *see centena*.

cathedra, *a chair, a stool*: (1) part of the achasius (q.v.), 72. 2. (2) part of the property which the relatives of a deceased wife had to leave with her husband, 73. 2.

catholica (catolica, chatholica) fides, Procl. 1.

cauallus, *see caballus*.

causa, caussa, (1) *a cause, reason, motive*, 27. 6 (codd. B–H); 32. 1, 3, 4 (cod. 6 etc.); 50. 4 (cod. 3; 76. 7, etc., etc.—2) *a crime, offence, culpa, delictum*, 40. 1; 53. 1<sup>b</sup>, 2, 3, 4; 84; 106, etc.—(3) *a cause in law, a lawsuit*, 41. 97. of codd. 7–9. B–H; 44. 1; 46. 1; 50. 3; 51. 2 (of cod. 10); 57. 1, 3; 77. 2; 78. 9; 99 (cod. 2); 102, etc., etc.—(4) *punishment, a fine, composition*, 7. 2 (cod. 4); 8. 2, 4, 5 (cod. 10 and L. Em.); 10. 2 (cod. 3 and L. Em.); 13. 5; 17. 2; 34. 3 (cod. 10; 38. 4; 44. 10; 55. 2; 58. 3 (cod. 10); 60. 3 (codd. 5 and 6), etc., etc.—(5) *causa for casa*, 16. 1 (codd. 2, 6); 52. 1 (codd. F, G).

causatio, *see gasacio*.

**collegare, collegere, collicare, colligare,**  
**see collocare.**





- concremare, see *cremare*.  
 concubinium, for *contubernium* (q.v.), 42. 1 (cod. 6).  
 concunire, see *cocinare*.  
 condempnare terram, Extrav. A. 2; Tab. rubr. 99 (of cod. 7 etc.). The rubr. and paragr. are, it seems, corrupt, and we must, probably, read with cod. 10 *commendare*. If so, Du Cange's explanation (in v. *condemnare*) of this paragr. cannot be accepted, though he quotes other examples of houses, edifices, etc., being *condemned*.  
 condicere, cundicere alicui, to give notice to anyone = *aliquem admonere*, Pact. 12<sup>1</sup>.  
 condicio, see *conditio*.  
 condignus, worthy: *condigna lectaria*, 72. 2.  
 conditio, *conditio*, wrongly for *condicio*, an agreement, stipulation, 2. 6 (cod. 1); 27. 14 (cod. 1); 78. 4, 5; 101; Extrav. A. 5. 1.  
 conducere se. see *ducere*.  
 confescare, confiscare, see *ficare*.  
 confugere, to flee to for refuge: *confugiens*, *fugiens*, Pact. 14, 15 (where cod. 2 has: *confugium facere*, to flee for refuge).  
 coniacare, coniectare, conlectare, collectare, to put, club together, to contribute money together for compounding, 43. 1, 3.  
 coniugium, marriage, wedlock, of an *ingenuus* and *ancilla aliena*, 13. 9; Capit. 3; Extrav. A. 1, etc., etc.  
 coniurare, coniurator, see *iurare*.  
 conlectare, see *coniacare*.  
 colligere, see *colligere*.  
 concludium (= *colludium*), *concludius*, *ludius*, *ludio*, *camcludius*, a secret, deceptive understanding, collusion, Pact. 9<sup>1</sup>, 10, 12<sup>1</sup> (corrupt *conuidius*).  
 compagenses, persons who belong to the same *pagus*, 63. 1 (cod. 6); hence companions, 63. 1 (cod. 5 *compañiones*, cod. 10 *companiei*). See also *companium*.  
 companionem, see *comp-*.  
 complere, to fulfil, finish: xiv notes, 40. 8; to satisfy: c. *totam legem*, 58. 1 (cod. 1); the other codd. have *implere* or *componere*.  
 comprehendere, (1) to contain, comprise, include: *causa*, *lex superius comprehensa*, see *causa* 4, and *lex*, and *prolium*.—(2) to apprehend, arrest, 40. 5 and 6 (cod. 1 only); Pact. 9<sup>2</sup>.  
 conscisa = *concides* (q.v.).  
 consedere, see *sedere*.  
 consequi, (1) to follow, pursue, 37. 1.—(2) to prosecute in law, 78. 7; cf. 51. 1 (cod. 10).  
 consiliare, see *conciliare*.  
 consilium, concilium, consultation, agreement, consent, 21. 1; 24; 24. 5 and 6 (cod. 2 etc.); 26. 1; 88, etc., etc.  
 consistere, to stop, abide, reside anywhere, 45. 1, 3; 78. 9.—*consistentes*, residents, neighbours (?), 78. 8 (the text is corrupt).  
 consobrina, consubrina, consobrinus, consubrinus, a child of one's brother or sister, a cousin-german, 13. 11 (cod. 6 etc.); 44. 6, 7.  
 consorciare, to divide, share, 40. 10 (of cod. 2).  
 consortium, (1) association, society (unlawful marriage), 13. 11 (cod. 6 etc.).—(2) consorcium, consorcia, a dividing, sharing, 72. 2.  
 constituere, (1) to decide, decree, Pact. 18.—(2) to appoint, revolute: *uigilias constitutae*; ad *uigilias constituti*, Pact. 9; *placitum constitutum*, Extrav. B. 1.  
 consubrina, consubrinus, see *consobrina*.  
 contestare, contestari, see *testare*.  
 continere, (1) to hold, keep together, 34. 1.—(2) to line, cover, 38. 13 (of L. Em.).—(3) to comprise, 50. 3; 52. 1. See *tenere*.  
 contractor, a plaintiff, 78. 7.  
 contradicere, to contradict, gainsay, object, 45. 1; 57. 4 (cod. 6 etc.).—*contradictor*, *interdictor*, one who objects to another settling in the same village, an opponent, forbiddor, 45. 2 (codd. B-H, and L. Em.).  
 contubernium, a troop, company, band, gang, 14. 5, 6, 7 (cod. 6 etc.); 42 rubr. and §§ 1, 3, 4, 5 (cod. 10); 43 rubr., 1 (in these two places wrongly for *conuiuium*), 3; 105; Recap. B. 11, 35 [Corruptions: *concubinium*, 42. 1 (cod. 6); *conturbenium*, *conturberenium*, *conturbernium*, 43. 3].  
 conualescere, cumualescere, to grow strong, get the upper hand, prevail: *insania malorum*, Pact. 1.  
 conuenire, (1) to come together, assemble, 54. 4 (L. Em.).—(2) to agree upon, make terms, stipulate, 25. 2; 40. 2, 11; 44. 1<sup>b</sup>, etc., etc.—(3) see *cocinare*.

- conuicinia = uicinia, *a vicinity, neighbourhood*, Extrav. B. 11.
- conuicium, conuitium, *a wrangling, abuse, reviling*, 30 rubr.
- conuincere, *to convict*, passim.—conuictus, *a culprit*, 43. 1 (two codd. have *conuinctum*, as if from *conuincire*).
- conuiuia, cunuiuia, (1) *a guest, table companion*, 41. 5, 6 (cod. 1 only); Recap. B. 28 (codd. F, G, and Q have in *conuiuia*, in *conuiuia*, as if in *conuiuio*, at a meal or banquet).—(2) *a participant, sharer*, 71.
- conuiuium, *a company, society*, 43 rubr., 1, 2.
- cooperire, coperire, cuperire, cuerire, percooperire, super operire, super coperire, *to cover, cover over*, 41. 4 (of cod. 3 etc.), 4; 72. 2; 73. 2.
- copulare, copolare, cupulare, *to couple, join, bind*: aliquam sibi in coniugium cop., 13. 10; 25. 9; 44. 1 (cod. 1).—cum aliquo in coniugio cop.; se cum aliquo cop., etc., 70, rubr., 1; 71. 1.
- coquinare, see *cocinare*.
- cornu sonare, *was the duty of the Grafo, for the purpose of assembling the neighbours*, 74. 1.
- cors, cortis, curs, curtis (= cohors), *an enclosure, yard, court*, 6. 3 (L. Em.); 7. 11 (cod. 5 etc.), 2 cod. 7 etc. 8; 34. 4 (cod. 2 has nom. *curtis*), 5 (of L. Em.); Recap. A. 30 (in two codd.; the others have *trustis*); Tab. rubr. 56 (of cod. 7 etc.).—curtis wrongly for *furtis*, 12 (rubr. of cod. 7).
- costa: *wounding in the ribs*, 17. 4.
- credere, *to entrust, consign something to anyone*, 40. 4<sup>b</sup>; 46. 2, 3.—aderedere, *the same*, 46. 3 (cod. 6).—credentes, = *fide digni*, 78. 7.
- cremare, *to burn, consume by fire*, 16. 1 (cod. 4).—concremare, 103; Prol. 1 (note m).
- crencrude, crenecruda, crenecruda, crenecurando, crenucruda, see *chrencruda*.
- creubeba (for *chreudeba*), creobebat (for *chreodeba*), chreodiba (for *hrieodiba*), 103, *the burning of a corpse* (from Frank. *chrio*, *hrio*, *a corpse*, and *deba*, *burning*).
- crimen, *a crime, offence*, 18. 2 (cod. 10 etc.); 25. 7; 36; 40. 5, 5 (of cod. 7 etc.), 6, 11; 41. 11 (cod. 6 etc.); 93.—criminalis actio, Prol. 2.
- crinitus, *having long hair or locks*, 25. 1 (cod. 10, and L. Em.), 2, 5 (cod. 2 etc.); 69. 1; Sept. C. 3. 1, 7. 1, 8. 4; Recap. A. 32. See *incrinitus*.
- crinnecruda, see *chrencruda*.
- cromare (?), 73. 2.
- cubitus, cupitum, cobitum, *the elbow*, 20. 3.—usque ad solem cobitum, 50. 2 (in cod. 2), may mean *till sunset*, or it may be a corruption for “usque ad novem solidos debitum.”
- cucinare, see *cocinare*.
- culapus, see *colpus*.
- culcare, see *colocare*.
- culmus, *a stem, stalk*, 34. 3 (cod. 10, and L. Em.). Two codd. have *culmen*.
- culpabilis, assubst., *a criminal*, Pact. 14.
- cultellus, *a knife* (Fr. *couteau*), 7. 13 (cod. 5 etc.).—cultellus sexxandro (for *sexxandro*, gen. plur. of the participle of a Frank. *sexxan* for *sexian*, older *saxian*, to chop, cut grass), *a knife of reapers*, Extrav. A. 4.
- cummunitio, see *commotio*.
- cumponere, for *componere* (q.v.).
- cumsarcire = *sarcire* (q.v.).
- cumualescere, see *conualescere*.
- cuncida, see *conicides*.
- cunlacio (?), 104 (cod. 2).
- cunuiuia, see *conuiuia*.
- cuperire, see *cooperire*.
- cupiditas, *desire, cupidity* (corrupt *chepeiditas*, *cupietas*), Pact. 14.
- cupitum, see *cubitus*.
- cupitare, see *captare*.
- curs, see *cors*.
- cuerire, see *cooperire*.
- cygnus, see *cicenus*.
- cynitus, see *cenitus*.
- Dammum, dampnum, *loss, damage*, 6. 3 (of L. Em.), etc., etc.—dammare, (1) *to condemn, sentence one to any punishment* (=condemnare), 71. (2) *to damage, injure*, Recap. A. 2. See *condemnare*.
- debaptare, debattere, see *battere*.
- debilis, dibilis, dibilius, *mutilated, maimed*, 9. 1—debilitare, *to mutilate, maim*, 29. 1 (cod. 1); 38. 13 cod. 5 etc.).—debilitas, dibelitas, dibilitas, debilitatio, dibilitacio, *a maiming, mutilating*, 29 rubr.
- decem, decim, *ten*, 24. 1; 45. 2; 78. 7.—decenus, decinus, *tenth*, 72. 2.
- decernere, *to determine, decree*, Pact. 1. 9<sup>1</sup>. decernere iudicium, 56. 2 (codd. B, G, H, and L. Em.); Prol. 1, 2.—decretum, decretus, decretio,

- discretio, *a decree*, Pact. 9<sup>1</sup>, 18; Prol. 1 (note *e*).
- decidere, *to c-de* (f), 78. 7 (note *h*).
- decipula, *a trap, springe, noose*, 7. 8 (cod. 10 etc.).
- decodare, see *escorticare*.
1. decorticare, decortigare, decotare, decotegare, ecorticare, excortegare, excorticare, excortigare, scorticare (all forms evidently used to express the Latin *decurtare* or *decurticare*), *to mutilate, curtail*, 65.
2. decorticare, decortigare, *to deprive of the bark* (cortex), *to bark, to peel*, 27. 23 (of cod. 10 and L. Em.; codd. 5 and 6 have *exceruicare*).
- decotare, decotegare; see 1. *decorticare*.
- decretio, decretum, decretus, *a decree*; see *decernere*.
- delucere, see *ducere*.
- de inter, de intra, deinter, de intro, de intus, (1) *from among*, 2. 8. (2) *from within, within*, 11. 4 (cod. 10); 21. 3, 4; Sept. C. 2. 2, 3. 2, 3. So *de infra*, 11. 3 (of codd. B, G, H). See also *de trans*.
- delator, dilator, delador, *an accuser, informer, denouncer*, 30. 7.
- delatura, dilatura, occurs frequently in the Lex Sal., usually in the phrase *excepto capitale et delatura*, cf. 2. 1 (cod. 10 and L. Em.). We find also: *capitale et delaturam requirenti in loco restituere*, 12. 2;—*delaturam, si fuerit, de facultate latronis sarciare*, Pact. 16.—Cod. 10 has a separate titulus (79; cf. Extrav. A. 6) *de delatura*. In the O.H.G. translation of the L. Sal. it is rendered by *wirariû*, gen. *wirdriân*. It seems to mean *that which is given for delay, interest, indemnity for delay* (over and above the *capitale*). Hence the form *dilatura* would be the correct one.
- demandare, see *mandare*.
- demanere, see *manere*.
- demittere, (1) *for dimittere* (q.v.). (2) *demittere*, also written *dimittere*, *to take down, lower*, 41 (74. 1, codd. B-H, cod. 10 and L. Em.), 68.
- denarius, dinarius, dænarius, of frequent occurrence, and always 40 *den.* = 1 *solidus*.
- denominare, see *nominare*.
- denominatim, *by name, specifically*, 46. 4 (cod. 1).
- depignorare, see *pignorare*.
- deportare, (1) see *portare*. (2) see *deputare*.
- deputare, depotare, deportare (in codd. 4 and 6), *to entrust, allot*, 46. 3.
- derumpere, see *rumperere*.
- descarcare, descarrare, see *carra*.
- descendere, discendere (ex caballo), *to come down, descend*, 23 (codd. 6, 6, 10, and L. Em.).
- desolvere, *to pay*; see *solvere*.
- despicere, wrongly *dispicere*, *to disdain, neglect, decline*, 56 (cod. 2: 58, and cod. 10), 1 (of codd. 5, 6, 10), 2; 57. 2 (L. Em.); 106. 6, 7.—*dispectum*, for *despectum*, *disdain, neglect*, Tab. rubr. 56 (codd. 5 and 6).—*despectio*, and wrongly *dispeccio*, *dispectio*, *a despising, contempt*, 56 rubr.
- desponsare, see *sponsare*.
- destringere, see *stringere*.
- (1) destruere (A.S. *strudan*), *to dis-train*, 78. 7. It is the same as *extrudere*, which occurs a few lines lower down. See *strudis* in L. Rib. 32 3, 4.
- (2) destruere, *to destroy*, 55. 3 (of L. Em.); 107. 1 (codd. 1, 2).
- detenere, detinere, see *tenere*.
- detoxitum, see *toxicatus*.
- de trans, *from across*, 39. 3 (cod. 2 etc.).
- detricare, see *tricare*.
- deuda, see *teoda*.
- diaconus, diacon, *a deacon*, 55 (77 of cod 7 etc., rubr., and § 2). Cod. F and the Lex Em. have the accus. *diaconem*.
- dicta, in 78. 1; see *edictus*.
- didus = digitus (q.v.), Sept. C. 1. 6. 7, 2. 3, 3. 5.
- diger: quantum de compositione *diger* est, 58. 4 (codd. 1, 3 and L. Em.: *digerit, detter est, digerre, debet digerere*). The word occurs also in a Ch. A.D. 680, where *diger esse* means *to be deprived of*.
- digitus, (1) *a finger*, 20 rubr. (of cod. 1) and § 1; 29. 6-8.—Secundus digitus, id est unde (quo) sagittatur, 29. 5.—quartus, minimus, or quintus, medianus, medius digitus, 29. 6-8 (of cod. 4 etc.).—(2) minor, minimus digitus (as a measure), 40. 6. See also *didus*.
- dilator, see *delator*.
- dilatura, see *delatura*.
- dimens, probably a mistake for *dormiens*, 61. 2 (cod. 2).

- dimittere, demittere, (1) *to set free, release, emancipate*, 10. 3 (cod. 6 etc.); 26. 1, 2; Capit. 2, 7; Sept. C. 5. 4. (2) *to abandon, forsake*, 41. 8. (3) *to leave behind*: (uiduam) 44. 1; (filios, fratrem, etc.) 59. 1, 2. (4) *to lose*, 45. 2<sup>b</sup>. (5) *to give up, resign*, 72. 2; 73. 2; 101. *directa*: perhaps *right, justice*, lego *directa sic facere*, 78. 7.
- dirigere, *to send* (?), 14. 4 (cod. 10).
- dirumpere, see *rumpere*.
- disalciciatus (class *disalcatus*), *disalcicus*, *disculciatus*, *discaleatus*, *disculcius*, *without shoes, barefooted*, 58. 4.
- discarcare, *discare*, *discarcare*, *discare-gare*, *discargare*, *discarcare*, *discarrare*, *discurrare*, see *corra*.
- disinctus, 58. 4 (cf. Grimm, R.A. 157).
- discretio, *a decree*; see *decernere*.
- disculciatus, *disculcius*, see *disalciciatus*.
- discutere, *to discuss, examine, investigate*, 57. 1.
- dispectio, *dispectio*, *dispectum*, see *despicere*.
- dispendium, (1) *loss, cost*, 78. 7. (2) *delay, payment for delay*, Pact. 16.
- dispicere, for *despicere* (q.v.).
- disponare, *disponare*, see *spendere*.
- dissoluere, see *soluere*.
- distruere, for *destruere*, 2 (q.v.).
- diuersus, *diuers*, 27. rubr.; 33. 1.—per *deuersa*, *diuersa*, Pact. 9<sup>1</sup>; the meaning of this expression is not clear, it seems to signify *often, repeatedly*. It recurs in Pact. 12<sup>1</sup>, with the addition, in cod. 2, of *loca*, meaning perhaps in various, several places or localities.
- docarius, see *ducarius*.
- dolare, *to prepare, fashion, make smooth*, 27. 16.
- domesticus, *domesticus*, (1) *domestic, native*: *aneda*, *anser dom.*, 7. 4; *pomarius* (*arbor dom.*), 7. 11 (cod. 6 etc.); *grus*, *cicinus dom.*, 7. 7 (cod. 6 etc.). See also 33. 2, 3; 36; Extrav. B. 9; Sept. C. 2. 7. (2) = *domitus, tamed*, 3. 0 (cod. Est., L. Em.).
- dominare, (a) *wrongly for nominare*, 46. 4 (cod. 10); (b) *wrongly for donare*, 46. 5 (cod. 3).
- dominiens, *belonging to a lord or master*, 1. 1, 4; 14. 4 (cod. 3); 41. 3; 42. 1, 2; 50; 56; 63. 1, 2; 82; 96; Extrav. A. 6; Sept. C. 1. 1; Recap. A. 30, 31. C.
- dominus, *domnus*, (1) *a proprietor, (a) of slaves*, 10. 2; 12. 2, etc., etc. (b) *of animals, cattle, etc.*, 9. 4 (of cod. 7 etc.); 6 (of codd. B, G, H); 23, etc., etc. (c) *of lifeless things*, 21. 1; 27. 23, 32 (cod. 5 etc.), etc., etc.—(2) *the Lord*, Pact. 16 (codd. 3, 4 etc.); Prol. 2, note b.—(3) *title for a king*, Pact. 1; cf. Recap. A. 30.—*domnus imperator*, Capit. 7.
- domitus, *tamed, subdued*, (said of a cow, by a bull), 3. 6 cod. 5 etc.
- domus, (1) *a house, passim*—(2) *a kind of dome or shrine placed over a dead body*, 55. 7 (of L. Em.).
- dorpilus = *duropalus* (q.v.).
- dos, *a dowry*, 72. 1, 2, 3; 73. 1, 2; 78. 4; 102 (here *dode* and *ducem* are corruptions for *dote*).
- drucht, *druct* (in the instrumental case: *dructe, dructi, dructa, drutha, druchte, druhte, drute*), *a bridal train or company*, 13. 14 (cod. 6 etc.); Sept. C. 6. 7.
- dubitare, *to doubt*, 78. 9; Pact. 5 (cod. 5).—*dubietas, doubt*, Pact. 5.
- ducarius, *ducarius*, *leading*: *scrofa ducaria*, *a leading sow*, in reference to its litter of pigs, 2. 11.
- ducere, (1) *to lead, bring, conduct*, 13. 14 (cod. 6 etc.); 14. 6 (cod. 6 etc.), etc., etc. (2) *to decoy, take away*, 10. 5 (cod. 6 etc.). (3) *to marry*, 73. rubr.—see *ducere* (see *ducere*, see *conducere*), *to appear*, 106. 7, or perhaps = *adducere*. See also *adducere*.—*ducere, deducere, educere*: *se ducere, deducere, educere, adducere*, *to clear one's self from an accusation*, 78. 6, 7. See also 56. 3, 5; 60. 3.
- dulgere, *to disown, forsake, surrender*, 78. 5.
- duropalus, *duropellis, durapellus, durapellus, durbilus, durbillus, duro-pullus, durpilus, dorpilus* (= *D. dorpel*; O. Fris. *dreppel, drepl*, from a Frank. *dur, duru*, Goth. *daur*, *a door*, and *pal* = *D. paal*; O. Fris. *pel*; O.H.G. *phal*, *a pile, pale*; hence), *a threshold*, 58<sup>b</sup>.
- Eborgium, see *herburgium*.
- ebrius, *iberus, hebrus*, *a prop, support for a wall*, 107. 1 (cod. 2 has *wrongly superius*).
- ecclesia, *a church*, 55 (58. 1, L. Em.); 78. 8; Pact. 11. 13–15; Cap. 6, 7.
- ecorticare, see *1 decorticare*.
- edeniare, see *idoneus*.

- edictus, see *aedictus*.  
edoneus, edonius, see *idoneus*.  
educere, see *ducere*.  
effedus, see *fadus*.  
effodere, exfodere, exfudere, fodere, (1) *to dig up*, 14 (15. 1 of cod. 2 etc.); 55. 2. 3 (cod. 2 has wrongly *expodere*); Sept. C. 5. 1; Sent. S. S. 6.—(2) *to scratch out, tear out*, 29. 1 (of cod. 10, note, and L. Em.).  
effrangere, effringere, efringere, effractura, etc., see *frangere*.  
ejicere, *to pluck, tear out*, 29. 1, 10 (of cod. 7 etc.).  
elaborare, see *laborare*.  
eliberare, see *liberare*.  
eligere: sic eligere, 47. 1, a corruption for si cis, or citra Ligere, *if on this side the Loire*.  
elocare, elogare, elocatio, elogatio, see *locare*.  
eloqui, see *loqui*.  
emancadus, see *mancus*.  
embolare, see *inuolare*.  
emendare, *to correct, amend by a payment*, 55 (17, codd. 7-9); Extrav. B. 9.  
emere (perf. subj. *emisit*, codd. 4, 8; infin. perf. *emississe*, cod. 4, *empuisse*, cod. 6), 37. 1, 2.  
emissarius, see *admissarius*.  
eneum, enium, enium, see *aeneum*.  
enunciare, see *nuntiare*.  
episcopus, *a bishop*, 55 (58. 4 of L. Em.); Pact. 14; Sept. C. 8. 5.  
epistola, *a letter*, Extrav. B. 1.  
equus, equa (ablat. plur. *equabus*), aequa, equa, equita, *a horse*, 34. rubr., 3, 5.—*equus*, for *aequus*, 44. 1<sup>b</sup> (codd. 2 and 3).  
erborgium, ereburgium, erinburgium, see *herburgium*.  
ereus, in 13. 3 (of cod. 2), for *fretus* (q.v.).  
erogare, see *rogare*.  
erpex, herpex, herbex, arpex, *a harrow*, 34. 2 (cod. 4 has *spice* aput herbice).  
escamnum, see *scamnum*.  
eschilla, see *schilla*.  
exclusa, see *sclusa*.  
escorticare, escurtare, excoriare, excortare, excorticare, excurtare, scortare, scorticare, scurtare, decodare (for *decaudare* ?), all for *excurtare, to curtail, cut off the tail*, 38. 8 and 3 (cod. 7: 63, etc.).  
escreona, escreuna, see *screona*.  
escutum, see *scutum*.  
esmanatus, see *mancus*.  
espatare = *spatare*, see *spadus*.  
espicarium, see *spicarium*.  
estimare, see *aestimare*.  
estria, see *stria*.  
estrio portio, see *striporcius*.  
etas, etas, see *aetas*.  
euisio dominica, in 82. seems to mean *royal permission, or judgment*, perhaps from a Frank. *éweisung*, law-direction.  
excapillare, excapillare, see *capillus*.  
exceruicare, see 2 *decorticare*.  
excidere, *to cut out, hew down*, 7 (8 of L. Em., 1, 2); 27. 15 (of cod. 6 etc.); 29. 14 (of cod. 6; the other codd. have *excutere*).  
exclausa, exclusa, see *sclusa*.  
excoriare, excortare, see *escorticare*.  
excortegare, see 1 *decorticare*.  
excorticare, (1) see 1 *decorticare*.—(2) see *escorticare*.  
excortigare, see 1 *decorticare*.  
excurtare, see *escorticare*.  
excusare, *to excuse*, 74. 2 (cod. 11; codd. 1 and 2 have *exuere*).—see *excusare*, 96.—*excusatus* (*seruus*), Pact. 15.  
excutere, excuttere, *to tear out, wrench, carry off*, 9. 5; 29. 1, 3, 2 of cod. 7 etc.  
excoere custodias, *to keep, perform watches*, Pact. 9.  
exercitus, exercitiuus, *an army*, Prol. 1.  
exfodere, exfudere, see *effodere*.  
exire, (1) *to go out or forth, escape*, 17. 3; 41. 9.—(2) *to flow, issue out*, 17. 6, 7.—(3) *to leave, depart*, 45. 2.—(4) = *exuere se, to free, clear one's self*, 47. 3.—*exitus, a boundary*, 74. 1.  
expacium, see *spatium*.  
expadare = *spadare*, see *spadus*.  
expalmitare, see *palmitare*.  
expectare, *to wait*, Cap. 5.  
expellis, see *aspellis*.  
expodere, see *effodere*.  
expoliare, exspoliare, spoliare, *to pillage, plunder*, 14. rubr. (of cod. 1 and L. Em.), and §§ 1-3 etc.; 17. 9; 35. 1, 2, 3, etc., etc.—*expoliatio, a plundering*, 14. rubr.; 35. rubr., etc., etc.  
expolium, expolia, see *spolium*.  
expugnare uillam, *to invade*, 42. 5.  
exsoluere, see *soluere*.  
extelarius (for stelarius, the Latin form of a Frank. word, of which the stem was probably *stel, stali*, agreeing with A.S. *staet*, in *staet-hrön*, a decoy reindeer, hence) extelarius ceruus, *a tamed deer*, 33. 3 (of cod. 10, which has also *et telarium*).

- extendere, see *tendere*.  
 extimare, see *aestimare*.  
 extringere, see *stringere*.  
 extrudere, see *destruere*.  
 exuere se, to free one's self from an accusation, 47. 3; 74. 2. See also *exire*.
- Fabaria, fauaria, faba, a bean-field, 27. 6 (of cod. 10), 7.
- faber: faber ferrarius, faber ferracius, a worker in iron, a blacksmith, 10 (35. 6, cod. 1 etc.).
- facultas, (1) goods, property, 46. 2; 58. 1; Pact. 2, 16.—(2) means, power, Extrav. B. 1.
- [faenum, faenilia], see *fenum*.
- faetumiris = *asfatmire* (q.v.).
- faidus, fedus, effodus, feitus, foedus, properly inimicitia (N.H.G. *Fehde*), but here the fine which an injured person obtained, a composition, in contradistinction to *fredus*, 10 (35. 7, codd. 1, 2; cod. 3 has *factus*); Pact. 121.
- fallanire, to conceal (?), 41. 3 (of cod. 3).
- fallire, falire, praeterfallire, praeterfalire, to fail, miss, 17. 1 (cod. 10 has *praeterfallire*), 2.
- falsare cartam, to declare to be false, Capit. 11. — falsator, a falsifier, 30. 2 (of cod. 10).
- farinarius, farenarius, farinaria, a mill, 22. 1 (of codd. B-H), 3 (cod. 6 etc.); 31. 3 (cod. 6 etc.).
- fauaria, see *fabaria*.
- fedus, feitus, see *faidus*.
- feltortus, feltroctus, see *filtortus*.
- femina, femena, foemina, a woman, 13. 7 (codd. 2 and 3 have *puella*), 8 (cod. 1 has *puella*); 20. 1; 24. 2 (of cod. 2), etc., etc.
- fenum, fenum, foenum, hay, 27. 10<sup>b</sup>; Sept. C. 3. 4.—fenilis, fenile, fenille, foenile, a hay-shed (in class. Lat. *faenilia*, plur.), 16. 4.
- fera, a wild animal, 33. 2.—feramen = *fera uenatica*, 81. 3.
- ferbannire, ferrebannire, ferbanare, firbanire, forbannire, forbannare, perbannire (a Latinized Frank. *ferbannan*), to summon legally, 49. 3; 78. 7. [In this sense alone it occurs in the Lex Sal. But the word can also mean, to banish, outlaw, because *bannan* means both to bid and to forbid.]
- ferire, to punish, inflict punishment: capitali sententia, 40. 5; f. canonibus, Pact. 14 (cod. 2).
- ferracius, belonging to iron, see *faber*.
- ferramentum, (1) = ferrum, 17. 7.—(2) an iron instrument, belonging to a mill, 22. 2 (cod. 6 etc.).
- ferrarius, belonging to iron, see *faber*.
- ferrebannire, see *ferbannire*.
- festare, for *uastare* (q.v.).
- festuca, fistuca, fistuga, fistucum, a rod or stick, used in certain legal proceedings, 46. 1-6; 50. 3; 78. 6, 7.
- fideiussor, a bail, surety, 50. 2 (L. Em.), 3 (L. Em.); 106. 10; Extrav. B. 1, 2, 6.
- fides, good faith, Pact. 16.—fidem facere, to pledge one's faith; fides facta, 50. rubr., 1-3; 51. 1; 52. c, etc., etc.—fidem accipere, fidem dare, 50. 1 (cod. 10), etc., etc.—catholica fides, Prol. 1.
- fidrus, see *fretus*.
- filtortus, feltortus, feltroctus [a Latinized Frankish *fir*, *fürterhit*, *fertrecht*, from *torcian*, to draw, hence], an appeal, the producing of a warrant, 47. rubr., and Tab. rubr., 47 (where cod. 8 has *filtortus*). See also Brunner, *Rechtsgeschichte*, ii, 508.
- firbanire, see *ferbannire*.
- firmamentum, a pile or prop, 107. 1.
- fiscalinus, fiscalis, see *fiscus*.
- fiscare, confiscare, confiscare, infiscare, to distrain, seize by law, 51. 1 (cod. 10, note), 2 (cod. 2 etc.).
- fiscus, the public chest, state treasury, 44. 10 (cod. 3 has *fiscus*); 56. 6; 60. 3; 62. 2; 70. 1, 2 (cod. 11 has here *filius*, but evidently wrongly); 71. 1; 72. 1, 3; Pact. 11 (cod. 1 has here *fiscalinis*, as if an ablat. plur. of *fiscalinus*, a servant of the state treasury).—*fiscalis* [either an adj., belonging to domus, and so] = fiscal house, or [a subst.] a servant of the state treasury.
- fistuca, fistuga, fistucum, see *festuca*.
- flagellare, to whip, scourge, 35. 4 (of cod. 10); Recap. B. 5.—flagellus (i.e. ictus flagelli), 12. 1.—ictus flagellorum, 25. 8 (cod. 1); 40. 1, 11; Pact. 6.
- flagitatus, wrongly for *plagiatus*; 39. 2 (of cod. 4).
- fletum, for *fretus* (q.v.).
- fodere, see *effodere*.
- foedus, see *faidus*.
- foemina, see *femina*.
- foenum, foenile, see *fenum*.
- forbannare, forbannire, see *ferbannire*.



fortuna, furtuna, *property, possession, fortune*, 45. 2<sup>b</sup>; 46. 1, 3-6; 50. 3. fouea, *a pit*, 98 (cod. 11; cod. 1 has *uopida*, q.v.).  
 fractura, see *frangere*.  
 Francus, *the Frank*, 14. 3; 25. 5 (in codd. 5, 6, 10 and L. Em.); 32. 3 (cod. 6 etc.), etc., etc.—homo francus, 38. 2 (cod. 6 etc.), etc.—homo ingenuus siue Francus, 40. 3 (of cod. 10).—ingenuus homo Francus, 40. 8 (of cod. 10).—ingenuus Francus, 41. 1.—reges Francorum, Pact. 1 (cod. 3).—Francorum gens, Prol. 1.—Francus salecus, saligus, 14. 2.  
 frangere, effringere, efringere, effrangere, infrangere, infringere, *to break in pieces, destroy*, 11. 3 (cod. 10 and L. Em.), 5, 6; 14. 6 (cod. 6 etc.); Sent. S. S. 3; 27. 21, 22; 42. 4 (of cod. 10); 91.—fractura, efractura, infractura, *a fracturing, breaking open*, 11. rubr., 3, 4 (codd. 5 and 6), 6 (codd. 5, 6, 10 and L. Em.); 12. rubr.; 27. 22<sup>b</sup> (of cod. 6 etc.).  
 franne, see *chranne*.  
 freda, fredo, fredus, see *fretus*.  
 fretus, fritus, fredus, freda, fridus, fredo, properly *pax*, by extension *the fine imposed for the breaking of the peace*, 10 (35. 7, cod. 1 etc.); 13. 6 (cod. 2 has *ereus*; cod. 4 *furban*); 24. 5; 50. 3 (cod. 3 has *fletum*); 53. 2, 4, 6 (cod. 7 has *fidrus*), 6 (cod. 6 etc.); Pact. 12<sup>1</sup>, 16; Capit. 5. Cf. *faidus*.  
 fridus, see *fretus*.  
 fristatito, fristati-o, fristito, fristratrito, [from a verb *frasitian*, *frasittan*, or *frasitan* (= A.S. *forsttan*), *to neglect, condemn*: hence] *de milio or micio* (for *uicio*) *fristito*, etc., in tit. 66, and Prol. 4=*of opposition or contempt of the law*. (See Brunner, in *Juristische Abhandl., Festgabe für Geo. Beseler*, p. 22.)  
 fritus, see *fretus*.  
 fructus: ipsum *fructum*, probably for *furtum, stolen good*, 27. 10<sup>b</sup> (codd. B, F).  
 fugere, see *confugere*.  
 furare (mostly), furari (seldom), *to steal*, 2-8; 10; 21; 22; 27; 33; 34; 38; 39 (66. 1 of cod. 7 etc.); 68. rubr.; cf. 47. 1 (codd. 7, 8, B, H).  
 furban=fretus (q.v.), in 13. 5 (of cod. 6).

furca, *a gibbet*, 41 (74 of cod. 7 etc.); 67; 68; 107. 2, 3. In other places of the Lex also called *barcus, bargus* (q.v.), or *palus* (q.v.).  
 furtiuare, *to appropriate certain things illegally*, 90.  
 furtum, (1) *theft*, 2-8 etc., etc. (2) *stolen goods*, 11. 5 (codd. 1 and 4); 27. 10<sup>b</sup>, etc., etc.—in furtum, *stealthily, secretly*, 28; Sept. C. 4. 6.  
 furtuna, see *fortuna*.  
 fustis (abl. fuste), fustus, (1) *a stick, cudgel*, 17. 6.—fustis alninus, salicinus, 60. 1 (cod. 4 has acc. plur. *fustos*).—(2) *timber*, 27. 33 (codd. 6 and 10).  
 Galina, gallina, *a hen*, 7. 6 (cod. 5 etc.).—gallus, *a cock*, 7. 5 (cod. 5 etc.).  
 gamallus, chamallus, hamallus, amallatus, amallus, ammallus, rhamallus, (from a Frankish *gamall, chamall*), *one who has the same forum or tribunal with another, a person with whom one has a plea*, 47. 4.—ghalmalta, chamalta, gauialto, gamalta (in 106 rubr. (of cod. 11) and § 7), a femin. subst., *the act of calling one to the mallus*.  
 garafio, see *grafio*.  
 gasacio, gasacchio, gasachius, gasachius, gasacchus, iaiacius, gasacius, gasatius, gasatio, gasationus, gasacchio, gasacio, gasaccionus, cassatius, cassaho, causatio (= A.S. *gesaca*), *an adversary, rival*, 50. 2; 51. 1 (cod. 7 etc.); 57. 1 (cod. 7 etc.).  
 gauialto, see *gamallus*.  
 genealogia paterna, *paternal generation, family, stock*, Extrav. B. 2.  
 generare, (1) *to beget*, Capit. 6.—(2) *to cause, produce*, 78. 2.—generatio, *a family, stock*, 58. 3, 4; 59. 4; 62. 1; 101.—genus, *a family, stock*, 44. 6; 59. 4 (cod. 6 etc.).—genitor, *a parent, father*, 78. 10.  
 genicium, genitium, geniceum = gynaeceum, *the part of the house where the women dwell*, 76. 11.  
 geniculum, genucolum, genuculum, *a degree of kindred*, 44. 9, 10.  
 germanitas, brotherhood, Pact. 16.—germanus: germani fratres, Pact. 16.—germanus senior, Epil. 1, 2.  
 ghalmalta, gamalta, see *gamallus*.  
 gladius, *a sword*, Recap. A. 20.  
 glenare, glennare, *to glean* (Fr. *glaner*), 88.  
 grafio, graphio, garafio, grauio,

- grafionus, graffio, *a royal officer, a count*, 32. 5 (cod. 6 etc.); 45. 2<sup>b</sup>; 50. 3, 4; 51. rubr., 1, 2 (cod. B has here *grafuio*), 2 (cod. 2 etc.); 53. 2, 4, 6, 6 (cod. 6 etc.); 54. rubr., 1, 2, 4; 56 (n8 of codd. 2 and 10); 72. 1; 74. 1; 78. 7; 92; Sept. C. 6. 6, 7, 4, 8. 2; Recap. B. 30.
- gravidus, grauedus, grauis, *pregnant*, 24. 3, 4<sup>a</sup> (L. Em.); Extrav. A. 5; Recap. B. 32.
- grex, *a herd, troop*, 2. 14; 3. 4; 38. 3, 4.
- grius, see *grua*.
- grossitudo, *thickness, size*, 40. 4 (of cod. 10 etc.).
- grua, grugis, grus, grius, *a crane* (Fr. *grue*, Ital. *gru*, *grua*), 7. 7 (cod. 5 etc.).
- guact (D. and Germ. *wacht*) = *vigilia, a watch*, Pact. 9<sup>1</sup> (cod. 2, written *qua* et).
- gueltrus, see *ueltrus*.
- guuargare, see *uuargare*.
- Habundare, habundire, see *abbundire*.
- hacceptor, for *acceptor*, see *accipiter*.
- hacesius, see *achasius*.
- hacfamirem, see *acfatmire*.
- hachramire, see *achramire*.
- haeres, see *heres*.
- haeresis, heresis, heresa, *heresy*, Prol. 1.
- hallus, see *albus*.
- hamallus, see *gamallus*.
- hebrus, see *ebrius*.
- herba, *grass, herbage*, Extrav. B. 9, 11.—*herbae, a poisoned potion*, 19. rubr., 1, 2, 3 (of cod. 7 etc.); Sept. C. 6. 2; Sent. S.S. 4.
- herbex, see *erpez*.
- herburgium, chereburgium, cherrenburgium, cheruoburgum, eborgium, ereburgium, erborgium, erinburgium, herborgium, herbugium, hereburgium, hereburga, hereburgium, herburium, recemburgium, *a devil-supporter, a harbourer of fiends*, 64. rubr., 1 and Tab. rubr.
- heres, haeres, *an heir*, 13. 11 (cod. 6 etc.); 46. 3, 4, 6; 60. 3 (L. Em.); Capit. 3.—*hereditas, haereditas, an inheritance*, 44. 8, 9; 59; 60. 1-3; 78. 1; Capit. 3, 5; Extrav. B. 7, 8.
- heresis, see *haeresis*.
- herpex, see *erpez*.
- hictus, see *ictus*.
- hineum, hinium, hinnum, see *aeneum*.
- hoculus, see *oculus*.
- homicida, (1) *a murderer, homicide*, 35. 5; 74. 1; Capit. 7.—(2) *homicida, humicida, homicidium, homicidia, either a homicide or a composition for homicide*, 35. 1.
- homicidium, humicidium, *murder*, 15; 24; 35; 41; 42; 43; 58. 6; 62; 74. 1.
- homo, (1) *a man, in general*, 14. 6 (cod. 6); 19. rubr. (cod. 3), etc., etc.—(2) *one who discharged certain functions in a judicial process*, 46. 1, 4, 6, etc., etc.—*homo ingenuus*, see *ingenuus*.—*homo Romanus*, 14. 2 etc.—*Romanus homo possessor*, 41. 6.—*homo francus*, 38. 2 (cod. 6 etc.).—*homo ministerialis, de ministerio, an officer of some kind*, Recap. B. 13, 17.—*homo tributarius*, Recap. B. 16, 20.—*homo artifex*, Recap. B. 23, 24.
- honocolatus, for *anniculus*, see *anniculus*.
- hortus, and frequently *ortus, a garden*, 7. 12 (cod. 5 etc.); 27. 6, 9 (cod. 6 etc.), 11 (cod. 6 etc.); 91.
- hospes, *a guest, friend*, 46. 2, 5.—*hospitium, ospicium, lodging, hospitality*, 14. 7 (of cod. 10 etc.); 55. 2 (cod. 3; codd. 1, 5, 6 and L. Em. have *hospitalitas*; cod. 4 *hospitalen* [acc.]; cod. 10 *hospitale*; cod. S *hospitaltem*); 56. 6 (same variations); 70. 2; 106. 9, here codd. 1, 11 have *hospitales, hospitalen*.
- hostare, see *ostare*.
- hostis, ostis, *an army*, 26. 1 (cod. 5 etc.); 30. 6 (of L. Em.); 63; 102; Sept. C. 8. 1; Recap. A. 22, 27, 28; Recap. B. 24.
- hostium, see *ostium*.
- hramne, branne, see *chronne*.
- humicida, humicidium, see *homo*.
- hustium, see *ostium*.
- Iacere, see *subiacere*.
- iactare, iectare, *to cast, throw*, 27. 18 (cod. 6; cod. 9 has *iestare*); 30. 6; 41. 9; 98, etc., etc.
- iactius, iacthius, iectius, iectatus, adiactius, adiaethius, abiectius, adiaethius, adiaethius, adiectius, adiaethius = *mallatus, admallatus, i.e. an adversary summoned by a plaintiff before a court of justice*, 50. 3; 51. 1; Sept. C. 6. 6. Cf. *iectus*.
- inctus, for *ictus* (q.v.).
- iaicius, see *gasacio*.



- iberus, see *ebrius*.  
 ictus, (1) *a stroke*: ictus flagelli, 12. 1; 25. 8, 9 (L. Em.); 40. 1, 3, 4<sup>c</sup>, 11; Pact. 6.—(2) *a blow, stab, thrust*, 17. 1 (L. Em.), 6, 8; 29. 6. (The forms *iectus*, *hiectus*, *iactus*, even *stus* [cod. 2, in 17. 6, 8] occur.)  
 idoneus, idoneus, edoneus, edonius, *fit, proper*, 39. 3 (cod. 5 etc.); 50. 3; 102. 2 (cod. 11); 106. 3, 6, 7.—*idoniter, properly*, 47. 2 (cod. 2 etc.).—se idoneare, idoniare, edeniare, aedomare (for *aedoniare*), *to make one's self worthy, to purge one's self from suspicion or liability*, 74. 3; Extrav. B. 2.  
 iectare, see *iactare*.  
 iectus, (1) *a fine, mulct*, for neglect to appear in justice when summoned, Extrav. B. 1; cf. *ibid.* 6 and tit. 78. 7 (note m). Cf. *iactius*.—(2) = *ictus* (q.v.).  
 ignis, *fire*: ad ignem tradere, 19. 1 (cod. 2). See also 103; Prol. 1; Recap. B. 33.—ignem calefacere, 106. 6 (cod. 1, while the other codd. have *aeneum*); in 106. 7 *igneum* stands for *aeneum*, and in Pact. 4, cod. 1 has: manum ad ignem incendere, but the others *aeneum*.  
 imbulare, see *inuolare*.  
 imperator, Capit. 7, 12.  
 impotere, see *putare*.  
 impotus, inpotus, impodus, *a shoot, slip, graft*, 27. 8 (cod. 5 etc.); cod. 6 has *inmetus*), from a verb *impoton*, *impetan*, to insert; cf. Engl. *to imp*, Germ. *impfen*.  
 impropere, *to reproach, taunt*, 30. 6.  
 imputare, see *putare*.  
 incidere, *to set fire to*, 16. 1–4, 5 (here cod. 2 has *inciderit*); 27. 15 (cod. 2 has *inciderit*), etc., etc.  
 incidere, *to cut into*, 29. 6, 8. Wrongly (?) for *incendere* (q.v.).  
 inclaudere, includere, see *elaudere*.  
 incrinatus, *without long hair or locks*, 24. 1 (L. Em.); Recap. A. 32. See *crinitus*.  
 inrocicare, inrogare, *to hang up, fasten by a hook*, 67.  
 inculpare, *to accuse, inculpate, impute, implicate*, 40. rubr., 1 (cod. 5 etc.), 5, 5 (of cod. 7 etc.), 11 (cod. 3 etc.); 42. 3; 43. 2; 48. 2; 93; 94; Pact. 4, 5, 8, 10, 11.  
 indomare, see *intimare*.  
 ineum, see *aeneum*.  
 infestor, for *infertor*, *one who serves up dishes*, 10. 6 (of cod. 10).  
 infiscare, see *fiscare*.  
 infra, *of time, within, not later than*, 44. 10<sup>a</sup>.  
 infractura, infrangere, infringere, see *frangere*.  
 ingenuus, *free-born*: homo ingenuus, or sometimes *ingenuus* used as subst., a *free-born person*, 10. 2, 5 (cod. 6 etc.); 14. 1, 5 (15 of cod. 7).—baro ingenuus, 31. 1.—ingenuus Romanus, 39. 6 (of cod. 2).—ingenuus homo Francus, 40. 8 (of cod. 10).—ingenuus Francus, 41. 1.—ingenua persona, Pact. 2.—ingenua puella, 13, etc., etc. It sometimes simply means *free*, 10. 3 (of cod. 5 etc.); 26.—ingenuitas, *the condition of a free-born man*, 13. 8; Capit. 2.  
 inhumare, *to bury in the ground*, Tab. rubr. 19 (of codd. H, B, G).  
 inium, see *aeneum*.  
 inlesus, for *illaesus*, *unharméd*, Extrav. B. 2.  
 immanitas, for *immanitas*, *vastness*, Pact. 1.  
 inmetus, inpotus, see *impotus*.  
 inputare, see *putare*.  
 inripare (a formation, probably to translate a Frankish *anripan*, or *andripan*), *to reap unlawfully*, 27. 6 (of cod. 6). See *reffare*.  
 instemare, see *aestimare*.  
 instringere, see *stringere*.  
 interanea = *intrantra* (q.v.).  
 intercettare, see *captare*.  
 interciperé, *to kill, murder*, 28. 2 (of cod. 10).  
 interdictum, intradictum, (1) *opposition, protest*, 45. 2.—(2) *interdiction, inhibition*, Pact. 1.—interdictor, *one who opposes, a protestor*, 45. 2; see *contradicere*.  
 interpellare, (1) *to accost, speak to*, Capit. 5, 9.—(2) *to accuse*, 40 rubr., 1 (of L. Em.).  
 interranea, see *intrantra*.  
 intertiare, interciare, *to put into a third party's hands*, 47. rubr., and § 1 (of L. Em.); 99.  
 intestatus, *one who has made no will, intestate*, in Tab. rubr. of codd. H, B, G. 59.  
 intimare, intemare (corrupt *indomare*), *to order, intimate*, 6. 2 (cod. 2 etc.); 7. 2 (cod. 4); 13. 5 (of codd. 5 and 6); 17. 2; 38. 4.  
 intomare, see *aestimare*.  
 intrania, interranea, intranea, interanea, *the entrails*, 17. 4.  
 intrare, introire, *to enter*, 17. 4;

27. 7. 20 (of cod. 10); 58. 2; Extrav. B. 10.  
 inuadere, *to invade*, 42. 5; Sept. C. 4. 4.—*inuasor*, *an invader, intruder*, Capit. 9.  
 inuictu stricto, inuitu stricto, inuitus tritto, [probably for a Frankish *uuita* (=uuitu, uuittu) *stricto* (i.e. *strichto*), *stritto* (for *strihto*)], *the striking off of a head-gear*, Extrav. A. 3.  
 inuolare, *inuiolare*, *to seize, carry off*, 2. 14 (cod. 3), 15, 16; 3. 7, etc., etc.—*inbulare* (found exclusively in cod. 1), *the same*, 2. 7, 9, 15, 16; 5. 2; 6. 1; 27. 3.—*embolare*, *the same*, 81. 1.  
 iscreona, *see acreona*.  
 iscrofa, *see scroba*.  
 ispalmitare, *see palmitare*.  
 isparuarus, isperuarus, *see speruarus*.  
 ispicarium, *see spicarium*.  
 isponsa, *see sponsa*.  
 istrator, *see strator*.  
 iudex, *a judge*, 14. 7 (of cod. 10 and L. Em.); 41. 1 and 2 (of cod. 7 etc., 74); 50. 2 (of L. Em.), etc., etc.—*iudex*, *hoc est comis aut grafio*, 72. 1; 74. 1, 2.  
 iumentum, *a beast of burden*, 9. 2 (cod. 5 etc.); 10. 1, etc., etc.—*iumenta*, 38. 9 (cod. 6).  
 iuramentum, *an oath*, 60. 1; 78. 5.  
 iurare, *to take an oath*, 39. 3 (of cod. 2 etc.); 48. 3 (cod. 3), etc., etc.—*coniurare*, *to swear together, to unite together under an oath*, 56. 4 (L. Em.).—*coniuratores*, *persons who swear together, compurgators*, 48. 2 (cod. 10 and L. Em.).—*perjurare* (see p.), *to forswear*, 48. 2, 2 (cod. 7 etc., 82); 1 (cod. 7 etc. 83); 93.—*periurus*, *a perjurer*; *periurium*, *perjury*, 48. rubr. (of codd. 8, 83). 3 (of cod. 10 and L. Em., cod. V).  
 iurator, *one who swears, a compurgator*, 14. 2 (of cod. 2), 3 (of cod. 2); 16. 3 (of cod. 2), etc., etc.  
 iussio, *an order, command*, 1. 4 (cod. 4, note of cod. 10 and L. Em.).  
 Kella, for *skella*, *see schilla*.  
 Labor, (1) *field-, garden-labour*, 27. 20 (of L. Em.).—(2) *cultivated land or gardens*, 9. 6 (of cod. 10), 8 (cod. 2 etc.); 34. 1.—*laborare*, *elaborare*, *to work, cultivate*, 45. 2<sup>b</sup>.  
 lacina, lacine, lacinia, etc., *see latina*.  
 laedere, ledere, *to wound, injure, damage*, 9. 1 (cod. 10); 36 (rubr. of cod. 10).  
 laeius, laesus, *see laisus*.  
 laetus, *see leto*.  
 lauespita, leuerpita, *a corrupt pret. part. of a Latinized laeswerpire, from a Frankish laeswerpian (a denominative from laeswerp, a throwing into the leis or les), to throw into the laesum. Hence causa laeswerpita, etc., in 77, a cause transferred. See laisus*.  
 laicina, *see latina*.  
 laisus, lesus, lēsus, lesius, laesus, laisa, laeius, lisus, laisius, leisus, lausus (from a Frankish *les, lēs, leisi*, etc.), *a skirt, lap, bosom*, 46. 1–6. Cf. *lauespita*.  
 lassare, adlassare, allassare, *to tire, worry*, 33. 4 (cod. 5 etc.).—*lassus*, *tired, exhausted*, *ibid*.  
 latina, latiniae, latinia, wrongly lacina, lacine, lacinia, lacinea, lacinei, lacinie, laicina, lazina, alacinia (for a Frank. *latini*, *latine*, stem *latinia* = Goth. *lateins*, the nom. act. of *latian*, O.S. *lettian*, D. *letten*, Goth. *latjan*, *to impede*), the impeding, obstructing, hence *uias latini* (in 14. 4 L. Em. See also cod. 6 etc., and 31 rubr., cf. also the Malb. glosses in §§ 1–3; Sept. C. 1. 5), probably = Frank. *wege-*, *wege-* or *wei-* *latini* (latine), *an impeding, obstructing of the way*.  
 latro, *a robber, bandit*, 47. 3; Pact. 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17.—*latrocinus*, *latrocinium*, *latronicium*, *latronitius*, *robbery, freebooting*, 47. 3; Pact. 1.  
 latus, *a side*: de latus curte, *by the side of, outside*, 7. 11 (cod. 5; cod. 10 has *latus curte*).  
 laudis, *see leodis*.  
 lausus, *see laisus*.  
 lazina, *see latina*.  
 lebus, *see lepus*.  
 lectaria, lectarium, either *a bedstead* or *a coverlet*; it was (1) a part of the *achasius* (q.v.), 72. 2. (2) a part of the property which the relatives of the deceased wite had to leave to the husband, 73. 2.  
 lectus, (1) *a bed*, 72. 2.—(2) perhaps for *tectus* (q.v.), 78. 7 (cf. *ibid.*, note m).  
 ledard, leodard, leodardae, leodardæ, etc., etc., occurs frequently in the Lex, but un-Latinized, as a Frankish

- term used in the court of justice; it means man-worth, just like M.L. Germ. *luidwerde*, O. Fris. *ludwerdene*, *liodwerdene*, *liudwed*; Rip. Frank. *cineverdunia*, but became in course of time to signify an indemnity, satisfaction, amends, for any offence amounting to 600 denarii or 15 solidi. It is sometimes contracted to *lede*, *leod*, *leud*, *leuō*, though these latter forms occasionally stand for *leodi*, the *weregeld*.
- ledere, see *laedere*.
- ledi, see *leodis*.
- ledus, see *leto*.
- legadarius for *legatarius*, an ambassador, Sept. C. 8. 6.
- legamen, legare, see *ligamen*.
- leisus, see *laisus*.
- lenticularia, lenticularia, lenticularia, lenticularia, lenticularia, lenticularia, lenticularia, a *lenticul-field*, 27. 6 (of cod. 10), 7.
- leodis, leudis, laudis, (1) the *weregeld*, composition for the murder of a person, 16. 1; 35. 5 (cod. 7 etc.); 36 (cod. 7 etc.); 41. 12 (of cod. 10 etc.), 16 (of cod. 10 etc.); 53. 4 (codd. 1-4), 6 (of cod. 1 etc.), 6 (cod. 6 etc.); 101; 106. 6, 7; Capit. 7.—(2) homicide, the murder of a leodis, 53. 5. It frequently occurs with the same meaning, but in the un-Latinized Frankish forms: *leode*, *ledi*, *leodem*, *leodi*, *leodo*, etc., etc.
- leodes, leodis, man, people, 78. 2, 3.
- leporarius, of or belonging to a hare: 1. ueltris, 6. 2 (of L. Em.).
- lepus, lebus, lepra, lepris, a term of abuse, 30. 4, 5; Recap. B. 9.
- lesius, lesus, læsus, see *laisus*.
- leto, letu, litu, corrupted *lexim*, and Latinized litus, ledus, letus, laetus, lidus, litis, a litus, or letus, a serf, 13. 7; 26. 1; 35. 4, 5; 42. 4; 50. 1; 97. 2; Pact. 8; Sept. C. 5. 4; Recap. A. 27 (here two codd. have *litum seruum*), 30; Recap. B. 36.—*lita*, *lida*, 13. 10 (of cod. 6 etc.); 72. 3; 76. 9 (here cod. 11 has *litas* corr. to *lites*).
- leuare, to raise, lift up, 74. 1.—messis postquam leuauit, 34. 2.
- leudis, see *leodis*.
- leuerpita, see *laeuerspita*.
- lex, the law, (1) in general: leges dominicae, 1. 1; Sept. C. 1. 1. (2) special references to particular provisions of the Lex Salica, 2. 9 (of codd. 7-9); 7. 3 (of cod. 10 etc. 8); 33. 1<sup>b</sup>, etc., etc.
- lex Salica, the *Salic Law*, 1 rubr.; lege Salica (legem Salicam) uiuere, to live under, or according to the *Salic Law*, 41. 1. Also the formulae: in hoc quod lex Salica habet, est, ait, continet, 45. 2; 50. 2, 3, etc., etc.
- liber, free, 50. 1 (in codd. F, G, H; the other codd. have all *litus*, *letus*; cf. *libertus* in some codd. for *litus*, 26); Extrav. B. 1.—liberare, (1) to save (things from a burning house), 96; Recap. A. 11. (2) se liberare, eliberare, to free one's self, 99. Cf. *liberare*, Pact. 5.
- libertus, one who has been freed, or emancipated, 26. rubr., and also in § 1 (of codd. 9 and B, H; but here wrongly for *litus*, *letus*, as in the other codd., and in the second part of § 1, codd. 9 and B-H have also *litus*, *letus*); 79 rubr., 1; 86; 92; Extrav. A. 6. 2.—liberta, 92.
- licentia, licencia, license, freedom, 45. 1 (cod. 2 has *licencia*); 54. 4 (cod. 10), etc., etc.
- lidus, see *leto*.
- ligamen, legamen, a tie, bandage, 6. 2 (cod. 2 etc.); 32. rubr.—ligare, legare, to bind, 6. 3 (of L. Em.), etc., etc.—ligatura, a band, *ligature*, 19. 4 (cod. 10 etc.).
- lignum, wood, firewood, 27. 12 (of cod. 10 etc.), 17.—lignarius, a pile of wood, 84.
- liminare, limitare, limitari, luminare, lumine, the sill of a house, 58. 2.
- lenticularia, see *lenticularia*.
- linum, flax, 27. 8.
- lisus, see *laisus*.
- litis, litu, litus, see *leto*.
- locare, elocare, aelocare, elegare, to hire anyone for doing something, 28. 1, 2, 1 (of cod. 10); 55. 6 (of L. Em.); Sept. C. 4. 6.—locatio, locacio, elocatio, elegacio, elegatio, a hiring, contracting, 28 rubr., 3.
- locus, (a) a place, locality, domain, country, 19. 4 (of cod. 10 etc.); 34. 4 (codd. B-H); 45. 2<sup>b</sup>; 50. 3; 74<sup>1</sup>; 103; 105; Pact. 14.—(b) a place or passage in the Lex Salica, Recap. A. pass.—(c) in locum, adverbially, in the place of, instead of, 9. 1, 2, 3; 12. 2, etc., etc.
- loqui, eloqui, loquere, to speak, 29. 16 (cod. 6 etc.).
- luminare, see *liminare*.

- Machalum, madrolum, maffum, mafolum, amachallum, magalum, mahalum, maholum, maolum, maufalum, maufolum, mauolum, moalum, moffolum, *a barn, corn-house, shed*, 16. 3, and Tab. rubr.
- magalis, magellus, see *maiale*.
- magalum, see *machalum*.
- magister, said of a dog, for doctus, *trained*, 6. 1, 2.
- magnificentissimi uiri, *a title of the optimates*, in the Frankish kingdom, 78. 1.
- mahalum, maholum, see *machalum*.
- maiale, maialis, maialus, magalis, magellus, *a gelded boar, a barrow-hog*: maialis uotiusus, sacrius, and non-uotiusus, *a rotive boar*, 2. 12, 13; Recap. B. 15.
- maior, (1) *a chief bondman, the chief of the manservants of a household*, 10. 6 (of cod. 10).—(2) *maior natu, a chief officer in the Frankish empire*, Pact. 1 (cod. 3).
- maiorissa, *the chief of the maid-servants of a household*, 10. 7 (of cod. 10).
- mala barginam (?), 102 (cod. 11).
- malare, see *mallare*.
- malaria, see *mlarius*.
- malber., in 2. 6 (of cod. 10): malberg, 16. 1 (cod. 10). In these two instances we find more fully expressed what is otherwise throughout the Lex indicated by *mal*, or *ma?*, or *ma?*. It is Latinized: mallobergus, mallubergus, 46. 6; malbergus, mallebergus, mallibergus, mallobergus, mallosbergus, 54. 4; mallibergus, malloburgus, 56. 3; mallebergus, 57. 1 (cod. 3 has here *bergo in mallo*, instead of in *malloberg*); malebergus, malloburgus, 106. 1, 7. It everywhere means *mallus*, or *mallus publicus legitimus*, *a forum, court of justice*, and *berg*, the hill where the court was held.
- mal-ficium, malificium, *hurt, harm, injury*, 19 rubr., 1, 2, 3, (cod. 5 etc.), 4 (cod. 6 etc.).
- malicia, malitia, *malice, spite*, in Tab. rubr., 47 of codd. H, B, G.
- mallare, malare (from the Frankish *mallan*, to call, bring, summon before the mallus or public, judicial assembly, 16. 1; 41. 9 (cod. 7 etc.); 50. 2; 52. 1; 53. 1, 5; 56. 1 (of codd. 2 and 10); 5; 77; 78. 7, 9; 102. 2 (cod. 11); 106. 2; Extrav. B. 1, 2, 10, 12; Sept. C. 6. 6.—*admallare, the same*, 50. 2 (cod. 7 etc.), 3; 51. 1; 52. 1; 53. 1, 5; 56. 5; 60. 1 (cod. 10 for *ambulare*); 74. 1; 78. 8; 106 pass.; Extrav. A. 2 (cod. 10), B. 2 (*ammallare*).—*obmallare, obmalare, the same*, 35. 5 (cod. 5 etc.); Capit. 7. 6.—*mallatus, admallatus, summoned*, 51. 1; Sept. C. 5. 6.—*mallatio, a summoning, summons*, Extrav. B. 1.—*mallator, one who summons, a plaintiff*, Extrav. B. 1, 2.
- mallebergus, mallebergus, mallibergus, malloburgus, mallobergus, malloburgus, see *malber*.
- mallus, malus, *a public, judicial assembly, a forum (=malberg, see malber)*, 1. 1; 14. 4; 39. 2 (cod. 2 etc.), 3; 46. 1, 3; 47. 4, etc., etc.
- malus, *bad, wicked*, 34. 4; 78. 7, 9, 10.—*As subst. a criminal*, Pact. 1.—*male, badly*, 75 etc.
- mamilla, mamella, mammilla, *a breast*, 20. 4 (6).
- mancatus, see *mancus*.
- mancipium, mancipius, *a slave, servant*, 10 rubr., 2; 39 rubr., 1; 83; Pact. 7; Sept. C. 3. 7.
- mancus, mancatus, emancadus, esman-catus, manucatus, *maimed*, 29. 2, 4, 9, 11 (cod. 6 etc.); Sept. C. 4. 5.
- mandare, demandare, (1) *to demand, ask, call for*, 44. 1; 46. 1; 47. 1b (cod. 4).—(2) *to transfer*, 77.
- mandualis (for *manduale*), *a fenced mound over a grave*, 55. 3 (of L. Em.).
- manere, manere, (1) *to remain, continue*, 29. 10 (of cod. 10); 53. 4 (cod. 3). So *permanere*, 13. 9; 25. 2 (of cod. 3); 43. 1; 45. 1 (codd. 7-9); 53. 4, 6 (cod. 6 etc.); 60. 2 (cod. 2).—(2) *to remain, stay, live anywhere*, 14. 4 (of cod. 3); 45. 3; 46. 2, 5 (cod. 7 has *demanere*); 47. 1, 5; 50. 3.—(3) for *manire, manire* (q.v.).—*remanere*, (1) *to remain, continue, remain behind*, 2. 18 (of L. Em., cod. Q); 15, 16; 3. 6, 7, 13 (of cod. 5 etc.), etc.—(2) *manere 2, to stay, live anywhere*, 41. 15 (of cod. 10). See also *commanere*.
- manita, maunita, manites, mannites (50. 2), see *nundinae*.
- mannire, manire, manere, manere, maniare (47. 2, of cod. 10), from the Frank. *manian*, *to summon*, 1. 1-5; 45. 2b; 49. 1; 50. 2; 56. 1, 4, 5;

74. 1 (of cod. 11); 78. 7 (the MS. has *muniat*); 106. 9, 10; Capit. 1, 5; Sept. C. 1. 1, 2.—*mannitio*, a *summoning*, Capit. 1; see also *nondenae*.
- mansio*, a *house, residence*, 81. 3; 89.
- mansuefacere*, *mansuescere*, *mansuetum facere*, to *tame*, 33. 2 (cod. 3 has *consuescere*).
- manucatus*, see *mancus*.
- maolum*, see *machalum*.
- marias* (?), 78. 8.
- mariscalcus*, a *groom*, 10. 6 (of cod. 10).
- martyr*, a *martyr*, Prol. 1.
- materia*, *materium*, *materiamen*, *matriamen*, *wood, timber*, 27, 15, 16; 84.
- maufolum*, *mauolum*, see *machalum*.
- mecari*, *mechhari*, *mechhari*, see *moechhari*.
- medere*, for *metere* (q.v.).
- medicatura*, the *cost of curing, healing*, 17. 4; 104; Recap. B. 12.
- medicus* (?), 29. 8 (of cod. 3); the paragraph is corrupt.
- medius*, (1) *that is in the middle, mid, middle*: *medius digitus* (29. 8 of L. Em.); *media aetas, middle life*, 24. 7, etc., etc.—(2) *half*: *medius trians*, 4. 1; *media fortuna*, 46. 1 (of cod. 5 etc.)—(3) *that stands or comes between, intervening*, 14. 2, 3 (of cod. 2).—*medietas, the half*, 35. 5; 36; 58. 4, etc., etc.
- melarius*, see *milarius*.
- meletrix*, for *meretrix* (q.v.).
- menare*, see *minare*.
- mens*: in *alia ments* = Fr. *autrement*, 23.
- meretrix*, *meletrix*, a *harlot*, 30. 3; 74. 2; Recap. A. 25, B. 27.
- meslarius*, see *milarius*.
- metere*, *medere*, to *mow, reap*, 27. 5 (cod. 2 etc.).
- mechhari*, *mechhari*, see *moechhari*.
- micio*, see *mitio*.
- migrare*, *admigrare*, to *travel, migrate*, 14. 4; go *somewhere with a view to residence*, 45. 3, 3 (cod. 6 etc.); Capit. 9; Extrav. B. 11; Sept. C. 6. 1.—*migrans*, 14. 5; 45 rubr., 1.
- milarius*, *miliaris*, *malaris*, *millarius*, *melarius*, *meslarius*, an *apple-tree*, 27. 8 (of L. Em.), 23 (of cod. 10 etc.).
- miles*, a *knight*, 79. 2.
- militunia*, *miletunia*, *milituria*, perh. for *wal-litunia*, or *wil-litunia*, from a supposed *wal* or *wil* (= Walloon = Romana), and *litunia*, a *female litus*, a *leta*, 72. 3 (*puella milituria*); 76. 9 (*militunia vel leta romana*).
- mina* (some corruption), 25. 2 (of cod. 2).
- minare*, *menare* (Fr. *mener*), (1) to *lead, conduct*, 9. 5.—(2) to *pursue, trace*, 37, rubr.; 66; 81. 3; Pact. 16, 17.—(3) *wrongly for nominare*, 39. 1<sup>b</sup> (65 of cod. 7).
- ministerialis*, (1) *adj., ministering, serving*: *ancilla ministerialis*, 10. 7 (of cod. 10); Recap. A. 21.—*seruus ministerialis*, Recap. A. 11, 15, 22.—*homo misterialis*, de *ministerio*, Recap. B. 13, 17. (2) *subst., (a) an officer, servant in general*, 10. 6 (of cod. 10); Recap. A. 11 (*misterialem* in some codd.). (b) *one serving in the army*, 10. 6<sup>a</sup> (cod. R, of L. Em.).—*ministerium*, *ministra*, *attendance, service*: *uassus, puer, puella ad ministerium*, de *ministra*, -o, 10. 6 (of cod. 1, 35, etc.).
- minofidius* (from a Frank. *mino* and *fid*, *flet*, *genealogy*), a *person of the lowest condition*, 74. 2.
- misterialis*, see *ministerialis*.
- misticis* (?), 102 (cod. 11).
- mitio*, *micio*, in 66; (*initium*, for) *mitium*, 78. 6; *simithio* (*mitth*, corr.) *mitti iure*, 106. 1; *mitthio*, *mitteo*, 106. 7; Tab. rubr. 56 (of codd. H, B, G, where = *curtis* or *casa* of the other codd.). In all these places we must probably read *witium* (= D. *witte*, a *farm*), the proper meaning of which seems to be: *certainly, a sure proof of property*. (See H. Brunner, in *Juristische Abhandl. Festgabe für Geo. Baseler*; and E. Hermann, *Noch ein Wort über Mithio*, Leipz. 1890.)
- moalum*, see *machalum*.
- moechhari*, *moecari*, *mechhari*, *mecari*, *mechhari*, *mechhari*, to *commit adultery*, 13. 14 (cod. 6 etc.); 25. 1-4, 7, 8; Sept. C. 6. 7.
- mofoalum*, see *machalum*.
- molinus*, *mulinus*, a *mill*, 22, rubr., 1, 2, 2 (cod. 6 etc.).—*molinaris*, *mulinaris*, a *mill*, 10. 6 (of cod. 6 etc.); 22. 1.
- monitus*, see *admanere*.
- monticulus*, see *ponticulus*.
- mordris*, *mordrida*, *murder*, Sept. C. 8. 1 etc.—*mordrida*, part., *ibid.* § 3.
- mouere*, (1) to *move, remove*, 21. 1.—(2) to *trace out, track*, 33. 4 and 5 (of cod. 5 etc.).
- mulinaris*, *mulinus*, see *molinus*.

multa, *a fine*, 94.

munire, (1) for *mannire* (q.v.). (2) for *monere*, Pact. 12<sup>2</sup>.

Nabina, see *napina*.

nachaus, see *naucus*.

napina, nauina, nabina, rapina, *a turnip-field*, 27. 6, 7; 91.

nassa, *a wear, bow-net*, 81. 1.

nasus, nasis, *a nose*, 29. 1 (cod. 2 has accus. *nasim*), 14 (cod. 6 etc.); Sept. C. 3. 6.

naucus, nachaus, naufus, nauphus, (naucus corr. to) nachus (cod. 5), noffus, offus, aufa, *a vessel, sarcophagus*, 14 (cod. 7 etc.: 18. 2); 55. 4.

nauina, see *napina*.

nauphus, see *naucus*.

nebus, for nepus, see *nepos*.

negare, to *deny*, 9. 1, 3, 4; 65. 2; 78. 7 etc.—negator, *a denier*, Pact. 2.

neglegentia, negligentia, negligencia, necligentia, neclencia, *negligence*, 9. 3; 24. 5 (rubr. of codd. 7-9).—negligere, 40. 7 (of codd. B-H); Pact. 9; Extrav. B. 9.—neglectus, ūs, *neglect*, Extrav. B. 6.

negotiare, negociare, negutiare, neguciare, to *negotiate, traffic*, 10. 5 (cod. 6 etc.); 27. 25; 40. 15 (cod. 3 etc.); 47. 2, 3; 86.—negotiator, neguciator, *a dealer*, 47. 1.

nepos, (1) a son's or daughter's son, *a grandson*, 59. 6 (of cod. 10). (2) a brother's or sister's son, *a nephew*, 44. 4 (also nepus, nebus, neptis), 5; 72. 1.—neptis, *a granddaughter*, 44. 5.

nesti canthe chigio (75: 1 pers. sing. pres. ind.); nestiganti huius, nexticanthichius, nexticantigyus, etc., etc. 50. 2: 2 pers. sing. subj.), a formula (probably from a Frankish adverbial *nextig*, closely, urgently, and the verb *antigian*, to compel, enjoin).

nispatium (?), 102.

noffus, see *naucus*.

noudenae, notinae, nouenae, numbiniae, nundinae, *the market-day, the weekly market*, 50. 2 (codd. 1-6; cod. 7 etc. have *manites, mannites, manita, mannita* = *mannito, summons*).

Obhomi, see *abonnis*.

obelinis, perhaps for obelinis = *hobelin*, i.e. *hurelin*. N.H.G. *hänblein*, *a small hood*, 76. 1; see *abonnis*.

obgrafio, either an *under-grafio*, *under-sheriff* (if from *ob* = Goth. *uf*, under, and *grafio*), or *a count of the palace* (if from *hob* = *hof*, court, and *grafio*), 54. 2.

obmallare, obmalare, see *mallars*.

obstare, see *ostare*.

obtimates = optimates, *chief officers*, 78. 1; Epil. 1.

offerre, auferre, (1) to *promise*, 37. 3.—(2) to *offer*, Pact. 2.

offus, see *naucus*.

ortare, see *ostare*.

ortus, see *hortus*.

ostare, to *hinder, oppose, obstruct*, 27. 18 (codd. 5-9; codd. B-H have *uctare*; cod. 10 *anteortare*); 31. 1, 2 (also *ortare, obstare, hostare*, while the codd. B-H have *contendere* in § 1, *uctare* in § 2, and cod. 10 *obstruere* in the note); 84 (*ostiare, hostare*).

ostiare, see *ostare*.

ostium, hustium, hostium, ustium, *a door*, 14. 6 (cod. 6 etc.); Sent. S. S. 3.

Pactum, pactus, *a covenant, compact*, Prol. 1.—pactum Salicae; pactus legis Salicae, 1, rubr. of codd. 1, 5, 10.—in alio Pacto, in *another text of the Pactum* (i.e. Lex Salica), 10. 8 (of cod. 10).—Pactus pro (de) tenore pacis (see col. 415).

paenitus, penitus, see *penitus*.

paganus, *a heathen*, see *pagus*.

pagare for *pacare*, to *mediate*, Sept. C. 8. 7.

pagus, *a district, province*, 1. 5; 41. 15 (of cod. 10 etc.); 50. 3; 55. 5 (of L. Em.); 78. 9; Pact. 16 (cod. 4 etc.).—paganus, *a heathen*, 58. rubr. (of codd. 7-9, B-H).

palacium, *the palace*, Pact. 1 (cod. 3).

palmitare, expalmitare, spalmitare, ispalmitare, to *shoot, sprout*, 34. 3.

palus, (1) *a pole, post, pole*, 34. 1 (cod. 2); 58. 4.—(2) *a gibbet*, 41. 2 (of cod. 7 etc., 74).

parentes, (1) *parents*, 24. 5 (cod. 2 etc.), 6 (cod. 2 etc.), etc., etc.—(2) *relatives*, 14. 7 (of cod. 10 etc.); 16. 2 (of cod. 7 etc.), etc., etc.—parentela, parentella, parentilla, *relationship*, 44. 9; 60 rubr.; 100. pariculus, *particular*, Sent. S. S. rubr. paruulus, paruulus, baruulus, *a child*, 24 rubr.; 73. 1; Recap. A. 29.

pascere, (1) to *graze*, Extrav. B. 9.—(2) to *feed*, 46. 5; 56. 6; 106. 9.—Repascere, to *reap*, 27. 6 (of cod. 5 etc.).

- pastor, *a shepherd*, 9. 2, 4; Sept. C. 2. 1. — *canis pastor*, *pastorialis*, *pastoralis*, *pasturalis*, *a shepherd's dog*, 6. 2.  
 pecia, *a piece*, 60. 1 (codd. 5 and 6).  
 pecus (neut., masc., and fem.), *peccus*, *pecora*, *a head of cattle*, 9. 1-5, 8 (cod. 2 etc.); 27. 2, 5; 47. 1 (cod. 3); Sept. C. 2. 1.  
 pedica, *petica*, *a shackle, fetter*, 27. 3; 81. 1, 3.  
 pelagus, *pellagus*, *pelicus*, *pilagus*, *the sea*, 41. 9, 10 (cod. 6 etc.); Sept. C. 5. 7; Recap. A. 14, 19; Recap. B. 13, 16, 21, 28.  
 penitus, *paenitus*, *penitus*, adv., *not at all, on no account*, 9. 1, 2.  
 perarius, *pirarius*, *a pear-tree*, 7. 1 (8 cod. 10); 27. 8 (cod. 5 etc.), 10 (cod. 5 etc.; cod. Q of L. Em. has *perticarius*).  
 perbannire, see *ferbannire*.  
 percopperire, see *cooperire*.  
 perexcidere, *to cut off entirely*, 29. 3 (cod. 6).  
 perexcitere, *to knock or strike off entirely*, 29. 3 (cod. 5 etc.), 9 (of cod. 8 etc.), 12 (of L. Em.).  
 perinuenire = *inuenire*, *to discover*, Pact. 16 (cod. 5 etc.); Epil. 2.  
 periurare, *periuirus*, *periuirium*, see *iurare*.  
 permanere, see *manere*.  
 permissum, *permissus* (ūs), *leave, permission*, 21. 1 (of L. Em.); 23, etc., etc.  
 peroccidere, *to kill*, 41. 8.  
 pertica, *perteca*, *pertega*, *pertiga*, *a pole, perch*, 7. 2; Sept. C. 1. 4.  
 perticarius, for *persicarius*, *a peach-tree*, 27. 10 (of L. Em., cod. Q).  
 pesaria, see *pisaria*.  
 petra, *a stone coffin*, 14 (18, cod. 7 etc.); 55. 4.  
 petrio, *of stone* (P), 89. 2.  
 picbarium, see *epicarium*.  
 pignus, *a pledge*, 40. 4; 50. 2; 75. — *pignorare*, *depignorare*, *to pledge*, *pignorat*, -cio, *pignator*, *a pledge*, 75.  
 pilagus, see *pelagus*.  
 pingere, (1) = *impingere*, *to push, strike*, 31. 2. — (2) *to mark* = *pungere* (q.v.).  
 pirarius, see *perarius*.  
 pisaria, *pissaria*, *pesaria*, *a pea-field*, 27. 6, 7.  
 piscatio, *pescacio*, *a fishing*, 33. 1; 81.  
 pissaria, see *pisaria*.  
 pittus (probably the same as D. pet), *a cap*, 30. 9 (of L. Em.); Extrav. A. 3. 1.  
 placa, *placare*, see *plaga*.  
 placitum, *placitus*, *placidum*, *a judicial term, day of justice, day of trial*, 40. 7, 8, 10; 45. 2<sup>b</sup>; 47. 1, 2; 49. 1; 60. 1, 3; 66. 2 (cod. 6 etc., *placida* in Q); 5; 78. 7; 106. 6-8; Pact. 5; Extrav. B. 1.  
 plaga, *placa*, *a wound*, 17. 7 (of cod. 6 etc.); 42. 3; 43. 3. — *plagare*, *placare*, (1) *to wound*, 14. 6 (cod. 6 etc.); 17. 3, 5; Sent. S. S. 3. (2) for *plagiare* (q.v.).  
 plagiare, *to steal* (a person), *kidnap*, 39. 2 (cod. 2 etc.; cod. 4 has *flagitare*; cod. 6 *plagare*; codd. 7 and Q *placare*; cod. R *plaigare*), 3 (cod. 5 and 7 have *plagare*; cod. 9 *placare*; cod. R *plaigare*), 2 (cod. 1 etc.). — *plagiator*, *a man-stealer*, 39. 3 (cod. 2 etc.; cod. R *plagator*; cod. 4 has *plagitura*).  
 plebium, *plebeium*, *pleuium*, *plibium*, *the people*, Pact. 11. — *plebs*, *the same*, 54. 4 (of L. Em.; cod. Q has *plest*).  
 plenus, *full*, 24. 1. — *pleniter*, *fully*, 41. 16 (of cod. 10 etc.).  
 pleuium, see *plebium*.  
 poledrus, *poleterus*, *poletus*, *polletus*, *puledrus*, *pulledrus*, *puletrus*, *pulletrus*, *a foal*, 38. 6, 7, 4 (cod. 7 etc.). — *seruus puledrus*, 10. 5 (of cod. 10).  
 pollex, *polex*, *polax*, *polix*, *policare*, *polcare*, *polecare*, *pollecaris*, *pollix*, *pulcaris*, *the thumb*, 17. 8; 29. 3, 4; Sept. C. 3. 5.  
 pomarius, *pummarius* (domesticus), *a fruit-tree*, 7. 11 (cod. 5 etc.); 27. 8 (cod. 5 etc.), 10 (cod. 5 etc.).  
 ponticulus, *porticulus*, probably for *monticulus*, *a cairn in memory of the dead*, 55. 3 (cod. 6 etc.).  
 porcus, *a tame swine, hog, pig*, 2 rubr., 4-7, 14-16; 9. 4, etc., etc. — *porcellus*, *porrocellus*, *a little pig*, 2. 1-4, etc., etc. — *porcarius*, (1) adj., *of or belonging to a swine*: *ueltris porcarius*, 6. 2 (of L. Em.). — (2) subst., *a pigherd*, 2. 8, etc., etc. — *porcina*, *a herd of swine*, 27. 1; 84.  
 portare, (1) *to bear, carry away*, 10. 2 (codd. 5, 6, etc., have *deportare*); 11. 3 (cod. 7 etc. in *furtum portare*); 27. 8, 9, 11. — (2) *to negotiate*: *portans*, *a negotiator, go-between*, 28. 3.

porticulus, see *ponticulus*.

poteus, see *puteus*.

pradum, for pratum (q.v.).

praecium, see *pretium*.

praclamare, see *proclamare*.

praedari, to make booty, 102 (cod. 1).

praemere, see *premere*.

praestare, prestare, præstare, (1) to lend (Fr. *prêter*), 52 pass.—(2) to offer, *furnish*, 54. 4 (cod. 10, note).

praeterfallire, praetersallire, see *fallire*.

praetersclupare, to miss, 17. 2.

praetium, praetius, see *pretium*.

pratum, pradum, a meadow, 9. 8 (cod. 2 etc.); 27. 10; Sept. C. 3. 4.

prehendere, prindere, prendere, adprehendere, to grasp, 50. 3; 78. 7; 101.

premere, praemere, to press, 20. 2.

premium, for praemium, Extrav. B. 2.

prendere, see *prehendere*.

presbiter, prisbiter, presbyter, 55 (77, cod. 7 etc.).

preterfallire, see *fallire*.

pretium, precium, praetium, praecium, prætium, praetius, pretius, precius, worth, value, price, 13. 5; 38. 3 (of cod. 4), 4 (of cod. 6); 50. 1, 3 etc., etc.—pretiare, adpretiare, adpraetiare, to value, estimate, 50. 1, 3.

prindere, see *prehendere*.

proclamare, praclamare, to proclaim, 37. 1, 3 (cod. 1 only; the others have *reclamare*).

pronepos, a great-grandson, 59. 6 (of cod. 10).

proportare, to prove (?), Extrav. B. 2.

prosequi, to pursue: causam, 57. 1.—prosecutor causae, a plaintiff, Pact. 5.

psallire, see *salire*.

puccius, see *puteus*.

pulearis, see *pollex*.

puledrus, pulledrus, puletrus, pulletrus, see *poletrus*.

pulicella, spulicella = puella, a girl, 76. 10.

pulsare, to accuse, charge, 40. 10 (codd. F, G, H).

pumarius, see *pomarius*.

pungere, to mark, 9. 2 (cod. 6 etc.; cod. 10 has *ping-re*).

putare, (1) to allege, 57. 2 (of cod. 10).—(2) to charge on anyone, to impute, 30. 6. So also imputare, inputare, imputare, 18. 2 (cod. 10 etc.); 30. 6, etc., etc.—reputare, repotare, 9. 8 (cod. 10.; 30. 6; 48. 2; 53. 5 (cod. 5 has *reportare*)).

puteus, puteus, pucius, poteus, a well, pit, 41. 2, 4, 9, 12 (cod. 10 and L. Em.); 55. 4.

Quadriuium, quadrubium, quadruuium, a cross-road, 41. 8.

quadrupes, quadropes, quadrupedus, quatrupes, quatropes, quadrupedia, quatrupedium, a quadruped, 36, and Tab. rubr.; Extrav. B. 9.

quadruuium, see *quadriuium*.

quaerere, (1) to demand; (2) to search for, etc., etc.—quaerens, a plaintiff, Capit. 3.

qua et, in Pact. 9<sup>1</sup>; see *guact*.

quoaequalis, for coaequalis, 40. 6.

Rachineburgius, rachiniburgus, rachiniburgius, rachinburgus, rachinburgus, rachemburgius, racheburgius, rachenburgia, rachymburgius, rahinburgus, racineburgius, racimburius, racimburius, raciniburgus, raciniburgus, racineburgus, racemburgus, racemburgius, racemburgia, raginburgius, raginburgus, rathiniburgus, rathimburius, rathiniburgus, rathiniburgus, ratheniburgus, rationeburgius, rationeburges, recyneburgius, recemburgius, etc., etc. (from a Frank. *rachin-*, *ragin-*, administration, and *burgi*, one who takes up), a taker, extermer, 50. 3; 56. 1-3; 57 pass.; 78. 7-9; Extrav. B. 1; Tab. rubr., tit. 57.

raffare, see *reflare*.

rammus, ramus, rama, (1) a branch, twig, 41. 2, 4, 4 (cod. 3 etc.).—(2) a gibbet, 67.

rane, ranne, see *chronne*.

rapere, to carry off, 13. 1, 5; 61; 92. 1, 3.—raptum, raptus (ūs), a carrying off, 13, rubr.; Recap. A. 7, B. 8.—raptor, an abductor, 13. 4; 71. 1, 2.

rapina, see *napina*.

raubare, to rob, 17. 12 (cod. 6 etc.); 61. 1 (of cod. 10).

rebus, see *reipus*.

recemburgio, see *herburgium*.

reclamare, see *proclamare*.

recludere, recludere, see *claudere*.

recoligere, recolligere, see *colligere*.

reddere, redere, to give back, restore, 53. 2 (cod. 2 etc.).

redebere = debere, to be bound, to be under an obligation, 102. 2 (of cod. 11).

reformare, see *reformare*.



reffare, rinfacere, refare, repare, ruffare, riffare, treffare (from a Frankish *rifjan*, *riffun*, *reffan*), to reap, 27. 6 (of L. Em.; cod. 6 has *inripare*, q.v., codd. 5 and 10 *repascere*; cod. 10 has also *tripare*, perh. an error for *ant-ripaverit*).  
 reformare, refirmare, reformare, reformare, to restore, 26. 1; Pact. 11, 15, 16.  
 reibus, rebus, see *reipus*.  
 reipus, reibus, rebus, reiphus, reipphus, reippus, reipusse, reiphe, reipus, reipe, pl. reipe, reipi, reibi (from a Frankish *reþ*, *reip*, a ring, arnlet, also money, hence) a dowry, 44, pass.; 72, and Tab. rubr.  
 remanere, see *manere*.  
 remedatus, for remeatus, returned, 39. 2<sup>b</sup> (of cod. 4).  
 repare, see *reffare*.  
 repascere, see *pascere* and *reffare*.  
 repetere, to complain, bring an action against anyone; repetens, a plaintiff, 40. 6-8, 10; cf. Pact. 15.—repetitio, an action, 40. 10.  
 reponere, (1) to keep, preserve, 7. 3; 21. 4; 96.—(2) to take down, 67.—(3) to bury, 74. 1.  
 repotare, reputare, see *putare*.  
 resedere, residere, see *sedere*.  
 restare, to resist, detain, 14. 4 (codd. 6 and 10; the other codd. have *testare*).  
 rete, (1) apparently a *dovecot*, 7. 9 (of cod. 5).—(2) a net (accus. *retem*), 27. 19 (femin. in codd. 5 and 6); 81. 1.  
 retorta, torta, a twig of the willow, a *withe*, 34. 1.  
 retro, behind: retro clauem, 8. 3 (of cod. 10).  
 reuestire, to recover, 56 (58, cod. 2).  
 reus, adj., incriminated: cartam *ream* dicere, Extrav. B. 4.  
 rex, (1) the king, 1. 4 (codd. 4, 10 note, and L. Em.), etc., etc. (2) taurus rex, a bull, as leader of a herd, 3. 11 (codd. 5 and 6; corrupted taurus regis, in cod. 10 and L. Em.).  
 rhamallus, see *gamallus*.  
 rhanne, see *chrunne*.  
 riffare, rinfacere, see *reffare*.  
 rogare, to interrogate, 14. 7 (cod. 10 etc.), etc., etc. The part. *rogitus* occurs 60. 4 (codd. 1-3).  
 Romanus, Roman: Romanus homo, 14. 2, 3, etc., etc.  
 rota, a wheel: to be put on the wheel, a punishment for a slave, 70. 2<sup>b</sup>.

rumpere, derumpere, dirumpere, to break, destroy, 22. 3 (cod. 6 etc.); 27. 23 (codd. 5 and 6: der-); 9. 8 (of cod. 10); 27. 8 (of cod. 6 etc., der-, dir-).

Saccionia, see *agonia*.

sacebaro, saceboro, saceborro, sacerboro, sachibaro, sacibaro, saciboro, sagbaro, sagibaro, sagsbaro, sagsbarro, sagybaro, salebaro, saxbaro (from a Frank. *saci* or *sagi*, a cause, lawsuit, verdict, and *baro* or *borro*, a plaintiff, accuser, or one who delivers the verdict), an officer who delivers the verdict, a juror, 54. 2-4.

sacire, see *sarcire*.

sacramentalis, one who swears an oath with another, a compurgator, Extrav. B. 1, 3.

sacribus, sacrificus, sacrius, sagrius, votive, 2. 12, 13; Recap. B. 15.

saepes, sepes, sepes, sipes, a fence, hedge, 9, 8 (cod. 2 etc.); 16. 5; 34 rubr., 1, 2 (cod. 6 etc.); 58. 4.

sagatius, satacius, in 50. 2 (codd. 7 and 8) = gasacius, see *gasacio*.

sagbaro, sagibaro, see *sacebaro*.

sagitta, sagita, an arrow, shaft, 13. 3, etc., etc.—sagittare, to shoot with an arrow, 29. 5, 5 (of cod. 7 etc.), etc., etc.—sagittator, one who shoots with an arrow: digitus sagittator, the finger from which the sagitta is shot, 29. 5 (of cod. 4).

sagrius, see *sacribus*.

sagsbaro, sagsbarro, sagybaro, salebaro, see *sacebaro*.

salicinus, of willow: fustes salinici, 60. 1 (codd. 3 and 4).

Salicus, zalicus, saligus, salecus, salegus, (1) adj., *Salic*: Lex Salica, zalica, etc., 1 rubr.; 36 (cod. 9) etc.—barbarus Salicus, Francus saligus, 14. 2.—terra Salica, 59. 5 (cod. 6 etc.).—(2) subet., a *Salian*, 104.

salina, a house, hut, 16. 2.

salire, sallire, (1) to leap, jump, 58. 4 (codd. 4 and 7 have *psallire*).—(2) the same as *adsalire*, to assault, injure, 80. See also *prastorsallire*.

sancire, see *sarcire*.

sarcire, sartire, to restore, make good, Pact. 16 (*sancire*, *sacire*, in some codd.).

sarcophagus, sarcofagus, a coffin, tomb, 14. 8 (of cod. 10 etc.).

saxbaro, see *sacebaro*.

scalla, see *schilla*.

- scamnum, scamnus, escamnum, *a bench, stool*, 40. 1, 6.—Also (a) a part of the *achasius*, 72. 2; (b) a part of the goods which the relatives of a deceased wife had to leave to her husband, 73. 2.
- scantio, *a butler*, 10. 6 (of cod. 10).
- schilla, eschilla, skella, schella, scella, scilla, skilla, scalla, skellus, sella, kella (from a Frankish *schelle*), *a bell*, 27. 3 (cod. 6 etc.).
- schreona, see *scrona*.
- scilla, see *schilla*.
- sculpare, see *praeterculpare*.
- scclusa, esclusa, exclusa, exclausa (from a Frank. ), both *a sluice and the bridge over it*, 22. 3 (cod. 6 etc.), and Tab. rubr. 30 (cod. H).
- scortare, see *escorticare*.
- scorticare, see 1 *decoricare*.
- scrona, screuna, screunia, escreona, escreuna, iscreona (from Lat. *excludere*), *a workshop*, 13. 1, 5; 27. 21 (chreonana, L. Em. cod. A), 22 (schreona, L. Em., cod. I).
- scroba, scrũa, scrofa, scropa, scroua, scrophæ, iscrofa, iseroua, scroa, *a breeding-sow*, 2. 3, 7 (cod. 6 etc.); Recap. A. 9, B. 10.—*scrofa ducaria*, 2. 11; see *ducarius*.
- seura, seuria, scurria, *a stable* (Fr. *écurie*), 16. 3.
- scurtare, see *escorticare*.
- scutum, escutum, *a shield*, 30. 6. The scutum was a symbol at the giving of the *ripus* (q.v.), 44. 1; and at the procedure called *adfathamire* (q.v.), 46. 1 (cf. § 2, cod. 2).
- secare, segare, *to mow*, 27. 10; Sept. C. 3. 4.
- secutio (?), *a division, branch* (?), 60. 1 (cod. 10, note).
- secretius, secretarius, secreticus, secretus, *in private*, 40. 10; Pact. 12<sup>1</sup>.
- secusius, secusus, see *sigusius*.
- sedere, (1) *to remain*, 45. 2.—(2) *to sit*, 57. 1 (some codd. have *resedere*, some *residere*); 78. 7.—*residere, to remain*, 97.—*residere in sacramento*, probably *to adhere to*, 102. 2 (of cod. 11).—*adsedere, consedere, to settle anywhere*, 45. 2.
- segare, see *care*.
- segusius, segusius, see *sigusius*.
- seclauæ, silauæ, seoleua, silauaue (probably from a Frank. *sinucale* = O. H. G. *sinuelli*), *a globular mound*, 55. 3 cod. 5 etc.
- sella, see *schilla*.
- seminare, semenare, *to sow*, 27. 23, 24.
- semis, simis, semes, *a half*, 14. 6 (cod. 2); 28. 3.
- semita, seminata, *a path*, 34. 3, and Tab. rubr. 55 (of codd. H, B, G).
- senextra, see *sinistra*.
- seo, for *seu*, 30. 3 (cod. 2).
- seoleua, see *seclauæ*.
- sepes, sepes, sipes, see *saepes*.
- seruus, *a serf, slave*, 10 (pass.); 12. 2, etc., etc.
- seugius, seusius, seusus, see *sigusius*.
- sex, *six*, 8. 3.—*sexaginus, six times*, 74. 2.
- sexxandro, for *sexxandro*, see *cultellus*.
- sigusius, secusus, secusius, segusius, segusius, seugius, seusius, seusus, siusius, siusus, siutius, subusus (from a Frank. *sigusi, seusi*), *a hound*, 6. 1, 2 (10 and L. Em.).
- silauaue, silauæ, see *seclauæ*.
- silua, sylua, *a wood*, 27. 15, 17, 18; 78. 9; 84; 103.
- simis, for *semis* (q.v.).
- simithio, see *mitiu*.
- sinistra, senextra, senixtra, sinesextra (manus), *the left (hand)*, 58. 2; 78. 6.
- sipes, see *sepes*.
- siusius, siusus, siutius, see *sigusius*.
- skella, skellus, see *schilla*.
- sobattere, see *battere*.
- solidus, *a coin* = 40 denarii, passim in the Lex.
- solisacire, solsatire, sole latere, see *colocare*.
- solum, *a sill, or wall* (?), Sept. C. 7. 6.
- soluere, (1) *to let loose*, 6. 3 (of L. Em.).—(2) *to loosen, untie*, 76. 2.—(3) *soluere, desoluere, dissoluere, exsoluere, persoluere, to pay, satisfy*, 12. 1 (cod. 7 and L. Em.); 13. 1, 4 (cod. 8), 6, etc., etc.; 58. 3 (with perf. *solui*).—*transoluere, to pay*, 58. 3 (of cod. 10).
- sonia, sonies, sonnis, see *sunnis*.
- sors, (1) *lot, a drawing by lot*, as a means of evidence in the case of slaves or servants, 78. 7; Pact. 5, 6, 8, 10, 11.—(2) (probably a translation of a Frank. *hlut* or *hlut*) *territory* (Fr. *lot*), 89. 2.
- sotis, see *sutis*.
- spadus, spatius, spathus, spadatus, *castrated*; spadare, spatate, expadare, espatare, *to castrate*, 38. 3 (cod. 6 etc.), 12 (cod. 6 etc.); Recap. B. 3.
- spalmitare, see *palmitare*.
- spatium, spacium, in reference to time, 40. 10; 52. 2; Capit. 1.—*to space*, Pact. 14 (cod. 2 has *expacium*).

aperuarius, aparoarius, isparuarius, spreuarius, sparuarus, isperuarius, a *sparrow-hawk*, 7. 4 (cod. 5 etc.).  
 spicarium, epicarium, ispicarium, picharium, a *barn, cornhouse*, 16. 3.  
 spoliare, see *expoliare*.  
 spoliū, expoliū, also *spolia, expolia*, sing., 36. 3, 5 (of cod. 10 etc.), 7 (cod. 6 etc.); 61. 2.  
 spondere, to *promise, pledge, become surety*, Extrav. B. 6.—sponsus, a *bridegroom*, 13. 13 (cod. 5 etc.).—sponsa, spūsa, isponsa, puella sponsata, desponsata, dispensata, dispūnsata, a *bride*, 13. 10, 14 (cod. 5 etc.); Sept. C. 6. 7; Recap. A. 12.—Puella sponsata, spūnsata, sponsada, spūnsada, desponsata, occurs again, 25. 2 (in codd. 6, 7-9, B-H and L. Em., but perhaps wrongly for *spontanea*, as the other texts have).—spūnsare, spūnsare (perh. from sponsus), desponsare, to *engage, undertake to marry, affiancé, espouse*, Extrav. A. 1.  
 spreuarius, see *aperuarius*.  
 spulicella, see *pulicella*.  
 stadalis (from a Frank. *stadali*, stationary, from *stadal*, a station), a *decoy-deer*, 80.  
 stadua, see *statuale*.  
 staffius, staplus, stapplus (from a Frank. *stappl* = A.S. *stapul*, O.H.G. *staphal*), a *stake, column*, 55. 4 (cod. 10, note and L. Em.).  
 statuale, statualis, statua, stadua, a *kind of fishing-net*, 27. 20.  
 stemare, see *aestimare*.  
 sterchire (from a Frank. *stercian*), to *confirm, prove*, Extrav. B. 7.  
 stimare, stimatio, see *aestimare*.  
 strada, a *road*, 74. 1.  
 strator, stratarus, istrator, one who *saddles a horse, a groom*, 10 (35. 6, cod. 1 etc.).  
 stria, stries, estria, istri, a *hag, witch*, 64. 1, 2, 3 (6); Recap. A. 25.  
 stricto, see *inuictu*.  
 stringere (with perf. strinxī and strixi), extringere, intringere, destringere, to *press, touch*, 20, rubr., 1, 2.—super extringere, to *hold together*, 34. 1.—adstringere, to *bind one by a judicial summons*, 50. 2 (in L. Em.).  
 striporcius, striporcius, striporcio, striporcio, estriporcio, triporcio, a *harbourer of a witch or fiend*, 64. 1 and Tab. rubr.  
 stimulus, see *timulus*.

stus, see *ictus*.  
 subatere, subbatere, subbattere, see *battere*.  
 subdare, = dare, to *give, transfer*, 40. 4<sup>b</sup>.  
 sublicitare, 39. 1 (codd. 2 and 4), probably corrupted from *solicitare*.  
 subusus, see *signusius*.  
 sudenn, sudis, see *sutis*.  
 sumis, sumnis, sunia, sunnes, see *sunnis*.  
 sunnis, sonies, sonia, sumis, sumnis, sunnes, sunnus, sonnīs, sunnia (from a Frank. *sunni*), a *lawful excuse, impediment*, 1. 1, 2; 45. 2<sup>b</sup>; 47. 2; 49. 2; 50. 4; 78. 7 (sunnia, sunia (apparently accus. plur.) nuntiare; certa sonia, as nominat.); 96; Pact. 5, 17 (cod. 2); Sept. C. 1. 1, 2.  
 superdicere, to *accuse*, 41. 11 (cod. 6).  
 super extringere = *superstringere, to bind or draw together*, 34. 1.  
 superiactare, superiactari (maleficium alteri), to *cast a spell or charm over anyone*, 19. 3 (cod. 5 etc.).  
 superligare, to *bind, tie up*, 34. 1.  
 superstitutus fuerit, for *superstites habuerit*, 78. 3, 4.  
 suplicacio, for *supplicatio, a supplication*, Pact. 5 (cod. 2).  
 supplicium, supplitium, suplicium, *punishment*, 40. 4-7, 9, 10; Pact. 14.  
 sutis, sudis, sutenn, sudenn, sotis, a *piety*, 2. 3 (cod. 6 etc.); 16. 2 (of cod. 2), 4.  
 sylua, see *silua*.

Talare, to *take away*, 103. 2.  
 talentas, wrongly for *tualeftas* (and this a bad spelling for *tualeftas*, a dozen); causa *tualefta*, an inaccurate rendering of some compound like *tualeft-saca*, 102. See *thalaptas*.  
 tanconare, tangonare, tancnare, tangonare (O. Fr. *tangoner*), to *press, summon*, 57. 1. The Gloss. Est. has: tangano, i.e. *uostimio* (for *uastemio*?).  
 taratro (?), 89. 2.  
 tartussus, see *tertussus*.  
 taxaca, taxaga, taxaica, texaca, texeca, etc. (from a Frank. *taxaian*, *taxoian*, *taxian*, *texian*), *theft, robbery*, 10. 5 (of cod. 6 etc.). It occurs often among the so-called Malberg glosses, as meaning a certain *fine* for robbery.  
 teda, tehoda, see *teoda*.  
 telarius, see *extelarius*.

tenarius, see *centena*.

tenere, detenere (detenui), detinere (detinui), retinere, retinere (9. 1), (1) *to hold, detain*, 1. 1, 2; 45. 2<sup>b</sup> etc., etc.—(2) *to keep, manage*, 76. 11.—(3) *to line, cover*, 3. 5; (also *continere*, q.v.).

tenor, (1) *preservation, maintenance*, 78. 1; Pact. 1, 16, 18.—(2) *contents*, Extrav. B. 1.

tentennum, tintinnum, see *tintinnum*.

teoda, (an)teuda, deuda, theuda, theoda, (an)tehoda, theada, teda (accus. of Frank. *theodo, theado*), *a chief, princeps*, 46. 6.

ter, terni, tertius, tres; the *Lex* contains various enactments, in which the number 3 plays a part, see 17. 8; 13. 3; 28. 3, etc., etc.

tertussus, tertusius, testussis, tartussus, certussus, tortossus (from a Frank. *terte, therte*, O.H.G. *zart*, tender, and *su* or *sü*, a swine), *a tender, young pig*, 2. 9; Sept. C. 1. 3.

testare, testari, (1) *to testify, declare, summon, require*, 45. 2, 2<sup>b</sup>, 3; 50. 2; 52. 1 (cod. 2). In the same sense *contestari*, 52. 1, 2, and *testificare, testificari*, 50. 2 (cod. 10 and L. Em.).—(2) *to forbid, restrain, impede*, 14. 4 (codd. 6 and 10 have *restare*); 27. 18 (codd. 5, 6 and L. Em.).

testussis, see *tertussus*.

teuda, see *teoda*.

texaca, texeca, see *taxaca*.

thalaptas, thoalapus, in 102, the nom. plur. of a Frank. *twaleft*, the twelfth, and hence, *a member of a college of twelve*. See *talentas*.

theada, theoda, theuda, see *teoda*.

theunatrude, theunetruda, see *chrene-cruda*.

thunginus, thunzinus, tunginus, tunzinus, zonzinus, tumzinus, tunginius, tunzinus, tuginus, tuuzinius, tungynus, tunzinis, tunchinus, tuncginus, tungirus (from a Frank. *thungin, tungin*, he who constrains, coerces, from a verb *thuringan* or *thangan*), *a prator, chief, magistrate, judge*, 44. 1; 46. 1, 4, 6; 50. 2; 60. 1 (here cod. 10 has in *tunchinim*, evidently taken as some court of justice).

tintinnum, tintinum, tentinnum, tentennum, *a bell*, 27. 1, 2.

tollere (with perf. tuli and tulli, tulisse, tullisse, tollisse, tulise), *to carry off*, 11. 5, 6; 13. 10; 27. 15

(of L. Em.), 28<sup>b</sup> (cod. 6 etc.); 35. 2; 37. 3, etc., etc.

tomba (=tumba), tomola, *a tomb*, 55. 3 (cod. 10; codd. 5, 6 and the L. Em. have *tumulus*).

tondere, tonsorare, tonsurare, see *tundere*.

torta, see *retorta*.

tortossus, see *tertussus*.

toxicatus, toxicatus, toxigatus, toxegatus, toxecatus, tossecatus, tuscatius, toscatus, toscadus, *furnished with toxicum, poisoned*, 17. 2; Sept. C. 4. 1.—*detoxitum*, or *de toxitum*, 81. 3.

trabattere, trabattere, see *battere*.

tramacula, tramagula, trammacle, see *tremacle*.

trameusus, see *tremissus*.

transbattere, see *battere*.

transcapolare, transcapulare, see *capulare*.

transoluere, see *soluere*.

transuersare, *to drive, wheel about*, 34. 2, 3 (cod. 1 only).

trapa, trappa (from a Frank. *trappa* = A.S. *treppe*), *a trap*.

trebattere, see *battere*.

trechlum, see *tremacle*.

treffare, perhaps for *ant-reffare*, see *reffare*.

tremacle, tremale, tremagilum, tramacula, trimacle, trammacle, trimaclea, trimagle, tremagolum, tremachlum, tremaclum, trechlum, tremula, tremalicum, tramagula, tremacula (a dimin. from a Frank. *tremike* or *tramiike*), *a trammel*, 27. 20.

tremis, tremissus, trameusus, trames, tramissus, *a third part of a solidus*, Pact. 6; Recap. A. 4; Recap. B. 5.

tremula, see *tremacle*.

trespellius, tri-pellius, trispilius, trepellius, tre-pillius, tresbellio (probably from a Frank. *thre, tre, three*, and *spille, spelle, a bull, hence*) *a three years old bull*, 3. 4, 5.

tribatere, tribattere, tribare, see *battere*.

tribuere, *to give, assign*, 40. 10 (of L. Em.); Extrav. B. 2.—tributarius, tributarius, tributarius, triutarius, *subject to tribute*: tr. Romanus, 41. 7; 79. 2; Recap. A. 14; Recap. B. 16, 20.

tributari, for *atribute, atributari* (arose probably from a Frank. *chatriuthi*, having a shackle), 80.

- tricare, trigare, detricare, detrigare, *to hinder, hold back, detain, impede*, 1. 2 (cod. 1); 35. 4 (cod. 6 etc.); 47. 2 (cod. 5); 49. 2 (codd. 1 and 4; cod. 5 has *detricare*); 78. 7 (*detrigare*); 96; Pact. 5.
- tricinus, trigenus, for tricen<sup>us</sup>, *thirty each*, 13. 1.
- triens, trians, *the third part of a solidus*, 4. 1; 35. 4 (cod. 6 etc.); 38. 12 (cod. 6 etc.).
- trimac<sup>la</sup>, trimacle, trimagle, see *tremacle*.
- triportio, see *strioportio*.
- tripare, *to reap*, 27. 5 (of cod. 10, note), perhaps for *ant-ripare*, see *reffare*.
- trispellius, trispilius, see *trespellius*.
- triuarius, see *tributarius*.
- trotia, trotinia, or trontia (probably for *trúthinia* = Med. Lat. *trutannus*, i.e. *truthanus* = *trudanus*, O. Norse *trúdr*, a juggler, A.S. *trud*, a beggar, vagabond, hence), *vagabondry*, 78. 10. See Brunner, *Rechtsgesch.*, ii, p. 508.
- truciatus, perhaps for cruciatus, *tor-ture*, 70. 2<sup>b</sup> (cod. 11 has *poena*).
- trustis, trostis, tristis, truxtis, strutis, (1) *a bond or band, auxilium, solatium, trust*; hence trustis dominica, regalis, *the royal (king's) trust*, 41. 3 (codd. 1-6, 10 and L. Em.); 42. 1 (codd. 1, 3 etc.); 2; 63. 1, 2; Recap. A. 30 (two codd. have here in *curte domini*), 31; Recap. C.; *intrutem* for *intrustem*, in Tab. rubr. cod. 3, 79. Hence
- antrusco, anrustio, anstrutio, andruscio, anrusticio, anrutio, anrutionus, adrutionus, anrussio, andrustio, andustrio, anrusco, anrusio, *a person who is in trust, specially in the king's or royal trust*, 41. 4 (cod. 7 etc.); 42. 1 (codd. 2, 8 etc.); 2 (cod. 2 etc.); 78. 1, 7; 103. 2; 104; 106 (pass.); Sept. C. 8. 7; Recap. B. 33, 34, 36.
- (2) that which renders aid, hence *a band, company, formed or appointed for the pursuit of thieves*, 66; Pact. 9<sup>1-3</sup>, 16.
- tuginus, see *thunginus*.
- tumulus, *a sepulchral mound*, 55. 2 (cod. 5, 6 and L. Em.; the Leiden Cod. has *stimulus*).
- tumzinus, tuncginus, tunchinus, see *thunginus*.
- tundere, tondere, tonsorare, tunsurare, tonsorare, tonsurare (= Lat. *tondere*), *to clip, crop, shave*, 24. 1, cod. 7 etc., 5 and 6 (of cod. 2 etc.; the perf. *totundi, tundi, totondi, tutundi* occur); 69; Sept. C. 3. 1.
- tunginus, tuginus, tungirus, tungynus, see *thunginus*.
- tunsorare, tunsurare, see *tundere*.
- tunzinis, tunzinius, tunzinnus, tunzinus, see *thunginus*.
- tuscatus, see *toxicatus*.
- Uacca, uaca, *a cow*, 3. 3, 4 (of cod. 7 etc.), 5, etc., etc.
- uaidaris, for waidaris, the gen. of waidari, *a hunter*, 80.
- uas, uasum, uascellum, (1) *a beehive*, 8. 1, 2, etc. (2) *a sarcophagus*, 14. 8 (of cod. 10 and L. Em.).
- uasus, uasus (ad ministerium), *a servant*, 10 (cod. 1, 35. 6; codd. 2 and 4).
- uastare, (1) *to injure*, 9. 1 (cod. 4 has *festare*).—(2) *to harass*, 27. 20 (cod. 10, note).
- uastemio, see *tanconare*.
- uelpecula, see *uulpecula*.
- ueltrus, ueltrus, uultrus, gueltrus, ueltris, *a hunting-dog, hound*, 6. 2 (cod. 7 etc.).
- uena (in the codd. neuu, uena, but corrected by the scribe into naue, nave) = venna, vinna, synonymous with uer (wer), O.N. *ver*, O.S. *werr*, D. *weer*, *a fishing-station*, 81.
- uendemiare, see *uindemiare*.
- uendere, uindere, *to sell*, 10. 3 and 6 (cod. 6 etc.), etc., etc.
- uerbex, uerbix, see *berbiz*.
- uerres, uerrus, *a boar pig*, 2. 11; Recap. A. 13.
- uerteuolus, uerteueles, uertiuolus, uerticulus, uerteuollus, ueruulidus, uertebolus (from a Frank. *uer, wer, werr, werte* = O.N. *ver*, a fishing-place, were, D. *weer*, and *wol, wél* = O.N. *vél, val*, a net), *a weel*, 27. 20.
- ueruex, ueruix, see *berbiz*.
- ueruulidus, see *uerteuolus*.
- uestigium, uistigium, *a footstep, footprint*, 37. rubr. and §§ 1, 3, etc., etc.
- uetare, see *ostare*.
- uetellus, see *uitulus*.
- uialacina, uialaicina, etc., etc., *an impeding, obstructing the way*, see *alacina*.
- uicinus (from uicus), *a villager*, 45. 3; 74. 1, 2; 78. 3, 9.

uideredum, see *uuedredum*.

uilla, (1) *a rural habitation, a villa, farm*, 14. 6 and 6 (of cod. 6 etc.); 42. 6; 86; Sept. C. 4. 4; Sent. S. S. 3. — (2) *a village, hamlet*, 39. 4 (cod. 2 etc.); 45. 1, 2, 3 (cod. 6 etc.), 4 (L. Em.); 74. 1; Capit. 9.

uindemiare, uindimiare, uendemiare, *to gather the vintage*, 27. 12. — uinitor, uinudor, uineator, uiniator, *a vine-dresser*, 10. 6 (cod. 1: 35, etc.).

uindere, see *uendere*.

uindimiare, uinitor, etc., see *uindemiare*.

uipida (41. 9), uopida (98, cod. 1), *a variation or corruption (i and d may arise from u and l) of a Frank. word which in O. Fris. sounds uapul, wapel, wepel, i.e. a pool, morass, stagnant water. See fouca. uircula, uiricula, uirilia (plur.), the penis*, 29. 9 (cod. 5 etc.).

uirgo, see *uargare*.

uircula, see *uircula*.

uiridum, see *uuedredum*.

uirilia, see *uircula*.

uiruix, see *berbiz*.

uitta, uita, *a head-band, fillet*, 76. 2.

uitulus, uetellus, uitolus, *a calf*, 3. 1, 2 (L. Em.), 3, 5 (cod. 5 etc.).

uodiuus, see *uotiuus*.

uoluntas, uolumtas, uolontas, *will, choice*, 13. 8, etc., etc.

uopida, see *uipida*.

uostimio, see *tanconare*.

uotiuus, uodiuus, *rotive*, 2. 12, 13.

ustium, see *ostium*.

uadum, *a pledge*, Extrav. B. 1, 2, 6.

uuaranio, uuaranannio, warannio, uuaroenio, waragio, warennio, uuarranio, uuaragino, uuarineo, uuaragnio, uuarinio, uuarangio (from a Frank. wranio = M.D. *urēne*, O.H.G. *reineo*, *reinno*, properly an adjective, = A.S. *urēne*, lascivus), *a stallion*, 38. 2 (of cod. 4 etc.), 4 (of cod. 6 etc.); Recap. A. 13, 23; Recap. B. 3, 25.

uargare, guargare (from a Frank. wargōn, to reduce one to the state of warg, i.e. outlaw), *to outlaw*, 39. 1<sup>b</sup> (cod. 7 etc. 65). — uuargus, uuargo, uirgo, *an outlaw*, 55. 2. — See vargus, in Lewis & Short, Lat. Dict.

uuedredum, uideredum, uiridum (from a Frank. weder, wider, wither, *with*, and ēd, *oath*, hence a with-oath, an oath sworn by one person with another), 78. 7, 9; 106. 2, 5, 6 (codd. 10 and 11).

uueltrus, see *ueltrus*.

uuereguldum (from a Frank. *uuer*, a man, and *guld* = *geld*), *the price of a man, mangeld*, 51. 2 (cod. 10).

uuitium, see *mitio*.

uulpecula, uelpecula, uulpicula, uulpiculus, uulpiga, uulpigola, uulpis (properly a fox or little fox), *a term of abuse*, 30. 2 (cod. 10), 4.

uultrus, see *ueltrus*.

Zalicus, see *Salicus*.

## BRACTON.

Abavita, *a great-great-grand-aunt*, i, 544.

abbathia, *an abbey*, vi, 120.

abigevus, *a cattle-lifter*, ii, 156.

ablativus, adj., *taking away, ablative*, iii, 20.

acapitare, accapitare (alicui). (1) *to recognize the headship*, i, 616, 618; (2) *to pay a relief*, vi, 70.

acceptilatio (accepti latio), *a formal discharging from a debt, an acceptilation*, ii, 122.

accionare (aliquem), *to proceed against*, ii, 590.

acrescere, *to proceed further*, ii, 512.

acquietancia, -tia, *an acquittance*,

*release*, i, 216, 384, 454, 480<sup>2</sup>; vi, 344, 346. See also *quietantia*.

acquietare, (1) *to make secure, to acquit, release*, i, 136, 238,<sup>1</sup> 276, 286, 290, 292, 620, 664; ii, 408. (2) *a. (debita), to pay (debts)*, i, 478; ii, 8, 98.

acra, *an acre*, i, 126, 488, 596.

actio, *an action (at law)*: explained, ii, 102. Actio (or interdictum), Quorum bonorum, ii, 146.

actionare, see *accionare*.

actrix, *a female party, or plaintiff*, iv, 538.

actus, *a bridleway, horsepath*, i, 54, 416; iii, 560, 580; vi, 28.

<sup>1</sup> Here the word is translated to *secure*, but it is used in the same sense as in i, 136.

<sup>2</sup> Seems to be accus. plur.

- adiratus, *adjudged*, ii, 512.  
 aditio,<sup>1</sup> (hereditatis) *the entering upon an inheritance*, i, 60; vi, 432.  
 adjornare, *to adjourn*, v, 274.  
 adjutorium, *an auditory*, v, 396 (bis). Another reading has *auditorium*.  
 admensurare, *amens-*, *to estimate, measure, admeasure*, iii, 536.  
 admensuratio, *amens-*, *a measuring, mensuration, measurement, ad-measurement*, ii, 56, 62; iii, 534, 536, 538; iv, 260, 586, 588; v, 468.  
 advocare, (1) *to avow*, i, 502, 556; iii, 100. (2) *to claim as one's own, advocate*, ii, 314, 388.  
 advocaria, (1) *advocry, avowry, protection, patronage*, ii, 604. (2) *right of presentation to a benefice, advowsonry*, vi, 416, 418.  
 advocatio, (1) *an avowal, acceptance, recognition*, iv, 312. (2) *the right of presentation to a benefice or living, advowson*, mostly with the word *ecclesiae* added, i, 82, 94, 154, 254, 264, 420, 596, 604, 606, 614; ii, 62, 76, 86; iii, 168; iv, 4.  
 advocatus, *an advocate, one who possesses an advowson, or the right of presentation to a benefice*, iv, 24.  
 editio = editio, *a statement, representation, declaration*, vi, 230.  
 aequitas, *Equity*, i, 98, 186.  
 aequivoce, *adv.*, *in like, equivalent, signification*, ii, 126.  
 aenethia, (1) *elder birth, primogeniture, seniority*, i, 600, 612; iv, 4, 60, 278. (2) *an elder child's privilege, right of primogeniture*, i, 576, 578, 580, 584, 594; iii, 372.  
 affectator, *one pretending*, i, 500.  
 affidare, (1) *to pledge one's faith, or fealty*, ii, 238, 242; v, 156, 212. (2) *to pledge one's faith to a woman with the view of marrying her*, i, 228.  
 affidatio, *a pledging of faith, affidavit*, ii, 18.  
 afforciamentum, *aforc-*, (1) *enforcement, strengthening, augmentation, reinforcement*, iii, 190; iv, 404, 416; v, 96; vi, 470, 472. (2) *extraordinary summoning*, i, 276.  
 affortiare, *to strengthen, augment*, iii, 190.  
 agere, *to have a bridleway*, vi, 348.  
 allocare, *to admit of a thing, to allow*, ii, 314; v, 174.  
 alterare, *to alter*, ii, 38.  
 ambidexter, *two-handed, one capable of acting in two ways*, ii, 248.  
 amensurare, *amensuratio*, see *admens-*.  
 amerciamentum, *a fine, amercement*, ii, 196, 250.  
 amerciare, *to impose a fine, to amerce*, ii, 242, 250, 588; iii, 156, 190; vi, 472, 476.  
 amerciator, *one who imposes a fine, one who amercees, an amerceer*, ii, 242.  
 amitiva,<sup>2</sup> *a female cousin*, i, 542; amitivus,<sup>2</sup> *a male cousin*, i, 542.  
 amotibilis, *removable*, i, 96; iii, 210; vi, 278, 282.  
 ancipiter, *for accipiter, a hawk*, ii, 484.  
 annulus, *for anulus, a ring*, i, 314.  
 anomalus, *deviating from the general rule, anomalous*, v, 362.  
 antenatus, *born beforehand*, ii, 38; iv, 308.  
 appellans, *an appellant*, ii, 404, 472.  
 appellare, *to accuse, bring a suit against one*, ii, 238, 288, 408; v, 180.  
 appellator, *an appellant*, ii, 404.  
 appellatus, *an appellee*, ii, 404, 408.  
 appellum, (1) *an appeal*, i, 646; ii, 232, 404, 414, 480. (2) *a charge, accusation, the right to accuse*, ii, 130, 250, 262, 266, 310; v, 180.  
 applumbatura, *a soldering with lead*, i, 74.  
 appreciatio (appret-), *a valuation, or estimation at a price, an appraisement*, i, 572, 574.  
 appropriatus, *one's own, appropriate*, vi, 150.  
 aquatio, *a watering-place*, iii, 582.  
 aramare, see *arramare*.  
 arbitrativus, *depending on the will, optional*, v, 126.  
 archa, *a chest*, ii, 518.  
 arcitare (class. Lat. artare), *to constrain, to confine, to limit*, ii, 208, 414; v, 24.  
 argentifodina, *silver-digging*, iii, 488.  
 armiger, *an armour-bearer*, ii, 306.  
 armum, *a weapon*, see *molutus*.  
 arra, *earnest-money, an earnest*, i, 488, 490.

<sup>1</sup> The editor of Bracton translates this word by *claim*.

<sup>2</sup> So in Twissden's Bracton. The Digest has *n* instead of *v*. I have consulted two MSS. of Bracton in the Brit. Mus.: one (Stowe 886, early xiii century) has also *n*; but the other (Add. 52,340, xiv century) has, in a defective passage, apparently *n* = *v*.

- arramare, *aram-*, *arramiare assisam* or *juratam*, *super*, or *versus*, or *erga aliquem*, or *aliquod*, or *inter aliquos*, or *de aliquo*, to *institute*, *set up*, *bring* (to *undertake to bring*) an *assise* or *jury* against, i, 144; ii, 194, 196, 198, 204; iii, 80, 124, 134, 220, 278, 326, 502, 524, 586, 588, 590, 596, 600; iv, 44, 56, 82, 102, 142, 180, 182, 222, 246, 306, 308, 376, 430, 432; v, 108; vi, 86, 188, 192, 440 (*arrami-*).
- arraigium, *an arreare*, i, 652; ii, 560; iii, 354; iv, 186; v, 88.
- arrestare, to *arrest*, ii, 238.
- artare, *see arcare*.
- arura, *arrura*, a *ploughing*, i, 278; iii, 544.
- ascripticius, *one ascribed*, or *enrolled to something*, a *bondsman*, a *free man*, but bound to a certain service, i, 28, 52.
- assartus, *cleared*, iii, 512.
- assidère, to *assign*, *appoint*: *ass- diem*, v, 98.
- assignatus, *an assign*, *assignee*, i, 100, 102, 164; vi, 6.
- assisa, *an assise*, i, 98, 112, 148, 194, 208, 214, 218, 242, 276; ii, 6, 70, 142, 180; iii, 100.
- assisa de latitudine pannorum, *an assise of the width of cloths*, ii, 244.
- assisa de Utrum, *an assise of Utrum*, vi, 276.
- assisa jurata, a *sworn assise*, ii, 604.
- assisa magna, a *great assise*, i, 122, 504, 656, 658; iv, 226.
- assisa mortis antecessoris, *an assise of the death of an ancestor*, *an assise of mortdancester*, i, 16, 102, 104, 156, 158, 196, 200, 212, 218; ii, 70, 78, 142; iv, 114.
- assisam portare, to *bring an assise*, i, 204; ii, 354; iv, 4.
- assisa novae disseysinae, *an assise of novel disseisin*, i, 52, 98, 102, 108, 128, 144, 156, 180, 192, 196, 198, 200, 204, 226; ii, 70, 140, 142; v, 434.
- assisa pannorum, *an assise of cloths*, ii, 254.
- assisa praesentationis, *an assise of presentation*, i, 130.
- assisa ultimae praesentationis, *an assise of last presentation*, i, 432, 440; ii, 162, 192; iv, 2.
- astrarius, *one domiciled with another, a householder*, i, 674; iv, 228, 230, 232.
- astrum, a *hearthside*, iv, 228.
- asturcius sorus,<sup>1</sup> a *falcon in his first plumage*, v, 82.
- atavunculus magnus, a *great-grand-uncle's grandfather*, i, 544.
- atia, *see atya*.
- atmatertera magna, a *great-grand-aunt's grandmother*, i, 544.
- atpatruus magnus, a *great-great-grand-father's uncle*, i, 544.
- atrium, a *hall*, iv, 228.
- attachiamentum, *attach-*, *an attachment*, i, 448, 450; ii, 186, 256, 502; iii, 162, 470; iv, 76, 152, 360; vi, 472.
- attachiare, to *attach*, i, 480, 648; ii, 10, 188, 236, 496, 502; iii, 160, 544; iv, 76; v, 118; vi, 472.
- atterminare, to *set down*, to *prorogue*, to *put off to a certain term*, to *atterm*, ii, 184, 188, 194, 200; v, 298; vi, 366.
- attornare, *attornare*, to *transfer*, to *attourn*, i, 106, 190, 248, 252, 322, 450, 600, 620, 636, 646, 648, 650; iii, 74, 128, 470; iv, 612; v, 60, 62, 202; vi, 70.
- attornatio, a *transfer*, *an attournament*, *attornment*, i, 626; v, 202.
- attornatus, *attorn-*, *an attorney*, i, 560, 628; ii, 312; iii, 410; iv, 170; v, 128, 156. *Attornatum facere*, to *appoint*, *constitute an attorney*, i, 560; ii, 192; v, 128, 162, 164.
- attornus, *an attorney*, v, 128.
- atya, *atia*, *spite*, *hatred*, ii, 282, 292, 294, 434.
- aucupatio, a *chasing*, i, 442.
- aula, a *hall*, i, 604.
- aunciatus, *ancient*, i, 456.
- aureus, a *gold piece*, ii, 114.
- aurifodina, a *gold-digging*, iii, 488.
- averia, *goods which come ashore*, i, 60.
- averium, a *beast*, i, 478, 680; (*in plur.*) *cattle*, ii, 208, 542, 550; iii, 480, 488; iv, 440; v, 54.
- Bacherende, -rend, *backeberende*, *back bearing*, ii, 292, 510, 540.
- baculus, a *staff*, i, 314; ii, 520. *See fustis et baculus*.
- balena, *ball-* (*balena*), a *whale*, i, 110; ii, 270, 272 [not the same as *sturgio*, as Du C. says].

<sup>1</sup> For *sorus*, see Du Cange, in voce *saurus*.



- ballium, *bail*, ii, 294, 418; iv, 240; vi, 466.  
 ballius, *a bailiff*, ii, 470. (Query: same as ballium?)  
 balliva, *the office and district of a bailiff, a bailiwick, bailiery*, i, 288, 578; ii, 250, 524; iv, 162; v, 180.  
 ballivus, *a bailiff*, i, 120, 400, 462, 456, 578; ii, 44, 250, 524; iii, 172.  
 bancus, *the Bench*, ii, 160, 180; iv, 154.  
 bancus francus, *the free-bench*, iv, 546.  
 —bancus liber, *the same*, ii, 96.  
 bane (la), *the murderer*, ii, 236.  
 bannum, *the banns (of marriage)*, iv, 538.  
 hannus, *a proclamation*, ii, 442.  
 baptisterium, *baptism*, ii, 440, 528.  
 baro, *a baron*, i, 36, 38, 268; ii, 12.  
 baronagium, *the order or body of barons, baronage*, iii, 94.  
 baronia, *the district of a baro, a barony*, i, 600, 604, 612; ii, 12, 58, 60; *tenere in baronia, to hold in barony*, v, 154.  
 baronissa, *a baroness*, v, 266.  
 bastardia, *bastardy*, ii, 606; iii, 388, 452; iv, 36, 256.  
 bastardus, *a bastard*, i, 92, 96, 100, 134, 162, 164, 180, 222; ii, 20, 54. Also used as adjective, i, 166; iv, 256.  
 batellus, *a boat*, ii, 286, 388.  
 beccus, *a beak (of a hawk)*, ii, 484.  
 bestia, *an animal, beast*, i, 608.  
 bingheys, *byngheh-, paddocks*, iii, 486.  
 bisacuta, *a two-edged, sharp cutting weapon*, ii, 412, 432, 462, 466.  
 bladum, *corn*, ii, 82, 284; iii, 116, 142 (mostly plur.).  
 Bockland (sorores de), *the sisterhood of Bockland*, vi, 282.  
 bombicinus, *of silk*, vi, 410.  
 bondus, *a bondman*, ii, 584.  
 bordlandes, *bordlands, land which is held for one's sustenance*, iv, 196.  
 borghye aldere, borgyaldre, borgysaldre, *principal surety*, ii, 306.  
 boscum, or boscus, *wood*, i, 570, 596; iii, 202.—boscum commune, or boscus communis, *common timber*, ii, 96.  
 bovata terrae, *a bovat of land*, v, 80; vi, 404.  
 (bracae), braccas, *breeches*, v, 304, 316.  
 braceatorium, *a breuery*, iii, 368.  
 breve, *a writ*, i, 6, 630.—b. clausum, *a close writ*, ii, 194.—b. commune, *a common writ*, i, 236.—b. formatum, *a formal brief*, i, 104, 148 (see note), 546.—b. de consanguinitate, *a writ of consanguinity*, i, 512.—b. de debito, *a writ of debt*, i, 474.—b. de eschaeta, *a writ of escheat*, i, 642.—b. de fine, *a writ of fine*, i, 652.—b. de ingressu, *a writ of entrance, or entry*, i, 226, 246; ii, 70, 92.—b. de medio, *an intermediate writ*, i, 168.—b. de nativis, *a writ concerning natural born serfs*, i, 202.—b. de recto, *a writ of right*, i, 276, 444, 642; ii, 82, 98; iii, 8. parvum br. de recto, i, 52.—b. de recto apertum, *an open writ of right*, v, 262.—b. de recto clausum, *a close writ of right*, v, 262.—b. de warrantia, *a writ of warranty*, i, 652.  
 brochia, perhaps *an iron needle or spit to fasten the neck of a sack, a brooch*, i, 282; ii, 14. See also saccus.  
 bruera, brueria, *heather*, iii, 488, 552.  
 bruerum, bruera, *a heath*, iii, 540, 568.  
 brussura, brusura, *a bruise*, ii, 284, 462, 466.  
 bunda, *a bound*, iii, 54.  
 burgagium, *burgage tenure*, i, 164, 388 (*burgage tenement*); ii, 6, 12, 96; iii, 352; iv, 280.  
 burgator, see busones.  
 burgensis, *the inhabitant of a burg, a burgess*, i, 450, 458; ii, 4.  
 burglaria, *burglary*, ii, 536.  
 burglator, *a burglar*, ii, 234, 236, 246, 254.  
 burgus, *a borough*, i, 4, 28, 450; ii, 238, 602.—burgus liber, *a free borough*, iii, 64.  
 bursa, *a purse*, i, 620, 664.  
 busones, buz-, *great, chief men, busones*, ii, 236 (other readings: barones, burgatores).  
 Cacodaemon, *a bad spirit*, i, 82.  
 calcaria deaurata, *gilded sandals*, i, 278; gilt spurs, v, 82.  
 calodaemon, *a good spirit*, i, 82.  
 calor, *lust*, ii, 480.  
 calumniare, *to impugn*, i, 596.  
 calumpniosus, *impeachable*, vi, 142.  
 camera, *a chamber*, i, 630.  
 camerarius, *a chamberlain*, ii, 306; vi, 140.  
 camina, *heat*, i, 10.  
 campio, *a champion*, i, 630, 660; ii, 408, 442, 448, 516; v, 202, 470.  
 camus, see chamus.  
 cancellaria, *a chancery*, v, 270.

- cancellarius, *a chancellor*, v, 162.  
 cancellatura, *a cancellation*, vi, 142.  
 canonicus, *a canon*, i, 622.  
 capa, *a cloak*, ii, 130.  
 cape magnum, *a great cape*, iv, 454; v, 302.  
 cape parvum, *a little or petty cape*, iii, 544; iv, 454, 504; v, 302, 358.  
 capella, *a chapel*, iv, 32.  
 capitulum, *a chapter (of a church)*, i, 94, 128.  
 captio, *a taking, accepting*: c. homagii, i, 634.—captio assise, *the holding of an assize*, ii, 200; iii, 96.  
 captivus, *a captive (how redeemed)*, i, 60.  
 captura, *a keeping, custody*.<sup>1</sup> i, 66.  
 caput lupinum, *a wolf's head*, ii, 314, 338.  
 carcer, *a prison*, vi, 466.—carceralis, *of or belonging to a prison*, ii, 262.  
 carecta, *carrecta*, *a cart*, car, ii, 282, 602; iii, 64, 448, 560.  
 cariagium, *a service rendered by a tenant to his feudal lord by means of a car, carriage*, ii, 602.  
 carrum, *a car, cart*, iii, 64, 560.  
 carta, *charta*, *a charter*, i, 52, 666.  
 caruagium (wrongly spelt *carv-*), *carriage (same wrong spelling)*,<sup>2</sup> i, 290.  
 caruca (carruca), *a plough*, i, 316; iii, 448.  
 carucata (terrae), *a hide or carucate (of land)*, i, 488; iv, 216, 218, 242, 440; vi, 34.  
 casa (a misprint for casu), vi, 480.  
 cassare, *to overrule*, vi, 110.  
 ca-tana, *a chestnut*, iii, 518.  
 ca-tellanus, *a castellan*, v, 358.  
 castellum, *a castle*, ii, 248.  
 castrati poena, *the penalty of castration*, ii, 464.  
 castratio, *castration*, ii, 468.  
 castrum, *a castle*, i, 604.  
 catallum, plur. cattalla, *chattels*, i, 202, 204, 212, 478, 480, 632; ii, 66, 342.  
 cathedralis, *of or belonging to a cathedral*, iv, 372.—cathedrale, *a cathedral*, iii, 368.  
 cau-sare, (1) *to find fault with*, i, 592, 596; (2) *causari, to allege as an excuse*, iv, 282.  
 causatio, *a finding fault, a fault*, i, 598.  
 celerarius clericus (or cel- alone), *a steward clerk*, v, 4, 42.  
 cellula, *a small store-room, cellar*, i, 348.  
 certificare, *to certify*, i, 594.  
 certificatio, *a certification*, i, 594.  
 certiorare, *to inform, apprise*, i, 338.  
 chacea, *a drift-way, drove-way*, iii, 524, 558.  
 chacia, *a chace*, ii, 586.  
 chambium, *an exchange*, ii, 246, 254.  
 chamus, for camus, *a rein*, i, 268.  
 cherotheca, see *chirotheca*.  
 chevagium, *headmoney, chevage*, i, 48.  
 chiminus, chym-, *a road, chemin*, ii, 468.  
 chirographare, *to write with the hand*, charta chirographata, i, 266.  
 chirographum, *cyr-*, *that which is written by hand, a chirograph*, i, 466, 468, 652; ii, 92; iii, 70, 258; iv, 40, 42, 138, 188; vi, 16, 70, 126.  
 chirotheca, *a glove*, i, 278; cherothecae albae, *white gloves*, v, 82.  
 cippus, *the stocks*, ii, 470.  
 circumitus, *a circuitous road*, v, 150, 152.  
 clamantia, *a claim*: *quieta clamantia, a quit-claim*, i, 262, 264. See also *quieta clamantia*.  
 clamare, (1) *to claim*, i, 138, 194, 638, 648; iii, 512. (2) *to proclaim*, ii, 188, 254.—clamare quietum, *to proclaim or declare quit or free*, i, 264. See also *quietum cl-*.  
 clandestinus, *clandestine*, iv, 500.  
 clameum, *a claim*, i, 48, 50; ii, 216; iii, 258; iv, 126; vi, 440.  
 clamor, (1) *a cry*, ii, 236. (2) *a complaint*, i, 560; ii, 298.  
 clau-um, *an enclosed place, a close*, ii, 94.  
 coadjuvare, *to heap up, combine*, iii, 148, 404.  
 coarctatio (coartatio), *restriction, limitation*, iii, 488; iv, 232.  
 cohercio, coertio, coercion, iii, 348; v, 124, 204.  
 collatio, *a collation (to a church)*, ii, 62.  
 collegiatus, *of or belonging to a college*, v, 446.  
 columbarium, *a dovecote*, ii, 246.  
 comes, *a count*, i, 36, 268.  
 comes marescallus, *an Earl Marshal*, ii, 62.  
 comitatus, (1) *a county*, i, 4, 130;

<sup>1</sup> So the editor; but can it mean a catching, capture?<sup>2</sup> See the Oxford Engl. Dict. sub voce *carriage*.

- (2) *a county court*, ii, 308, 326, 364, 424; iv, 510; v, 302, 320, 358.
- comites paleys, *counts palatine*, ii, 290.
- comminatorium, *a threat, warning, comminatory*, i, 590; vi, 136.
- commune, *a right of common*, iii, 484.
- communia, *a common, right of common*, ii, 566; iii, 116, 478, 480, 484, 486, 512, 544, 548.
- compaternitas, *compaternity*, iv, 466.
- compulsivus, *compulsive*, iii, 20.
- concelamentum, *concealment*, ii, 594.
- concelare, *to conceal*, i, 560; ii, 434, 588.
- concertatio, *a struggle*, iii, 22.
- concordantia, *an accord*, iv, 510.
- concordari, *to come to an accord*, iv, 304.
- concubina, *a concubine*, ii, 490; concubina legitima, *a lawful concubine*, ii, 482.
- conductitius, *subst., a hireling*, ii, 516.
- cone (Engl.). cone et keye, for coue (cove, *a small chamber*) et keye, ii, 4, 8. See the Oxford Dict. in voce *cove*.
- conjux, *an associate justiciary*, iv, 102.
- conjugatus, *conjugal, a married person*, vi, 234.
- constabularius, *a constable*, i, 550; ii, 246, 598.
- constitutio, (perhaps) dotis constitutio, *a settlement*, i, 100, 230, 252.
- consuetudo, *a custom-due*, i, 136, 276, 446.
- contenementum, *a tenement*, ii, 242.
- contidianus (for cottidianus), *of every day, daily*, ii, 124.
- continentia, *continuity*, v, 190.
- contubernium, *a cohabitation*, iii, 254.
- conventuale, *a conventual edifice, a convent*, iii, 368.
- conventualis, *of or belonging to a conventus, conventual*, iv, 372.
- conventus, *a convent*, i, 128, 622.
- coraagium, coruagium, coriagium (wrongly for cornagium), *coraage for cornage, horn geld*, i, 290. See the Oxford Engl. Dict. (*cornage*).
- corodium, see *corrodium*.
- coronator, *a coroner*, i, 596; ii, 280; iii, 216; iv, 554.
- corrodium, coro-, *an outfit, provision, a corrody*, i, 110; iii, 146.
- corus, *a cor or core, a measure for dry goods*, i, 278.
- couthutlaughe, cuthutlaghe, *a known outlaw*, ii, 336.
- cove, see *cone*.
- crassus piscis, *a large fish*, i, 442; see *piscis*.
- cruce signatus, *one who has adopted, or is marked with, the badge of the cross*, i, 168; v, 160.
- crusta, *a part, portion*, i, 70.
- cultellus, *a knife*, ii, 12.
- cum-outlaugh, *a fellow-outlaw, a com-outlaw*, ii, 336 (marginal summary).
- cunte cuntee (par), cunte cunte (par), cuntee cuntee (per), *de comitatu in comitatum, from county to county*, iv, 316, 338.
- curator, *a guardian, trustee, curator of a minor*, i, 114.
- curia Christianitatis, *the Court of Christianity, i.e. an Ecclesiastical Court*, ii, 290, 384; iv, 240, 538; vi, 178, 364.
- curialis, *an officer of a court*, i, 380.
- curialitas, *courtliness*, vi, 18.
- custodia, (1) *custody*, i, 270, 614; (2) *wardship*, i, 576, 628.
- custus, 4th decl., *cost*, i, 552; ii, 596, 598; iii, 558, 570, 576; v, 82.
- cuthutlaghe, see *couthutlaughe*.
- cymba, *a boat*, v, 152.
- cyrographum, see *chirographum*.
- Dangerium, *a household*, iii, 184 (where also the reading *domigerium* is found).
- dapifer, *a steward*, ii, 304.
- data, *a date*, iii, 112.
- deadvocare, *to disavow, to disavow*, i, 118, 504, 556, 640, 642, 644, 648, 650, 658; iii, 74, 100; iv, 310.
- deadvocatio, *a disavowal*, i, 650.
- decalceatus, *without shoes*, v, 304.
- decenna, *a college of ten men, a tithing or tything*, ii, 304, 308, 522.
- decinctus, *ungirt*, v, 304, 316.
- declinatio, *a dismissing, an avoidance*, ii, 474.
- decoriare, *to strip, deprive of the skin*, ii, 484.
- decorrumpere, *to deflower*, ii, 490.
- dedicere, *to gainsay, deny, disprove*, i, 298 (dedicta), 632; ii, 404, 510; iii, 422; v, 304.
- de facili, *easily*, iii, 100 (bis).
- defalcatio, *a deduction*, i, 486.
- defalta, *a default*, ii, 192, 202, 436; iii, 140; iv, 6, 8, 138, 172; vi, 472.
- defendens, *a defendant*, ii, 552.
- defendere, *to deny*, ii, 552.
- deforceator, deforciator, *a deforceant, deforcer*, v, 228; vi, 364.

- deforceare, deforciare, deforcire, *to deforce, to take away, seize by force*, ii, 192; iii, 468; iv, 2, 4, 18, 146.  
 deforcians, defort-, *a deforcer, disseysor, disturber*, iii, 598; iv, 6, 10, 84, 98; v, 104.  
 deforciator, *see deforceator*.  
 degradare, *to degrade*, ii, 300.  
 degradatio, *degradation*, ii, 300.  
 dejector, *a dispossessor, ejector*, ii, 146; iii, 468.  
 deliberare, (1) *to deliver, to free from*, empty, ii, 36, 192, 246; iii, 72; (2) *to deliver, hand over*, ii, 296; (3) *to set free, liberate*, ii, 518.  
 delusorius, *illusory*, v, 154; vi, 280.  
 demanda, *a demand, exaction*, i, 136, 276.  
 denarius, *a penny*, i, 292.—denarii, *money*, i, 292, 484, 614.  
 denuntiatio (tertia), *a (third) notice*, iv, 538.  
 deodanda, *deodands*, ii, 286, 388.  
 deperire, *act., to lose*, iv, 94.  
 derelictus, *a derelict*, i, 60, 68.  
 desicut, (1) *since, because, whilst*, ii, 296; iii, 524, 526, 542, 548; iv, 108, 170; v, 140; (2) *according as, in proportion to*, ii, 520.  
 detentor, *a detainer, holder*, i, 318; vi, 86.  
 deterioratio, *deterioration*, i, 594.  
 deusitare, *to disuse*, i, 386, 458.  
 deuti, *to disuse*, vi, 340.  
 devadiare, (1) *to dismiss, release upon security*, ii, 130, 266; iii, 518; (2) *to bail*, iii, 442.  
 devenire, *to become*, i, 632.  
 dies t-riatus, *a holiday*, i, 316.  
 dicta, (1) *a day's journey*, iii, 584; (2) *travelling expense*, ii, 394.  
 diffamatio, *promulgation, dissemination*, ii, 452.  
 digestum, *a digest*, i, 148.  
 dimittere, *to lease*, i, 214.  
 disaccordare, *to disagree*, ii, 430.  
 discalceatus, *without shoes*, v, 316.  
 discooperire, *to uncover*, ii, 484.  
 disparagare, *to disparage*, ii, 24, 44.  
 dispensa, *a store-room*, ii, 518.  
 distractio, *a proof*, ii, 410.  
 dis-rati-onare, *to argue, prove, justify, rebut, etc., to devalue, deraign, derogue*, i, 50, 202, 344.  
 'part. adj.' : ii, 130, 262, 464, 410, 416, 438, 444, 464, 474; iii, 234; iv, 48.  
 dis-rati-onatio, *a proof, vindication, derangement*, ii, 444; iv, 464, 584.  
 disseysina, *a privation of neizin, disseisin, disseysine*, i, 92, 220, 308; ii, 6, 196; iii, 2, 14, 118, 120, 136.  
 disseysina (disseisin) nova, *novel disseisin*, i, 52, 98, 102, 108, 128, 132, 144, 156, 180, 192, 196, 198; ii, 70, 140; iii, 14.  
 disseysire, *to disseysse*, i, 194, 204, 242; ii, 208; iii, 120.  
 disseysitor, *one who has committed a disseysin. a disseysor*, i, 308, 338; ii, 196; iii, 2, 14, 100, 118.  
 distributivus, *distributive*, iv, 88.  
 districtio, *the act of distraining. a distraint, distress*, i, 168, 170, 450, 626, 650; ii, 262; iii, 146, 332.  
 distringere, (1) *to distraint*, i, 454, 670; ii, 250. (2) *to compel, press, force*, ii, 80.  
 divisa, *a bound, boundary*, v, 486.  
 domigerium, perhaps for dangerium (q.v.), *a household*, iii, 184.  
 dominicus, adj., *dominica terra, demesne land*, i, 592.—dominicum, *domain, demesne*, i, 28, 50, 52, 108, 188, 574, 584, 592, 596, 600, 618 (demense), 640, 642, 644; ii, 86, 96, 98.—dominicum coronae, *demesne of the Crown*, i, 42; ii, 584.  
 dominium, *dominion, lordship*, i, 98, 618.  
 dominus capitalis, *a chief lord*, i, 102, 618.  
 donatarius, donatorius, *the recipient of a gift, a donatory, or donatory. a donor*, i, 100, 104, 106, 108, 116, 136, 140, 142, 154, 170; ii, 90, 92; iii, 506; iv, 42, 60.  
 donatorius, *a donor, donatory*, i, 88.  
 dormitorium, *a sleeping-room, dormitory*, iii, 368.  
 dos, *a dower*, ii, 48, 80.  
 dreht dreht, *doubled or duplicate right*, iii, 360; iv, 354; v, 432.—assisa de dreht dreht, *an assise of right right*, vi, 432.  
 duellum, *a duel*, i, 524, 642, 656, 658; ii, 130, 262; iv, 66, 226.—d. percutere, *to begin a battle*, ii, 416.  
 dux, *a duke*, i, 36.  
 Ebba, *an abb.*, iii, 28; iv, 136; v, 158 (here also ebbe, indecl.).  
 ecclesia cathedralis, *a cathedral church*, i, 216.  
 ecclesia conventualis, *a conventual church*, i, 216.  
 ecclesia matrix, *a mother church*, iv, 32; vi, 178.

- ecclesia parochialis, a parochial church*, i, 216.  
*ecclesia regularis, a regular church*, i, 110.  
*ecclesia ruralis, a rural church*, i, 110.  
*econverso, conversely*, iii, 480.  
*editio, a declaration* (as to costs, or the ground of action), v, 462; vi, 218. See *aditio*.  
*elemosina, eleemosyna, a free alm, alms*, i, 112 (*libera et perpetua*), 216 (*libera*), 218 (*libera pura et perpetua*).  
*eloquium, an exposition*, ii, 178.  
*emenda, a fine*, ii, 10.  
*emendare, to make good*, ii, 10.  
*Englescheria, Englishery*, ii, 384, 386, 390, 392.  
*equitandi servitium, the service of riding*, i, 280. See also *servitium*.  
*equitare, to ride, perform service on horseback*, i, 630.  
*escambium, excambium*, (1) *an exchange*, i, 214, 590, 636, 644, 646, 652, 672; ii, 64, 92; iv, 482, 484, 544; (2) *a compensation*, i, 98, 106, 296, 378; iii, 110, 112; iv, 162, 164, 170, 264, 472, 478; (3) *an equivalent*, iv, 452, 474, 476, 484, 486.  
*eschaeta, an escheat*, i, 162, 182, 184, 186, 188, 198, 216, 236, 238, 640; ii, 12, 98, 244; iii, 4; iv, 120, 264.  
*escambium = escambium, a compensation*, v, 32, 38; vi, 50.  
*eschampium, a compensation*, ii, 598.  
*eschapium (per), on the sly*, iii, 544.  
*eschentor, an eschaetor*, ii, 592.  
*espervarius sorus, a sparrow-hawk in his first plumage*, v, 82. See *astur-cinus sorus*.  
*essoniabilis, excusable, essoynable, essoniable*, ii, 206; iii, 432; iv, 10; v, 16.  
*essoynare se, to excuse, essoyn oneself*, ii, 192, 460, 502; iii, 162, 542; iv, 6, 10, 76, 154.  
*essoynator, one who makes an excuse, an essoynor*, iv, 108; v, 114.  
*essoniatius, essoyned, excused*, ii, 190, 192, 218; *the party essoyned, an essoinee*, iv, 12; v, 160, 278.  
*essonium, an excuse, essoyn*, i, 454; ii, 192, 202, 314, 460; iv, 12, 174.  
*estoverium, an estover, estover, maintenance*, ii, 80, 402; iv, 596; *firewood*, iii, 72, 442, 444, 488, 550.  
*excambium, see escambium*.  
*excoriare, to skin, strip*, iii, 234.  
*exennium, exhennium, xenium, a present, payment*, ii, 166; vi, 182.  
*exequi, to make a valuation*, i, 596.  
*exhaeredatio, a disheriting, disinheritance, disherison*, i, 118, 120, 164, 626; iv, 118.  
*exigere, to exact* (a writ, styled *exigent* or *exigende*), ii, 332.  
*exitus, produce*, i, 588; ii, 10.  
*exlex, an outlaw*, ii, 308; vi, 480.  
*exorbitare, to exclude*, i, 496.  
*expletia* (gen. ae), *profit*, iii, 358; iv, 204.  
*expletium, profit*, iii, 358; iv, 354.  
*expressio, a specification*, iv, 336.  
*expulsivus, that which drives out, or expels, expulsive*, iii, 20.  
*extendere, to value, to extend*, i, 570, 572, 574, 596.  
*extensio, a valuation, extent; see extensio*.  
*extensor, a valuer*, i, 570, 572, 594, 596, 598.  
*extensio, -sio, extent*, i, 570, 572, 574, 594, 596; v, 468; vi, 34.  
*extorsor, one who extorts, one who obtains something by force*, ii, 588.  
*extracta brevium, an extract of writs*, ii, 586.  
*extunc, thenceforth*, ii, 308.  
*Facere legem, to make law*, v, 138.  
*fagina, beech-nuts*, iii, 518.  
*falcare, to reap*, i, 408; vi, 348.  
*falcatio, a reaping*, i, 278.  
*falda, a fold*, iii, 564.  
*falsonarius, a falsifier*, ii, 246, 254.  
*felo, a felon*, i, 182, 234; ii, 252, 290; iv, 296, 298.  
*felonia, felony*, i, 46, 96, 182, 184, 188, 234, 238, 636, 640; ii, 10, 130; iv, 138, 216, 296.  
*feodalis, of or belonging to a feudum; feodale servitium, feudal service*, i, 278; *feodale auxilium, feudal aid*, ii, 288.  
*feodi firma, a fee-farm*, i, 108, 134, 456, 680; ii, 12; v, 26.  
*feodum, a feud, feof, fief, fee*, i, 16, 92, 106, 108, 140, 156, 158, 164, 168, 184, 210, 620, 630, 636, 642, 666; ii, 36.  
*feodum laicum, a lay fee*, i, 388; ii, 198; vi, 230.  
*feodum militare, a military fief*, i, 270, 292, 666, 668; ii, 56, 588.  
*feodum militis, a knight's fief, a military fief*, i, 598, 614, 666; ii, 86.  
*feodum purum, an absolute fee*, i, 672.  
*feoffamentum, a feoffment, enfranchisement, enfranchisement*, i, 52, 98, 138, 158, 170,

- 186, 188, 194, 198, 212, 214, 226, 236, 244, 278, 610, 628; ii, 12; iv, 222.
- feoffare, *to enfeoff*, i, 102, 138, 164, 168, 184, 186, 188, 212, 214, 216, 234, 278, 610, 630, 638, 648; ii, 36; iii, 6.
- feoffatio, *an enfeoffment*, ii, 32, 36.
- feoffator, *a feoffor, enfeoffer*, i, 98, 100, 102, 106, 140, 168, 170, 172, 184, 188, 194, 198, 216, 244, 610, 620, 628, 638, 644, 676; ii, 12, 36; iii, 120.
- feoffatus, *a feoffee*, i, 106, 168, 170, 184, 188, 194, 214, 242, 610; iii, 120.
- feoffatus (part.), *enfeoffed*, i, 102, 136, 138, 146, 174, 182, 196, 220.
- feoffeffare (query so in MSS.?), *to enfeoff*, iii, 128.
- teria, *a fair*, i, 460; vi, 348.
- feriatus dies, *see dies*.
- terriliminatio, *a welding with iron*, i, 74.<sup>1</sup>
- fideiussio (also fideiussio in edit.), *giving or being a surety, suretyship*, vi, 210.
- fideiussor, *a bail, surety*, vi, 210.
- fide jussorius, *of or belonging to surety, or bail, responsible*.—(securitas) fide jussoria, iv, 494; v, 154 (cautio fidejussoria).
- fidelitas, *falty*, i, 270, 616.
- filetale (filecale, ild-ale), ii, 250.
- filum aquae, *mid-channel of the water, midstream*, iii, 374, 582.
- finis, (1) *a fine*, i, 468, 470, 578, 626, 646; ii, 588; iv, 232.—*finēs communes, common fines*, i, 288, 290. (2) *a bound*, ii, 586.
- firma, (1) *a farm, ferm*, i, 98, 236, 324; ii, 248, 588; iii, 42. (2) *a lease*, iv, 74, 182. (3) *a term*, vi, 128.
- firma alta, *high rent*, ii, 588.
- firma feodi, *a fee-farm*. *See feodi firma*.
- firmarius, (1) *a farmer*, i, 98, 106; iii, 40, 128, 470; v, 4. (2) *a lessee*, i, 236, 468; iv, 58, 74, 182. (3) *a termor*, i, 156, 184, 212, 214, 470; iii, 268; v, 64, 70.<sup>2</sup>
- fiscus, *a public treasury*, i, 110.
- flode, flodel, flud, *a flood*, v, 158, 160, 166.
- flodus, *a flood*, iii, 28.
- fluctus, *a flow of the tide*, iv, 136.
- flud, *see flode*.
- foemina legalis, *a loyal woman*, ii, 490.
- folgheres, *followers*, ii, 306.
- fontana, *a fountain*, iii, 564.
- forcelletum, *a fortress*, ii, 600.
- forcia, *force, assault*, ii, 282, 420; v, 180; ille (appellatus) de forcia, *an accessory*, ii, 290, 330, 332, 422, 434, 444, 446; alius de forcia, ii, 446; iii, 204.
- foresta, *a forest*, iii, 512; vi, 272.—*forestarius, a forester*, iv, 604.
- forgium, *a forge*, vi, 272.
- forinsecum servitium, *forinsec service*, i, 168, 282, 614, 628. Terrae forinsecae, *forinsec lands*, iv, 264.
- forisfacere, *to incur forfeit, to forfeit*, i, 184, 240; ii, 306, 336, 484; iv, 296.
- forisfactura (also fortisfactura, in text), *a forfeit*, ii, 306.
- forisfamiliarē, *to let go out of a family, to set free*, i, 508.
- formare, *to prepare, draw up*, iv, 456; f. brevia, *to prepare, draw up writs*, iv, 434, 456.
- fors, *a lot*, i, 576.
- fortia, *force*, ii, 410, 412, 492; iii, 200; appellatus de f., *appellee as accessory*, ii, 476. *See also forcia*.
- forum seculare, or ecclesiasticum, *a secular or ecclesiastical court*, i, 358.
- fossatum, *a ditch*, i, 602; ii, 94.
- franchiatus, *enfranchised*, iv, 304.
- Francigena, *Frankborn*, ii, 384, 386, 392.
- franciplegium, *frankpledge*, i, 290, 446.—*trancum plegium*, i, 448; ii, 304, 306, 312.
- frendlesman, *a friendless man*, ii, 336.
- freneticus, *a frenetic person*, ii, 506.
- fridhburgum, *a fridhburg*, ii, 306.
- fructuarius, (1) *one entitled to the fruits (of land)*, i, 42, 76; iii, 268; (2) *a lessee of crops*, iii, 62.
- fugare, *to chase*, ii, 596, 600.
- fundum, *an estate*, i, 606, 608.
- furcae, *the gallows*, i, 444; ii, 586; vi, 348.
- fustis et baculus, *a staff and stick*, i, 314.
- Gaola, *a gaol, jail*, ii, 160, 180, 520; iii, 160, 170, 352; vi, 466.
- garba (tertia vel quarta), *a third or fourth sheaf*, iii, 380. — g. nova

<sup>1</sup> See *ferruminatio* in Du Cange under *aplumbatio*.<sup>2</sup> The three meanings given here are practically all the same, a farmer, lessee, termor.

- terrae, *a new sheaf of the land*, vi, 198.
- gardinum, *a garden*, i, 596, 602; ii, 94, 342; iii, 200.
- gavelkind, gavelkynd, gavelkynde, gavelkind, ii, 56; iv, 298, 564, 578; v, 110, 440.
- gladii jus, *right of the sword*, i, 604.
- gladius materialis, *the material sword*, i, 44.—g. spiritualis et temporalis, *the spiritual and temporal sword*, vi, 500.
- glans, *acorns, beech-nut*, iii, 516.
- gleba, (1) *the soil*, i, 52; (2) *a glebe*, i, 314.
- Graecorum (mare), *the sea of the Greeks*, v, 158, 160.
- guerra, *war*, i, 130, 610; ii, 62; v, 436.
- guerrinus, *of or belonging to war, war-like*, iv, 26; v, 436.
- gurgee, *a weir*, iii, 560, 564.
- gust, *gest, a guest*, ii, 306.
- Habendam et tenendam, habendum et tenendum, *to have and to hold*, i, 136, 146, 148.
- habito, *a dwelling, habitation*, i, 494. (Other MS. habitacio.)
- habitus probationis, *the habit, dress of probation*, vi, 326, 400.
- habitus professionis, *the habit, dress of profession*, vi, 400.
- haereditarie, *by inheritance, hereditarily*, i, 592; ii, 14.
- hamblettus, hamlelettum, hamlettum, hamlettus, *a hamlet*, i, 294; iii, 404.
- hamsokne, hamsoken, *an invasion of a house*, ii, 464.
- haspa, *a hasp*, i, 314; vi, 138.
- haya, *a hedge*, ii, 94; iii, 188, 478, 490, 526. See also heya.
- herciscunda familia, *an inheritance*, ii, 120; vi, 500.
- herieth, herioth, herietum, *a heriot*, heriott, i, 480, 666, 680.
- heya = haya, *a hedge*, i, 602.
- heyare, *to make a hedge*, ii, 578.
- heybote, *heybote*, vi, 216.
- hida, *a hide (of land)*, vi, 426.
- hidagium, *hidage*, i, 290.
- hinfangthehe, *for infangtheft*, q.v., ii, 292.
- hoghenehyne, hogenhyne, agen hina, *own hind*, ii, 306.
- homagii captio, *the taking of homage*, i, 128.
- homagium, *homage*, i, 88, 98, 122, 134, 136, 162, 164, 170, 172, 178, 180, 184, 188, 198, 270, 600, 610; ii, 86.
- homagium seculare, *secular homage*, i, 628.
- hondhabbende, hondhabend. hondhabende, hondehebbende, *hand having*, ii, 292, 510, 540.
- horreum, *a storehouse, granary, barn*, i, 348. See ort-.
- Hospitalarius, *a Hospitaller*, v, 114.
- hospitare, *to receive anyone as guest or inmate of one's house*, ii, 238.
- hostium, *for ostium, a door*, ii, 596.
- housbote, *housbote*, vi, 216.
- hundreda, *a hundred court, a meeting of the hundred*, ii, 98, 504, 540, 578.
- hundredarius, *an inhabitant of a hundred*, ii, 238.
- hundredum, *a hundred*, i, 290, 632; ii, 238, 248, 540, 542, 586, 602; *the (inhabitants of the) hundred*, iii, 538.
- husfastene, hussefesten, *householders*, ii, 306.
- hustingus, *a husting*, ii, 326, 342, 372.
- hutesium (et clamor), *hue and cry*, i, 130; ii, 236, 288, 304, 316, 472.
- hutfangthehe, *utfangentheft*, ii, 292. See utf-.
- Ictus orbus, *a blow which has not cut*, ii, 284.
- ideota, *an idiot*, v, 454.
- ild-ale, *see fillet-ale*.
- imbladare, *to place under grain*, iii, 116.
- imbladatio, *a placing under grain, a grain crop*, iii, 116.
- imbreviare, inbr-, (1) *to reduce into writing, to imbreviate, enrol, enter on a writ, insert in a writ*, i, 480, 572; ii, 238; iii, 138; iv, 126, 128. (2) *to inventory*, ii, 400.
- immediate, *immediately*, ii, 162.
- immodice, *immoderately*, i, 652.
- imparcare, *to immure, impound*, ii, 302, 568, 602.
- imperpetuare, *to perpetuate*, vi, 408.
- impersecutus, *unpersecuted*, ii, 464.
- impetratio, *a grant*, i, 450, 452; (2) *a requisition, request*, iii, 26, 100.
- impignorare, *to pledge*, i, 160.
- implacitare, impl-, *to implead, sue, or prosecute by a placitum or judicial proceedings*, i, 172, 216, 244, 656; ii, 6, 208, 216; iii, 26.
- implacitatus, *a defendant*, ii, 136; *the party impleaded*, iii, 514.
- imprisonamentum, *imprisonment*, i, 50; ii, 152, 298, 330.

- imprisonare, to imprison, i, 454; ii, 152, 250, 472.  
 incaustum, a mordant, vi, 142.  
 incidentaliter, incidentally, iv, 78.  
 incumbramentum, an encumbrance, iv, 36, 180; vi, 86.  
 incumbere, to incubber, ii, 94; iv, 34, 82; vi, 86.  
 indemnis, indemnified, iv, 110.  
 indeterminate, indefinitely, ii, 310.  
 indictamentum, an indictment, ii, 250, 300, 318, 434.  
 indictare, to indict, accuse, ii, 300.  
 indictatus, a person indicted, ii, 318.  
 indorsare, to indorse, v, 376.  
 indotatus, unendowed, ii, 64.  
 induciae, a respite, v, 158.  
 infangenethef, infangethef, infangenthef, i, 444; ii, 538, 540 (explan.). See also *hinfangtheffe*.  
 infortunium, a misadventure, misfortune, v, 200.  
 inlagare, to restore an outlaw to his law or rights and country, to inlaw, ii, 358, 366, 368; see *inlegare*.  
 inlagaria, the restoring an outlaw to his law or country, inlawry, ii, 368, 370.  
 inlagatio, inlawry, ii, 368; vi, 326.  
 inlagatus, an inlawed person, ii, 360.  
 inlaghe, inlawhe, a person who is under a law, an inlaw, ii, 312.  
 inlegare = inlagare, to inlaw, ii, 380.  
 impalpabilis, impalpable, v, 476.  
 inquestio, an inquest, i, 506.  
 inquietativus, disquieting, iii, 20.  
 inquilinus, a lodger, i, 334.  
 inquisitio, an inquisition, examination, inquiry, inquest, i, 116, 642.  
 inquisitor, an inquisitor, ii, 600.  
 irrotulatio, see *irrot-*.  
 insolidum, to the entirety, i, 526 (bis).  
 instauratus, stocked with agricultural implements, ii, 10.  
 insultus, an attack, aggression, ii, 458.  
 intangibilis, intangible, iii, 588.  
 interesse, interest, i, 146; ii, 118.  
 interlaqueare, to interlace, iv, 158.—  
 interlaqueatum breve, an interlaced writ, i, 590; vi, 124, 134.  
 intermedius, that is between, intermediate, iii, 336.  
 intrusio, an intrusion, i, 92.  
 intrusor, an intruder, iii, 358; iv, 286.  
 invadiare, to pledge, iv, 548.  
 invaletudo, ill-health, infirmity, i, 44.  
 investitura, investiture, iii, 118.  
 irritare, to render, make, void, ii, 352; iv, 102.  
 irrotulare, to enroll, i, 598; ii, 238; iv, 416.  
 irrotulatio, irrot-, an enrolment (enrollment), entry, i, 6, 600; iv, 378, 414; v, 32, 166.  
 iter, (1) a path, footpath, pathway, iter, i, 414, 648; iii, 560, 580; vi, 28. (2) a judge's circuit, an eyre, i, 396, 398, 400, 466, 660; ii, 184.  
 itinerare, (1) to travel, i, 116, 118. (2) to make circuit, to be itinerant, to go iter, ii, 182, 184, 190, 192, 234; iv, 146; v, 254.  
 itineratio, a journey, a making circuit, ii, 190, 234; vi, 366.  
 Jacobus, of Compostella (Sanctus), pilgrimage to his shrine, iv, 128, 136; v, 158.  
 jactum retis tertium, a third cast of the net, ii, 98.  
 jocalia, jewels, i, 478.  
 jocularix, a juggler's wife, ii, 486.  
 jocus partitus, (1) an alternative bargain, iii, 398; (2) alternative risk, iii, 408; (3) an alternative wager, vi, 408, 412, 426.  
 Judaeus, Judeus, a Jew, i, 376; ii, 244.  
 judicia, ae, suspension of proceedings (but query *induciae*? the MSS. have *induciae*), iv, 138.  
 jurata, a jury, i, 398, 506, 642; ii, 194, 248; iii, 84; iv, 40; v, 30.  
 jurator, a juror, i, 396, 400; ii, 240, 364.  
 jus merum, absolute right, i, 16, 246.  
 jus praetorium, praetorian right, i, 16.  
 justiciare, justitiare, (1) to execute, enforce justice, ii, 158; iii, 568; v, 88. (2) to bring to justice, iv, 546. (3) to adjudge, v, 104.  
 justiciaria, justit-, (1) a commission of justices, ii, 196. (2) justiceship, justiciarship, ii, 198; vi, 242.  
 justiciarius, justit-, a justiciary, i, 98, 112, 116.—justiciarius de banco, a justiciary of the Bench, i, 204; ii, 198; v, 270.—justiciarius itinerans, a justice itinerant, v, 270.  
 justicies, justiciet, a writ called justices, iii, 552, 566 (from justiciare, to do justice, see 568).  
 Keye (Engl.), ii, 4, 8; see *coe* (for *coe*).  
 Lagan, lagan, ii, 272.  
 laicalis, of or belonging to a laicus, lay, i, 440.  
 laicum feodum, a lay-fee; see *feodum*.



- lange* (to) and to bred, to long and to bred, to long to brod, ii, 39v.
- latitatio*, a hiding, lurking, ii, 318.
- laughesman*, *laghesman*, a lawless man, ii, 308.
- laycus*, for laicus, a layman, ii, 74, 76.
- legalis*, loyal, i, 572.
- legarus*, for legatarius, a legatary, vi, 230.
- legatarius*, a legatary, legatee, i, 148, 164.
- legeantia*, allegiance, ii, 12; see *lig-*.
- legitimare*, legitimare, to legitimate, i, 502.
- legitimation*, legitimation, vi, 318.
- legitimitas*, legitimacy, iv, 326.
- legius*, adj., free, v, 30.
- leporarius*, a greyhound, i, 280.
- lepra*, animae, leprosy of the soul, vi, 280, 366.
- leuca*, a mile, iii, 584.
- levare*, to levy, ii, 588.
- liber*, free; liber homo, a free man, i, 28, 54; ii, 253.
- liberare*, to deliver, i, 400.
- libertas*, liberty, franchise, or district within which the inhabitants enjoy free dom, i, 440; ii, 208, 244, 254, 296, 540, 592; vi, 122.
- libertina*, a freedwoman, i, 34.—*libertinus*, a freedman, i, 34.
- librata*, terrae, a pound's worth of land, a librate, i, 126, 184, 594; ii, 248; iv, 210; v, 468; vi, 116; iv, 242 (hout terrae).—*librata* terrae, an acre of land, i, 646.
- ligea*, potestas, liege power, iii, 8; vi, 126.
- ligeantia*, ligiantia, allegiance, i, 628, 644; ii, 18; vi, 376. See also *legeantia*.
- ligens*, adj., full, v, 54; see *legius*.
- ligitare*, a misprint for litigare, to litigate, vi, 440.
- litigium*, a lawsuit, litigation, vi, 444.
- loquela*, imparlance, i, 218; an argument, ii, 574; v, 102, 114; a plea, 400; v, 114; a suit, iv, 584; a case, v, 114; a trial, v, 160; vi, 178.
- lucrum*, a bribe, ii, 590.
- lupinum*, in caput, see *caput*.
- Maerem*, mremium, timber, ii, 25, 286, 592.
- mag*, a great man, a magnate, ii, 30, 41; iii, 524.
- mahe*, mario, mayh-, (1) to maim, i, 44, 490; ii, 320, 464. (2) to blemish, i, 490.
- mahemium*, (1) a maiming, a maim, mayhem, ii, 288, 322, 360, 424, 450, 464, 468, 496. (2) a blemish, i, 490.
- major*, a mayor (of a town), i, 452, 456; v, 182.
- majoritas*, a majority, iii, 372.
- maleficium*, a malfeasance, fraud, deception, i, 350.
- manerium*, a manor, i, 52, 124, 126, 132, 246, 582, 594, 596, 630; ii, 58, 592, 598; iii, 46 (if the manor be called a borough), 404 (explanation of the manor), 542; iv, 42, 100; vi, 428.
- mansio*, vi, 428 (explanation).
- mansuicula*, a cottage, iii, 512.
- manucapere*, to capture by the hand, i, 30; to give bail, be a surety, ii, 250, 296, 334.
- manumissio*, a manumission, i, 26, 44, 46, 202.—*manumissor*, a manumittor, iii, 262.
- manumissus*, hand-freed, i, 30, 32.
- manupastus*, a household, ii, 304, 306, 310; vi, 484.
- marca*, a mark (= 12 den. f.), i, 596; ii, 14 (= 10 sh. f.).
- marchia*, a march, ii, 338.
- mare Graecorum*, see *Graecorum*.
- maremium*, see *maeremium*.
- marescallus*, see *comes marescallus*.
- mariscum*, a marsh, iii, 512.
- maritadium*, (1) marriage, i, 102, 178. (2) marriage, a marriage portion, i, 134, 162, 166, 168, 170, 172, 226, 608, 610; ii, 80; iv, 68. (3) the right of the feudal lord to make choice of a wife for the heir of his tenant, or of a husband for the heiress, i, 270, 628, 678; ii, 8, 10, 12, 20; iv, 124.
- maritare se*, to marry of one's own choice, ii, 24, 80; to give in marriage, iii, 264.
- marla*, marl, iii, 448.
- massa rudis*, rude bullion, ii, 426.
- mediate*, immediately, i, 118.
- medleta*, a medley, ii, 540.
- meliorare*, to make better, to improve, i, 408.
- mercatum*, a market, i, 450; ii, 246, 254; iii, 148.
- mercenarius*, a hireling, ii, 306.
- merces*, wares, goods, i, 324.
- merchandise*, merchandize, i, 454; ii, 242.
- merchetum*, redemption of blood, blood-money, i, 206; iii, 264, 376.
- merum jus*, absolute right; see *jus merum*.

- imprisonare, *to imprison*, i, 454; ii, 152, 250, 472.  
 incaustum, *a mordant*, vi, 142.  
 incidentaliter, *incidentally*, iv, 78.  
 incumbamentum, *an encumbrance*, iv, 36, 180; vi, 86.  
 incumbrare, *to incumber*, ii, 94; iv, 34, 82; vi, 86.  
 indemnus, *indemnified*, iv, 110.  
 indeterminate, *indefinitely*, ii, 310.  
 indictamentum, *an indictment*, ii, 250, 300, 318, 434.  
 indictare, *to indict, accuse*, ii, 300.  
 indictatus, *a person indicted*, ii, 318.  
 indorsare, *to indorse*, v, 376.  
 indotatus, *unendowed*, ii, 64.  
 induciae, *a respite*, v, 158.  
 infangenethef, *infangenethef, infangthef, infangenthef*, i, 444; ii, 538, 540 (explan.). See also *hinfangthefe*.  
 infortunium, *a misadventure, misfortune*, v, 200.  
 inlagare, *to restore an outlaw to his law or rights and country, to inlaw*, ii, 358, 366, 368; see *inlegare*.  
 inlagaria, *the restoring an outlaw to his law or country, inlawry*, ii, 368, 370.  
 inlagatio, *inlawry*, ii, 368; vi, 326.  
 inlagatus, *an inlawed person*, ii, 360.  
 inlaghe, *inlaughe, a person who is under a law, an inlaw*, ii, 312.  
 inlegare = inlagare *to inlaw*, ii, 380.  
 inpalpabilis, *impalpable*, v, 476.  
 inquestio, *an inquest*, i, 506.  
 inquietativus, *disquieting*, iii, 20.  
 inquilinus, *a lodger*, i, 334.  
 inquisitio, *an inquisition, examination, inquiry, inquest*, i, 116, 642.  
 inquisitor, *an inquisitor*, ii, 600.  
 inrotulatio, see *irrot-*.  
 insolidum, *to the entirety*, i, 526 (his).  
 instauratus, *stocked with agricultural implements*, ii, 10.  
 insultus, *an attack, aggression*, ii, 458.  
 intangibilis, *intangible*, iii, 588.  
 interesse, *interest*, i, 146; ii, 118.  
 interlaqueare, *to interlace*, iv, 158. — *interlaqueatum breve*, *an interlaced writ*, i, 590; vi, 124, 134.  
 inter-medius, *that is between, intermediate*, iii, 336.  
 intrusio, *an intrusion*, i, 92.  
 intru-or, *an intruder*, iii, 358; iv, 286.  
 invadiare, *to pledge*, iv, 548.  
 invaletudo, *ill-health, infirmity*, i, 44.  
 investitura, *investiture*, iii, 118.  
 irritare, *to render, make, void*, ii, 352; iv, 102.  
 irrotulare, *to enroll*, i, 598; ii, 238; iv, 416.  
 irrotulatio, *inrot-, an enrolment (enrollment), entry*, i, 6, 600; iv, 378, 414; v, 32, 166.  
 iter, (1) *a path, footpath, pathway, iter*, i, 414, 648; iii, 560, 580; vi, 28. (2) *a judge's circuit, an eyre*, i, 396, 398, 400, 466, 660; ii, 184.  
 itinerare, (1) *to travel*, i, 116, 118. (2) *to make circuit, to be itinerant, to go iter*, ii, 182, 184, 190, 192, 234; iv, 146; v, 254.  
 itineratio, *a journey, a making circuit*, ii, 190, 234; vi, 366.  
 Jacobus, of Compostella (Sanctus), *pilgrimage to his shrine*, iv, 128, 136; v, 158.  
 jactum retis tertium, *a third cast of the net*, ii, 98.  
 jocalia, *jewels*, i, 478.  
 jocolatrix, *a juggler's wife*, ii, 486.  
 jocus partitus, (1) *an alternative bargain*, iii, 398; (2) *alternative risk*, iii, 408; (3) *an alternative wager*, vi, 408, 412, 426.  
 Judaeus, *Judeus, a Jew*, i, 376; ii, 244.  
 judicia, ae, *suspension of proceedings (but query induciae? the MSS. have iuduciae)*, iv, 138.  
 jurata, *a jury*, i, 398, 506, 642; ii, 194, 248; iii, 84; iv, 40; v, 30.  
 jurator, *a juror*, i, 396, 400; ii, 240, 364.  
 jus merum, *absolute right*, i, 16, 246.  
 jus praetorium, *praetorian right*, i, 16.  
 justiciaro, justitiare, (1) *to execute, enforce justice*, ii, 158; iii, 568; v, 88. (2) *to bring to justice*, iv, 546. (3) *to adjudge*, v, 104.  
 justiciaria, justit-, (1) *a commission of justices*, ii, 196. (2) *justice, justiciarship*, ii, 198; vi, 242.  
 justiciarius, justit-, *a justiciary*, i, 98, 112, 116. — *justiciarius de banco, a justiciary of the Bench*, i, 204; ii, 198; v, 270. — *justiciarius itinerans, a justice itinerant*, v, 270.  
 justicies, justiciet, *a writ called justices*, iii, 552, 566 (from *justiciare, to do justice*, see 568).  
 Keye (Engl.), ii, 4, 8; see *con* (tor *con*).  
 Lagan, lagan, ii, 272.  
 laicalis, *of or belonging to a laicus, lay*, i, 440.  
 laicum teodum, *a lay-fie; see feodum*.

- lange (to) and to bred, to long and to bred, to long to brod, ii, 39v.  
 latitatio, *a hiding, lurking*, ii, 318.  
 laughelesman, laghelesman, *a lawless man*, ii, 308.  
 laycus, for laicus, *a layman*, ii, 74, 76.  
 legalis, *loyal*, i, 572.  
 legarus, for legatarius, *a legatary*, vi, 230.  
 legatarius, *a legatary, legatee*, i, 148, 164.  
 legeantia, *allegiance*, ii, 12; see lig-.  
 legitimare, legitimare, *to legitimate*, i, 502.  
 legitimatio, *legitimation*, vi, 318.  
 legitimatas, *legitimacy*, iv, 326.  
 legius, adj., *free*, v, 30.  
 leporarius, *a greyhound*, i, 280.  
 lepra animae, *leprosy of the soul*, vi, 280, 366.  
 leuca, *a mile*, iii, 584.  
 levare, *to levy*, ii, 588.  
 liber, *free*; liber homo, *a free man*, i, 28, 54; ii, 258.  
 liberare, *to deliver*, i, 400.  
 libertas, *liberty, franchise, or district within which the inhabitants enjoy freedom*, i, 440; ii, 208, 244, 254, 296, 540, 592; vi, 122.  
 libertina, *a freedwoman*, i, 34.—libertinus, *a freedman*, i, 34.  
 librata terrae, *a pound's worth of land, a librate*, i, 126, 184, 594; ii, 248; iv, 216; v, 468; vi, 116; iv, 242 (without terrae).—librata terrae, *an acre of land*, i, 646.  
 ligea potestas, *liege power*, iii, 8; vi, 126.  
 ligeantia, ligiantia, *allegiance*, i, 628, 644; ii, 18; vi, 376. See also *legantia*.  
 ligeus, adj., *full*, v, 54; see *legius*.  
 litigare, *a misprint for litigare, to litigate*, vi, 440.  
 litigium, *a lawsuit, litigation*, vi, 444.  
 loquela, *imparlance*, i, 218; *an argument*, ii, 574; v, 102, 114; *a plea*, ii, 600; v, 114; *a suit*, iv, 584; *a cause*, v, 114; *a trial*, v, 160; vi, 178.  
 lucrum, *a bribe*, ii, 590.  
 lupinum caput, see *caput*.  
 Maeremium, *maeremium, timber*, ii, 256, 286, 592.  
 magnas, *a great man, a magnate*, ii, 304; iii, 524.  
 mahemiare, mayh-, (1) *to maim*, i, 440; ii, 320, 464. (2) *to blemish*, i, 490.  
 mahemium, (1) *a maiming, a maim, mayhem*, ii, 288, 322, 360, 424, 430, 464, 468, 496. (2) *a blemish*, i, 490.  
 major, *a mayor (of a town)*, i, 452, 456; v, 182.  
 majoritas, *a majority*, iii, 372.  
 maleficium, *a malfeasance, fraud, deception*, i, 350.  
 manerium, *a manor*, i, 52, 124, 126, 132, 246, 582, 594, 596, 630; ii, 58, 592, 598; iii, 46 (if the manor be called a borough), 404 (explanation of the manor), 542; iv, 42, 100; vi, 428.  
 mansio, vi, 428 (explanation).  
 mansiuncula, *a cottage*, iii, 512.  
 manucapere, *to capture by the hand*, i, 30; *to give bail, be a surety*, ii, 250, 296, 334.  
 manumissio, *a manumission*, i, 26, 44, 46, 202.—manumissor, *a manumittor*, iii, 262.  
 manumissus, *hand-freed*, i, 30, 32.  
 manupastus, *a household*, ii, 304, 306, 310; vi, 484.  
 marca, *a mark (= 12 den. ?)*, i, 596; ii, 14 (= 10 sh. ?).  
 marchia, *a march*, ii, 338.  
 mare Graecorum, see *Graecorum*.  
 maremium, see *maeremium*.  
 marescallus, see *comes marescallus*.  
 mariscum, *a marsh*, iii, 512.  
 maritagium, (1) *marriage*, i, 102, 178. (2) *marriage, a marriage portion*, i, 134, 162, 166, 168, 170, 172, 226, 608, 610; ii, 80; iv, 68. (3) *the right of the feudal lord to make choice of a wife for the heir of his tenant, or of a husband for the heiress*, i, 270, 628, 678; ii, 8, 10, 12, 20; iv, 124.  
 maritare se, *to marry of one's own choice*, ii, 24, 80; *to give in marriage*, iii, 264.  
 marla, *marl*, iii, 448.  
 massa rudis, *rusty bullion*, ii, 426.  
 mediate, *immediately*, i, 118.  
 medleta, *a medley*, ii, 540.  
 meliorare, *to make better, to improve*, i, 408.  
 mercatum, *a market*, i, 450; ii, 246, 254; iii, 148.  
 mercenarius, *a hireling*, ii, 306.  
 merces, *wares, goods*, i, 324.  
 merchandisa, *merchandise*, i, 454; ii, 242.  
 merchetum, *redemption of blood, blood-money*, i, 206; iii, 264, 376.  
 merum jus, *absolute right*; see *jus merum*.

- mesuagium, *a message*, i, 314, 604, 612; ii, 96.—*mesuagium capitale*, i, 600, 604; ii, 60, 80, 96.  
 meta, *a mete, limit*, ii, 586; iii, 54.  
 meticulosus, (1) *timid, fearful*, ii, 144; (2) *formidable, terrible*, vi, 248.  
 militaria, *military duties*, ii, 6.  
 misericordia, (1) *mercy*, i, 672; ii, 254; (2) *an amercement*, i, 288, 290; ii, 244, 284; iii, 140.  
 modalis, *modal*, vi, 74.  
 molutus, *edged, sharpened*. — *armum molutum, a sharpened, edged weapon*, ii, 410, 462, 466.  
 momentaneus, *of brief duration, momentary*, iv, 272; v, 434.  
 moneta, (1) *a mint*, ii, 246; (2) *a coin, money*.—*moneta reproba, base coin*, ii, 258.  
 munimen, *an assurance* (m. sigilli, *the impression, assurance of a seal*), i, 272.  
 muragium, *a tax for the building of walls, murage*, ii, 602.  
 murdrare, *to murder*, ii, 386.  
 murdritor, *a murderer*, ii, 234, 236.  
 murdrum, *murder*, ii, 278, 286, 384, 386.  
 mutare aves, *to shut up, or mew up birds*, i, 280.  
  
 Namium, *a distraint, distress*, ii, 548; *placita de vetito namio* (namii), i, 112, 446; 444 (pl. vetiti namii).—*namium simplex, simple distress*, iii, 354. See also *placitum*.  
 nampium (= namium) parvum, or magnum, *a little or great naam*, v, 96.  
 nativa, *a natural born female servant, a naif, a naif woman*, i, 30, 32; iii, 204.  
 nativus, *a natural born servant, a naif*, i, 28, 30, 32, 204 (*nativus alitus*); ii, 158, 472.  
 noctuarius, *of or belonging to the night, nocturnal*, i, 414.  
 nuptia (sing., but a misprint), *marriage*, i, 548.  
  
 Obedientiarius, *an obedientiary*, v, 56.  
 objectum, *an objection*, i, 6.  
 obolitus, *for abol-* (which some MSS. have, *obliterated*), vi, 262.  
 obolus, *a farthing*, i, 628.  
 obtentus, *a pretext, pretence, view*, i, 632.  
 occasionare, *to object*, i, 598.  
 officialis, *the official of a bishop*, ii, 298.  
 orbis, *a swelling*, ii, 466.  
  
 ordinarius, *an ordinary*, i, 154, 606; ii, 298, 300; iv, 450.  
 orreum, *a warehouse*, i, 324. See also *horreum*.  
 ostium, *a door*, i, 314.—*o. ecclesiae*, i, 168. See also *hostium*.  
 othesworth, *oath'sworth*, iv, 418.  
 oves matrices, *cows*, iii, 486.  
 oves multones, *wethers*, iii, 486.  
  
 Pacare, *payare, to pay*, ii, 250.  
 palatium, or palicium, *pallicium, a palisade*, ii, 94; iii, 478, 558, 564.  
 palpare, *to handle*, v, 472.  
 paragraphus, *a paragraph*, i, 4.  
 parapharnalis, *paraphernalis, of or belonging to parapherna, or separate possessions of a married woman, paraphernal*, ii, 52.  
 parapharnus, *paraphernus, the same as parapharnalis, paraphernal*, ii, 52.  
 paraster, *a stepfather*, iv, 52; vi, 28.  
 parcus, *a park*, i, 608; ii, 596, 600; iii, 486.—*parcus vivarius, a park of live animals*, ii, 96.—*parcus incclusus, an inclosed park*, ii, 96.  
 parentela, *relationship*, i, 530.  
 paritas, *equality, parity*, iv, 318.  
 parlementum, *parliament*, ii, 602, 604.  
 parochialia, *parochial edifices*, iii, 368.  
 partibilis, *that may be divided, divisible*, i, 602.  
 particeps, *a shaver, a parcener, parcenary*, i, 592, 600, 602; vi, 100.  
 particibus (probably for participibus), *parceners*, iii, 366.  
 particula, *a part, parcel*, iv, 50, 218.  
 partitio, *the division of an inheritance, divided land*, i, 578.  
 passagium (generale), *a general passage*, iii, 28; iv, 136; v, 158, 160.  
 passus, *a position*, i, 472.  
 pastura, *pasture ground, a pasture*, i, 596; iii, 536.  
 patronatus, *the right of presentation, patronage*, i, 422.  
 patronus, *a patron*, i, 94, 96, 422.  
 pavo, *a sea-fowl*, i, 68.  
 pax, *a breaking of the peace*, v, 180.  
 payare, see *pacare*.  
 peculium, (1) *money laid by, a saving*, i, 350; (2) *special property*, ii, 98.  
 pejerare, *to perjure one's self*, iii, 158, 160; iv, 142.  
 pena (for poena), *a penalty*, ii, 604.  
 pensio, *a payment*, i, 52.  
 pensionarius, *of or belonging to a pension*, iv, 32.  
 pepoudrous, -rus (not translated), v, 126.

- peregrinatio, *pilgrimage*, iv, 128, 136; v, 158.—*simplex peregrinatio*, iii, 28; iv, 136; v, 158.
- perhendinare, *to abide*, ii, 598.
- perprestura, *purpresture*, ii, 588. See also *purpr.*
- perquisitum, *an acquisition, purchase*, i, 518; ii, 584.
- persequi, *to sue*, iii, 14.
- persona, *a parson*, i, 96, 622.
- persona standi (not translated), i, 192.
- personatus, *a parsonage*, iv, 34; *a parsonship*, v, 450.
- pertinentiae, *appurtenances*, i, 256, 582; ii, 196.
- perturbativus, *disturbing*, iii, 20.
- peSSona (persona), *mast, or nut of the beech-trees, beech-must*, i, 596; iii, 486, 516.
- petens, *a claimant, plaintiff*, i, 582; ii, 158, 196.
- petrum, *a stone*, ii, 592.
- pillorialis poena, *punishment of the pillory*, ii, 128, 154, 274.
- pilum, *a coat, skin*, ii, 426.
- pincerna, *a cupbearer, butler*, ii, 306.
- piscari, *to fish*, ii, 596.
- piscaria, (1) *a fish-pond*, i, 596, 608; ii, 98. (2) *a fishing, fishery*, iii, 374, 376.
- piscatio, *a fishing, fishery*, iii, 376.
- piscena, piscina, *a fish-pond*, iii, 564.
- piscis crassus, *a large fish*, i, 442; p. grossus, *a great fish*, ii, 270; piscis regalis, *a royal fish*, i, 110; piscis secundus, tertius, or quartus, *a second, third, or fourth fish*, i, 608; p. tertius, *a third fish*, ii, 98.
- pistor, *a baker*, ii, 306.
- pistorium, *a bakehouse*, iii, 368.
- placitare, *to plead*, i, 444; ii, 98.
- placitum placitare, *to plead plea*, ii, 100. placitare aliquem or versus (aliquem). *to implead anyone*, iii, 542; iv, 578.
- placitum, *a plaint, plea*, i, 6, 50, 112, 116, 130, 280, 298; ii, 98.
- placitum capitale, *a chief plea*, ii, 576.
- placitum coronae, *a plea of the crown*, i, 80.
- placitum de medio, *an intermediate plea*, i, 168.
- placitum de vetito namii (namii vetiti), *a plea of unlawful or forbidden distraint*, ii, 100, 158, 208.
- placitum legis vadiatae, *a plea of a wager of law*, v, 132.
- placitum primum, *a first plea*, i, 610.
- plaga, *a wound*, ii, 502; crimen plagarum, *the crime of battery*, ii, 152.
- planum, *a cultivated field*, i, 570.
- platea, *an open site*, ii, 96.
- plegiare, *to undertake*, ii, 502; *to pledge*, v, 266.
- plegius, *a surety, security*, ii, 10, 260, 334, 502; iii, 138; v, 266.
- plevina = plegius, *a pledge, plevin*, ii, 251, 334; v, 96, 370, 376, 378.
- Pone, *a "Pone,"* ii, 164; v, 98, 102, 320.
- portare, (1) *to bear: portare fidem, to bear fealty*, i, 632. (2) *portare assisam, to bring an assise against*, iii, 280, 288.
- posse, *power*, ii, 602.
- postliminium, *rehabilitation*, i, 42.
- postnatus, *after-born: p. frater, a younger brother*, i, 18; postnatus filius, *a younger son*, ii, 38; p. charta, *an after-born charta*, i, 460.
- potestas, *jurisdiction*, ii, 602.
- praeambulus, perambulus, *preambular, perambulatory*, ii, 138; iii, 320; v, 468.
- praebendare, *to make a prebend*, iv, 32, 64.
- praebendatio, *the making a prebend*, iv, 32.
- praebendatus, *prebendal*, iv, 380.
- praecipe, *a praecipe (writ of right)*, iv, 132, 334; v, 226, 228, 262 (*praecipe in capite*).
- praeducere, *to deduct previously*, i, 608.
- praedialis, *of or belonging to a praedium, or estate, praedial*, i, 54.
- praefinitio, *a limit*, ii, 138.
- praeloqui, proloqui, *to propose*, ii, 262.
- praeloquutio, praelocutio, *a praelocution*, i, 88; *a proposal*, ii, 262.
- praemortuus, *predeceased*, iv, 192.
- praepotentus, *previously received*, iii, 258.
- praepostere, *adv., preposterously*, ii, 114.
- praerogativa, *a prerogative, privilege*, iv, 228; *a prerogative claim*, vi, 66.
- praestatio, prest-, (1) *a contribution*, i, 172, 288. (2) *a performance*, i, 216. (3) *a rendering, supplying*, i, 282. (4) *a payment*, i, 666, 678; ii, 690. (5) *a lending*, iii, 544. (6) *an offering*, iv, 376.
- praevalencia, prev-, *predominance*, i, 34.
- precario, *permissively, by sufferance*, ii, 146.

- sequela, (1) *a following*, iii, 234, 258; (2) *a descendant*, iv, 256.
- serjantia, *serjeantia*, *serjeanty*, *serjeancy*, i, 278, 280, 292, 612, 614, 628, 666, 670; ii, 244; iii, 80; iv, 254; vi, 114. *serjantia magna*, *great serjeanty*, ii, 14. *s. parva*, *petty serjeanty*, ii, 12, 14.
- serrura, *a lock*, ii, 596.
- serviens, (1) *a servitor*, ii, 306. (2) *a serjeant*, *serjeant*, *servant*, i, 130, 400; ii, 560; *serviens regis*, v, 92; *serviens hundredi*, v, 98.
- servitium, (1) *service*, i, 98, 136, 596. (2) *a payment*, i, 184. *servitium equitandi*, ii, 14. *s. militare*, *military service*, i, 52, 614, 628; ii, 6, 14, 20. *servitium forinsecum*, i, 614, 628. *servitium liberum*, i, 62. *s. regis*, *the king's service*, i, 614.
- servitus, *servitude*, i, 466, 606; iii, 16.
- servorium, *a stew*, ii, 94.
- servus, *adj.*, *subject to service*, i, 490 (li. 2 f.).
- servus, *a serf*, i, 28, 30, 50, 54, 196 (explan.); ii, 258, 472 (*servus et natus*); iii, 376 (explan.).
- servus fructuarius, *a serf-steward*, vi, 392.
- seysina, *seisina*, *seisin*, i, 18, 50, 52, 90, 92, 98, 100, 102, 104, 106, 114, 116, 124, 144, 146, 148, 164, 180, 196, 198, 202, 214, 218, 220, 244, 308, 312, 428, 514, 612, 620, 642, 660, 676; ii, 6, 32, 140; iv, 560.
- seysina custodis, *seisin of a guardian*, i, 236.
- seysina plenaria, *plenary seisin*, i, 572, 586, 614.
- seysina praesentandi, *seysine of presenting*, iv, 2.
- seysire, *to seize*, i, 446; ii, 358.
- seysitus, *seized*, i, 18, 114, 198, 218, 308, 496, 676.
- sicarius, *sicarius*, *an assassin*, ii, 338.
- sindicus, *a syndic*; see *syndicus*.
- skerda, *a crust*, ii, 468.
- sokagium, *sokagium*, *sokagium*, *sokage*, *sokage*, i, 208, 270, 280, 284, 292, 628, 676; ii, 4, 6, 12, 20, 42, 52, 56; iii, 304; iv, 146, 280, 308. *s. liber*, *free sokage*, *sokage*, i, 614, 664; iii, 80, 304, 380.
- sok et sack, i, 112; ii, 292, 304 (*sok et sak*); *soke et sake*, i, 444; *sok*, *sak*, ii, 538.
- sokagium villanum, *villain sokage*, i, 206, 208, 602, 616; iii, 378.
- sokemannus, *sokemannus*, *sokmannus*, *sokemannus*, *a sokman*, i, 208, 602, 614, 678; ii, 4, 16, 584 (*sokamannus liber*); iii, 304.
- sokmannus, *sokmannus villanus*, *a villain sokman*, i, 206, 208; *glebae ascriptitius*, iii, 378.
- sockum, *sock*, i, 614.
- soka, *a soke*, v, 84.
- solidata, *a shilling*, vi, 36; *a shilling's worth*: *solidata terrae*, *a shilling's worth of land*, iv, 150; vi, 34, 404.
- soniticus, *incurable*, v, 208, 282.
- soth ale, *scot ale*, *sooth ale*, ii, 250.
- sponsio, *a warrant*, i, 2, 12.
- stadium, *a stadium*, *a raceground*, i, 58; iii, 368.
- stagnum, *a pond*, ii, 10; *stagnum exclusum*, *an open pond*, iii, 562.
- stare recto, *to stand a trial*, see *rectum*.
- stellatus, *provided with a stall*, iii, 584.
- stercorare, *to manure*, i, 408.
- stercoratio, *a manuring*, iii, 448.
- stipulari, *to stipulate*, ii, 112.
- stipulator, *a bargainer*, *stipulator*, ii, 114.
- strictitudo, *straightness*, iii, 576.
- sturgio, *a sturgeon*, i, 110, 442; ii, 270, 272.
- subeschaetor, *an under-eschaetor*, ii, 592.
- substrahere, *to withdraw*, iii, 476.
- subtacere, *to be silent*, ii, 260.
- summarius, *adj.*, *summary*, iii, 540.
- summonere, *to summon*, i, 120, 364; ii, 590.
- summonicio, *-tio*, *a summons*, i, 448; ii, 188, 600; v, 96.
- summonitor, *a summoner*, i, 120, 452; ii, 188; v, 96, 134.
- superdemanda, *an excess of claim*, iii, 142.
- superonerare, *to overburden*, iii, 536.
- superoneratio, *an overburdening*, iii, 538.
- superplusagium, *surplusagium*, *surplusage*, iv, 486, 488.
- supersisa, *sursisa*, *a demurrer*, v, 134, 138.
- surplusagium, see *superplusagium*.
- surrectio, (1) *a liege to get up from bed*, v, 352. (2) *convalescence*, v, 354.
- sursisa, *adjournment*, v, 92, 96, 136, 302, 370. See *supersisa*.
- symphonia, *an agreement of sounds*, *symphony*, ii, 166.
- syndicus, *sindicus*, *a syndic*, i, 128; v, 144.
- Tabelho, *a notary*, *town-clerk*, i, 30.
- taberna, *a tavern*, ii, 280.
- talio, *a retaliation*, ii, 404.

- tallagium, *tallage, tallage, talliage*, i, 206, 596; ii, 574.  
 talliare, *to levy a tax, to tax, to talliage*, ii, 574; iii, 304, 376; iv, 610.  
 taxare, *to tax*, i, 482.  
 tem, them, team, theam, i, 444; ii, 150, 292, 304, 538; vi, 348. [Usually combined with *toll*, q.v.]  
 Templarius, *a Templar*, ii, 164; v, 114.  
 tenantia, *tenancy*, i, 602; ii, 58.  
 tenementum, *a tenement*, i, 52. ten. liberum, *a freehold*, i, 16, 32, 92, 98, 106, 108, 140, 156, 174. tene-mentum militare, *a military fief*, i, 666.  
 tenens, *a tenant*, i, 170, 582; ii, 64.  
 tenere, *to hold, be liable*, ii, 464.  
 tenura, *a tenure*; *tenura exterior, exterior, external tenure*, ii, 64; iii, 352.  
 terminare, *to determine*, iv, 264.  
 terminus, *a term*, i, 106 (and before).  
 testalis, *of or belonging to a witness*, iv, 532.  
 theatrum, *a theatre*, i, 58.  
 theolonium, *a toll*, i, 446, 450, 454; ii, 602.  
 thuthingum, *tithingum, a tithing*, ii, 248, 588. See also *tythingum*.  
 tignum, *a beam*, iii, 574.  
 tissor (= scissor, q.v.), *a tailor*, ii, 438.  
 toll, tol, *a toll*, i, 444; ii, 150, 292, 304, 306, 538; vi, 348. [Usually combined with *tem*, q.v.]  
 tolnetum (= theolonium, q.v.), *a toll*, i, 446; ii, 292, 516; see also *toll*.  
 tonsor, *a barber*, ii, 398.  
 tracea, *a track*, ii, 236.  
 transeuntia bona, *passing goods*, ii, 602.  
 transgressivus, *transgressive*, iii, 370, 444.  
 transversalis, *transverse*, iv, 212.  
 trestornatus, *diverted*; *trestornata aqua, water turned aside three times*, ii, 230; iii, 578, 588.  
 triare, *to try*, ii, 156.  
 triavunculus, triavunculus magnus, *a great-grand-uncle's great-grand-father*, i, 544.  
 trimatertera; trimatertera magna, *a great-grand-aunt's great-grand-mother*, i, 544.  
 trinepos, *a grandchild's grandchild, a grandson in the fifth degree*, iv, 132.  
 tripatruus; tripatruus magnus, *a great-grand-grandfather's uncle*, i, 544.  
 triplicare, (1) *to rejoin*, iii, 262; iv, 40. (2) *to triplicate*, iv, 222, 254.  
 triplicatio, *a rejoinder, reply, triplication*, iii, 262; iv, 40, 250; vi, 156.  
 triturare, *to thrash*, ii, 596.  
 tumboralis, tymboralis poena, *punishment of the tumbrel*, ii, 128, 154, 274.  
 turba, *a turbary*, iii, 488; turbaria, the same, iii, 552.  
 turnus, *a turn, tour*, ii, 542, 588.  
 tythingum, *a tything*, ii, 586; see also *thuthingum*.  
 Ulnare, *to measure by the ell*, ii, 4.  
 uncia, *a 12th part of an ounce, or of a juger*, v, 440.  
 uncuth, unehout, unknown, ii, 306.  
 usuarius (= usurarius, q.v.), *one entitled to the use of*, i, 76; iii, 268.  
 usucapere, *to acquire by usucaption*, i, 304.  
 usucaptio, *usucaption*, i, 128, 410.  
 usufructuarius, *a usufructuary*, i, 326, 354; iii, 42.  
 usurare, *to bear interest*, i, 480.  
 usurarius (= usuarius, q.v.), *one who makes use of*, i, 42. Usurarius Christianus, *a Christian usurer*, ii, 244.  
 usus fructus, *usufruct*, i, 54, 82.  
 usus fructuum, *the enjoyment of fruits*, i, 214.  
 utesium, uthesium = hutesium (q.v.), *a hue*, ii, 244; v, 316.  
 utfangthef, utfangenthes, utfangthef, i, 444; ii, 292, 538, 540 (explanation); vi, 162. See also *hutfangthese*.  
 uthesium, see *utesium*.  
 utlagare, *to outlaw*, ii, 308, 310; iii, 406; iv, 270; vi, 104.  
 utlagaria, *outlawry*, ii, 320, 336, 354, 500; iv, 566; v, 396.  
 utlagatio, *outlawry*, ii, 312, 314, 354; vi, 480.  
 utlagatus, *an outlaw*, ii, 236, 246, 258.  
 utlaghe, utlaughe, *an outlaw*, ii, 336.  
 Vadiare, *to give security*, ii, 130, 266.  
 vadiare, *to wage, wager*: v. duellum, *to wage battle*, ii, 404, 416, 530; v, 92.  
 vadiatio duelli, *a wager of battle*, ii, 416, 444; v, 202.  
 vadium, (1) *a security*, i, 156, 160; ii, 404. (2) *a bail*, vi, 146.  
 valectus, valetus, vallectus, *a valet*, ii, 242, 248.

- valentia, *value*, i, 454, 480, 600, 602; ii, 26, 64, 94.  
 vallare, *to fence, surround*, i, 602; ii, 94.  
 vasta solitudo, *a waste solitude*, iii, 512.  
 vastitas, *a waste*, iii, 512.  
 vastum, (1) *a fallow*, i, 596. (2) *a waste*, ii, 10, 592; iv, 364.  
 vavasor, *a vavasour* (inferior to a baron), i, 36, 38.  
 vavassoria, *a vavassory*, ii, 60.  
 veredictum, *a verdict*, ii, 240, 454; iii, 188, 438; iv, 142.  
 vespere, *as adv., in the evening*, i, 206.  
 vestura, *vesture*, iii, 116, 118.  
 vicaria, *a vicarage*, iv, 32, 34.  
 vicarius, *a vicar*, iv, 32, 34.  
 vicecomes, (1) *a sheriff*, i, 572, etc. (2) *a vicount*, i, 116, 118.  
 vicinare, (1) *to join, be near*, iii, 394. (2) *to make up*, vi, 428.  
 vicinatus, *adj., joining*, iii, 394.  
 vicinetum, visenetum, visinetum, visinetum, *a vicinity, neighbourhood*, *vicinage, risne*, i, 116, 584; ii, 242, 512, 526, 538; iii, 138, 156, 438, 526, 570; iv, 4, 8, 126, 128, 160, 510, 516, 552.  
 viduitas, *a vacancy*, i, 606.  
 villa, *a vill*, i, 4, 28, 130, 136; vi, 428 (explan.).  
 villana, *a female villen, a villen woman*, i, 32; iii, 48, 64, 252.  
 villanus, *a villen*, i, 28, 32, 36, 192, 194, 198, 206, 616; ii, 46, 242, 284, 472; iii, 48, 240, 252; iv, 256. —villanum socagium, *villen socage (socage)*, i, 28, 206, 616; iii, 64. —villana servitia, *villen services*, i, 50, 52.  
 villanus, *adj., (1) of or belonging to a villen, i, 192. (2) of or belonging to a villa, iii, 48.*  
 villanus particeps, *a villain parcener*, iv, 256.  
 villanus sockmannus, *a villin sockman*, iii, 46.  
 villata, *the district of a vill, a township*, ii, 284, 304, 532.  
 villatus,<sup>1</sup> *a townsman*, ii, 364, 454.  
 villenagium, *villenage, villin tenure*, i, 28, 32, 34, 48, 50 (the neighbourhood of a village), 52, 192, 194, 196, 198, 202, 204, 206, 570, 574, 584, 596, 600, 604; ii, 86, 94, 98; iii, 48, 64, 80 (privilegiatum), 226, 238, 364, 378 (*historical*); iv, 196 (dominicum villenagium).  
 virga, *a rod*, i, 46.  
 virgata, *a rood, rod*, i, 396, 488, 596; iii, 144; *a virgate*, iv, 218, 242; v, 80.  
 viridarium, *an orchard*, iii, 486.  
 visenetum, visinetum, visinetum, *see vicinetum*.  
 visor, *a viewer*, v, 244, 290.  
 visus, *a view*, v, 460.  
 visus franci plegii, *a sight or view of frankpledge*, i, 112, 290, 448; ii, 100.  
 visus legalium hominum, *a view or sight of loyal men*, i, 480.  
 vivaria, *a fish-stew*, i, 348.  
 vivarium, (1) *a stew*, i, 596, 602, 608; ii, 10. (2) *a fishpond*, ii, 94; vi, 116.  
 vocare, *to vouch*, iii, 464.  
 Wannagium. *see waynagium*.  
 wapentakium, wappentakium, wapentakia, wappentakium, ii, 238, 240, 248, 540, 542, 586, 602; iii, 570.  
 waractum (jacere ad), *to lie fallow*, iii, 532.  
 warrantia, *see warrantia*.  
 warrantizare, *see warrantia*.  
 warda, *a guard*, iii, 544.  
 warenna, warrenna, warrennia, *a warren*, i, 448; ii, 250, 252, 586.  
 warentum, *a warrant*, ii, 584.  
 warrantia, warrantia, *a warranting, warrant, warranty*, i, 138, 168, 184, 216, 292, 622, 632, 636, 644, 652, 672; ii, 268, 514; iii, 112, 142, 220; iv, 40, 42, 158, 170, 246; vi, 4.  
 warrantizare, warrantizare, warrantisare, warrantisare, *to warrant*, i, 102, 130, 136, 140, 164, 172, 182, 184, 214, 216, 218, 236, 238, 246, 292, 620, 646, 648; ii, 14, 64, 98, 268; iii, 304; iv, 42, 118, 138, 156, 158, 162, 170.  
 warrantizatio, warrantizatio, *a warranting, warranty, act of warranting*, i, 172, 294; ii, 514; iv, 118, 162, 170.  
 warrantio (quo), the "quo warranto," i, 364.

<sup>1</sup> Perh. = villata, the people of a town. As the word is in both cases in the ablative plural, I cannot see what form it has in the nominative.



- warrantum**, **warrentum**, **warantum**, *a warrant*, i, 110, 120, 164, 172, 184, 214, 216, 244, 528, 660; ii, 64, 160, 180; iv, 118, 154, 246.
- warrantus**, **warantus**, **warrentus**, *a warrantor*, *warranty*, i, 164, 236, 248, 674, 676; ii, 18, 38, 58 (bis), 70, 84, 92, 98, 138, 268; iii, 132, 220; iv, 12, 60, 62, 156, 170, 174.
- warrenna**, **warrennia**, *a warren*, see *warrenna*.
- waynagium**, **wannagium**, *implements of husbandry*, *waggonage*, *waynage* (= *gaignage*), i, 42; ii, 242, 642.
- wayviare**, **wayvare**, **weyviare**, *to waivre*, i, 184, 188, 636, 644, 648; ii, 312; v, 114; vi, 16.
- wayvium**, *a waif*, i, 60, 442; ii, 314.
- wreccum**, **wreckum maris**, *a wreck of the sea*, i, 60, 110, 442; ii, 246, 270, 272, 286, 388, 598; **wreccum navis**, ii, 586.
- Xenium**, *a present*, ii, 166; see *exenium*.

## X.—ON THE SCANSION OF ENGLISH POETRY.

By the Rev. Professor W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D.

*[Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society, Friday, January 14, 1898.]*

IN the Introduction to vol. vi of my edition of Chaucer, at p. lxxxii, I introduced some observations on the natural method of reading English poetry; which, as I pointed out in a footnote at p. lxxxiv, were not original, but founded on an anonymous book entitled "*Accent and Rhythm*," published at Edinburgh, by Blackwood, in 1888.

I wish to offer an apology to those who are unwilling to discard the usual methods of scansion in which we have all been brought up. I do not wish to insist upon the necessity of adopting a new system. But I wish to point out the fact, which I shall presently prove, viz., that the old system does not enable us to discriminate between various *types* of verse, whereas the natural method of grouping the syllables around the accented syllables with which, in actual pronunciation, they are associated, *does* enable us to do this. In other words, I am not asking anyone to adopt a new system of scansion, but I am endeavouring to bring forward a method which will enable us to distinguish one type of verse from another, and to enumerate the exact number of different types which a line of given length and a given number of accents is capable of assuming.

The usual method of scansion of English poetry, which divides the line into feet of equal length, is of small actual value. It is artificial, and conceals the facts which it ought rather to display.

English poetry depends wholly upon accent, and can only be studied by considering the effects of accent.

In pronouncing English words, there are found to be four forms of what I shall call an accent-group, i.e., a group of syllables in which only *one* accent occurs.

These groups are exemplified by the four words following, viz., Tone, Ascent, Cadence, and Extension; and I shall use these words as names for the accent-group which they respectively exemplify; or we can denote them, more briefly still, by *t, a, c, e*.

The same groups may be denoted by the symbols — — — — —; where the symbol — denotes a strongly accented, and — an unaccented syllable, without any reference to the question as to whether the syllable is short or long. Accent and length are quite distinct; thus, in the word *Egypt*, the second syllable is certainly unaccented, but may be considered as long because of the time which its pronunciation demands, or because the vowel occurs before the letter group *pt*.

All accents are not equal; in fact, English often employs sentence-stress as well as word-stress, giving sometimes as many as three or four different intensities of stress; indeed, I have seen it asserted that there are more still. But, for practical purposes, it is sufficient to consider two intensities of stress, viz., the strong accent and the weak, the primary and the secondary. In some words of three syllables, and in words containing more than three syllables, both these accents occur. The weaker accent may conveniently be denoted by the symbol —; i.e., by a fine stroke instead of a thick one.

Examples are: *mèrriment*, — —; *indignation*, — —; *ingenuity*, — — — —. Or these groups can be denoted respectively by *ct', d'e, t'et'*, where the dash denotes that the accent is weak.

It frequently happens that syllables that were once fully pronounced have been reduced to mere glides. For example, the word *o-pin-i-on* was once quadrisyllabic, and many consider it as such to this day. Nevertheless, in rapid talk, and even in our best poetry, it is usually a mere Extension; and is pronounced as *o-pinyon*; — — — —.

I cannot now enlarge upon the vast number of results which such a notation as the above enables us to apprehend with ease and clearness. But, by way of practical example, I proceed to analyse the ordinary English metrical line that contains five accents.

The normal form is one of five successive Ascents, as in Goldsmith's example—

And-fools who-came to-scoff, remain'd to-pray.

This may be denoted by — — — — —; or by *aaaaa*.

The ordinary books on English prosody recognise this type and no other; but it is easy to show that, as a matter of fact, there are fifteen other equivalent types, making sixteen types in all.

They can be best arranged as follows:—

(a) Four types beginning with two Ascents, viz., aaaaa; aaact; aacta; aacct.

- |                |                |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1. — —. — — —. | 3. — —. — — —. |
| 2. — —. — — —. | 4. — —. — — —. |

(b) Four types beginning with an Ascent and an Extension, viz., aetaa; aetet; aecta; aacct.

- |                |                |
|----------------|----------------|
| 5. — —. — — —. | 7. — —. — — —. |
| 6. — —. — — —. | 8. — —. — — —. |

(c) Four types beginning with an Extension and a Tone, viz., etaaa; etaet; eteta; etect.

- |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 9. — —. — — —.  | 11. — —. — — —. |
| 10. — —. — — —. | 12. — —. — — —. |

(d) Four types beginning with an Extension and a Cadence, viz., ectaa; ectet; eccta; ecct.

- |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 13. — —. — — —. | 15. — —. — — —. |
| 14. — —. — — —. | 16. — —. — — —. |

No more varieties are possible, as long as the regular type with which we started is strictly adhered to; but our poets, for the sake of variety, have largely increased the number of available types by slightly departing from the normal type. Of these varieties, the commonest is the well-known one obtained by the substitution of a Cadence for an Ascent in the first accent-group in the line. I need not go into this matter any further at present. I have only to say here, that whenever this license occurs in a line of type 1, I still reckon such a line as belonging to type 1, and as a mere variant of it. It can easily be distinguished by writing some small letter after it; it might, for example,

be called 1*a*. This enables us to reduce all five-accent lines to sixteen types, which is at least sixteen times as good as the usual method, which reduces them all to *one*!

I may observe, that I consider the cæsural pause as taking place, normally, after the *fourth* syllables in the types 1-4, 9-12; and after the *fifth* syllable in the types 5-8, 13-16. Any variation in the position of the cæsura can easily be observed, and, if desired, indicated by stating the number of the accent-group at the end of which the cæsura occurs. Its normal place is at the end of the *second* accent-group; but if it occurs at the end of the *third* accent-group, it can be denoted by placing (3) within marks of parenthesis.

It will now be seen that we have, under our complete control, a system by which we can most exactly indicate the precise form of any five-accent line. For example, the very short formula "1*a* (3)" precisely indicates that the line consists of a Cadence, followed by four Ascents, in which the cæsural pause occurs at the end of the third accent-group, i.e. after the sixth syllable; giving *caa:aa*.

It is now perfectly easy to analyse any given poem in the five-accent metre with a precision hitherto unattainable. I select for the experiment the beautiful poem known as Gray's *Elegy*, as being of a convenient length. It contains 128 lines, disposed in 32 stanzas, each of four lines. As it may prove of interest to take each stanza by itself, I shall adopt the division by stanzas.

The result of the analysis of stanza 1 is as follows: First line, 10 (3); second, 11; third, 14; fourth, 3.

This may be more shortly written in the following form, viz.: 1.—10 (3). 11. 14. 3.

Similarly, we can express the rest of the stanzas in a very succinct manner:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 2.—7 (3). 4. 6 <i>a</i> . 14.                           | 6.—3. 14. 9. 3.                          |
| 3.—8 <i>a</i> (1). 9 <i>c</i> . <sup>1</sup> 14 (1). 8. | 7.—6 <i>a</i> . 11. 13 (3). 2.           |
| 4.—6 (3). 2. <sup>2</sup> 6 <i>a</i> (3). 6.            | 8.—6 <i>a</i> . 11. 10 <i>c</i> . 7 (3). |
| 5.—12. 14. 6. 6.  | 9.—5 (3). 5. 4. 5 <i>d</i> .             |

<sup>1</sup> The italic *c* denotes that the *third* accent-group has a Cadence for an Ascent. Similarly, an italic *d* denotes the use of a Cadence in the *fourth* foot.

<sup>2</sup> The group in *many* is equivalent to a mere Ascent, of which it forms a melodious variation. So also *Full many* in stanza 14, lines 1, 3; whilst *ingenuous* in stanza 18, line 2, is reducible to an Extensian.

- |                                |                                     |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 10.—1. 10 (3). 6 (3). 13.      | 22.—3 (1, 4). 15 (3). 6a. 7 (4).    |
| 11.—12. 6a. 10. 9.             | 23.—3. 11. 2a. 6a.                  |
| 12.—3. 6. 3a (3). 6 (3).       | 24.—6 (1). 3a. 8 (1). 13.           |
| 13.—10 (3). 1a. 10 (3). 7 (3). | 25.—7a (4). 5a. 5a (3). 2.          |
| 14.—3. 6 (3). 1. 6.            | 26.—4a. 3 (1, 4). 11. 2 (3).        |
| 15.—14. 13. 7 (3). 14 (1).     | 27.—3. 7a (3). 13 (1, 3). 2.        |
| 16.—7 (3). 3 (3). 14. 6.       | 28.—6. 2. 9. 1.                     |
| 17.—3. 13. 3. 3 (3).           | 29.—5 (1, 3). 5a (3). 1 (2, 4). 2a. |
| 18.—11. 6. 3. 14 (1).          | 30.—1. 5. 14. 15.                   |
| 19.—6a (3). 15. 3. 7 (3).      | 31.—5a. 6a (3). 5. 1 (2, 4).        |
| 20.—3. 6 (3). 12. 7 (3).       | 32.—11. 5. 3. 11 (3).               |
| 21.—2c. 3 (4). 5 (3). 7 (4).   |                                     |

Examples of these sixteen types are as follows:—

1. Here-rests his-head upon the-lap of-earth : 117.
2. How-bow'd the-woods beneath their-sturdy stroke : 28.
3. And-leaves the-world to-darkness and to-me : 4.
4. And-all the-air a-solemn stillness holds : 6.
5. And-all that-beauty, all that-wealth e'er-gave : 34.
6. Save-where the-beetle wheels his-droning flight : 7.
7. The-short and-simple annals of the-poor : 32.
8. Molest her-ancient soli . tary reign : 12.
9. No-children run to-lisp their-sire's return : 23.
10. Can-honour's voice provoke the-silent dust : 43.
11. The-lowling herd winds-slowly o'er the-lea : 2.
12. The-breezy call of-incense . breathing morn : 17.
13. Their-growing virtues, but their-crimes confin'd : 66.
14. The-plowman homeward plods his-weary way : 3.
15. Their-sober wishes never learn'd to-stray : 74.
16. The-cheated nation's happy fav'rites see.

The last line is not from the Elegy, but from Johnson's "London," l. 91.

A curious point about type 8 is that it only occurs three times ; and yet in each case the third and fourth accent-groups are run together into one long word of four syllables. The two other examples are lines 9 and 95, viz. :—

Save-that from-yonder ivy . mantled tower.  
If-chance, by-lonely Contem . plation led.

These lines are very characteristic ; the voice has to be sustained till all four syllables are uttered.

Now that we have this exact analysis, it becomes a matter of much interest to discover the types of verse to which Gray was especially addicted. Neglecting, for a moment, the varieties due to inversions of the accent or to alterations of the cæsura from its normal position, we obtain the following results:—

Type 1 : 7 lines.	Type 7 : 11.	Type 12 : 3.
Type 2 : 9.	Type 8 : 3.	Type 13 : 6.
Type 3 : 20.	Type 9 : 4.	Type 14 : 10.
Type 4 : 3.	Type 10 : 6.	Type 15 : 3.
Type 5 : 12.	Type 11 : 8.	Type 16 : <i>none</i> .
Type 6 : 23.		

The analysis has been, perhaps, a little tedious; but the results are direct, and of great interest. We now see, at a single glance, that Gray was greatly addicted to two types of lines, which he rightly regarded as being highly effective, viz. types 6 and 3. The former occurs 23 times, and the latter 20 times, or 43 times in all; thus accounting for more than a *third* part of the whole poem! Reverting to these types, and numbering the lines instead of the stanzas, we obtain these results:—

Type 6 occurs in lines 7, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 25, 29, 39, 42, 46, 48, 54, 56, 64, 70, 73, 78, 87, 92, 93, 109, 122; and if we now turn to these lines, and read them all *consecutively*, we shall at once detect the peculiar swing for which this poem is so remarkable, giving an effect which many people have doubtless very often recognised, though they could not possibly assign any particular reason why they should have observed it.

I here quote some normal lines of this type, viz. type 6, for the reader's convenience.

The-rude forefathers . of . the-hamlet sleep : 16.  
 The-cock's shrill-clarion . or . the-echoing horn : 19.  
 No-more shall-rouse-them . from . their-lowly bed : 20.  
 Some-heart once-pregnant . with . celestial fire : 46.  
 And-wastes its-sweetness . on . the-desert air : 56.  
 And-read their-hist'ry . in . a nation's eyes : 64.  
 To-quench the-blushes . of . ingenuous shame : 70.  
 One-morn I-missed-him . on . the-custom'd hill : 109.

Observe that in every one of the above eight examples the solitary Tone in the middle of the verse bears a very weak accent, and is, in fact, a preposition or a conjunction.

A line of this type is easily analysed.

Its chief peculiarity is the presence of a monosyllabic Tone in the middle of the verse, by which it is effectively broken up into three parts. The part that precedes the monosyllable consists of an Ascent and an Extension, which nearly counter-balances the part that follows the same, consisting of an Extension and a Tone. For the longer pause at the end of the line just enables the Tone, standing alone, to balance the Ascent at the beginning. Observe, e.g., such lines as these: 13, 15, 16, and many more.

In order to avoid monotony, the poet has taken some pains to vary this sixth type in different ways. Hence, in line 7, he inverts the first group<sup>1</sup>; a device which he again resorts to in lines 15, 25, 29, 42, 73, 87, 92, 122; i.e. nine times in all.

Sáve-where the-beetle . wheels . his-droning flight : 7.

Eách-in his-narrow . cell . for-ever laid : 15.

O'ft-did the-harvest . to . their-sickle yield : 25.

Lét-not ambition . mock . their-useful toil : 29.

Báck-to its-mansion . call . the-fleeting breath : 42.

Fár-from the-madding . crowd's : ignoble strife : 73.

Léft-the warm-precincts . of . the-cheerful day : 87.

Év'n-in our-ashes . live . their-wouted fires : 92.

Héav'n-did a-recom . pense : as-largely send : 122.

He also gains variety by altering the position of the *cæsural* pause. Our table shows that the pause occurs after the third group in lines 13, 15, 39, 48, 54, 73, 78, 122; whilst in line 93, there are practically two pauses—one after the first group, and one (but a very slight one) after the third group, which consists solely of the slightly accented word *of*, a word which is brought into prominence by its position between two wholly unaccented syllables. Here, again, are eight variations. So that, after all, although type 6 occurs some twenty-three times, it is slightly varied nine times in *one* way, and nine times in another, yet leaving eight examples of the strictly normal type, because lines 15, 73, and 122 are affected doubly.

Beneath those-rugged elms : that-yew-tree's shade : 13.

Eách-in his-narrow cell : for-ever laid : 15.

<sup>1</sup> By group I mean accent-group. It is much better than using the misleading word *foot*, with its absurd classical associations.



Where-through the-long-drawn aisle : and-fretted vault : 39.  
 Or-wak'd to-exta . sy : the-living lyre : 48.  
 The-dark unfathom'd caves : of-ocean bear : 54.  
 Fár-from the-mádding crowd's : ignoble strife : 73.  
 Some-frail memorial still : erected nigh : 78.  
 For-thee : who-mindful of : th' unhonour'd dead : 93.  
 Héav'n-did a recom . pense : as-largely send : 122.

Type 3 occurs twenty times ; so we must look at this type also somewhat closely.

The cæsural pause occurs, normally, after the fourth syllable, and the first part of the line is most regular, consisting of two Ascents ; but variety is gained by replacing the next two Ascents by an Extension and a Tone, which gives an excellent result. The twenty examples of this type occur in lines 4, 21, 24, 45, 47, 53, 62, 65, 67, 68, 71, 75, 77, 82, 85, 89, 94, 102, 105, 127. Two of these, viz. lines 47 and 94, begin with a Cadence instead of an Ascent ; whilst lines 47, 62, 82, and 85 have the cæsura elsewhere than after the fourth syllable.

And-leaves the-world to-darkness and to-me : 4.  
 For-them no-more the-blazing hearth shall-burn : 21.  
 Or-climb his-knees the-envied kiss to-share : 24.  
 Perhaps in-this neglected spot is-laid : 45.  
 Hánds-that the-rod of-empire : might have-sway'd : 47.  
 The-threats of-pain and-ruin : to despise : 62.  
 The-place of-fame and-ele . gy : supply : 82.  
 For-who to-dumb Forgetful . ness : a-prey : 85.  
 Dóst-in these-lines their-artless tales relate : 94.

The table supplies us with further information on many points. I will only notice one or two.

Type 1, being very regular, only occurs seven times ; it inclines to monotony. The examples are lines 37, 50, 55, 112, 115, 117, and 124 ; of these, line 50 begins with a Cadence, and lines 115 and 124 have a double cæsura.

Nor-you, ye-proud, impute to-these the-fault : 37.  
 Rích-with the-spoils of-time did-ne'er unroll : 50.  
 Full-many a-flower is-born to-blush unseen : 55.  
 Nor-up the-lawn, nor-at the-wood was-he : 112.  
 Approach and-read : for-thou canst-read : the-lay : 115.  
 Here-rests his-head upon the-lap of-earth : 117.  
 He-gained from-heav'n : 't was-all he-wished : a friend : 124.

Type 16 does not occur at all. It departs from the norm in type 1 more than any other; but there is no reason against its occasional use. In order to exemplify it, I may quote line 91 of Johnson's poem on London—

The-cheated nation's happy fav'rites see.

I believe it will be found that this type is really uncommon, owing, probably, to the three successive Cadences that precede the final Tone.

#### LINES OF FOUR ACCENTS.

I now pass on to consider the case of lines that contain only *four* accents, instead of five.

In this case, the normal line is one of four Ascents, as in Milton's "L'Allegro," lines 39, 41—

To-live with-her and-live with-thee.  
To-hear the-lark begin his-flight.

The various types of verses formed upon this model amount to eight only, but it will be shown presently how, by a slight license, they have been increased to sixteen; so that, in fact, this metre, in spite of consisting of shorter lines, has exactly the same number of types as the line of five accents has.

The eight types are these :—

- |              |              |              |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1. — — — — . | 4. — — — — . | 7. — — — — . |
| 2. — — — — . | 5. — — — — . | 8. — — — — . |
| 3. — — — — . | 6. — — — — . |              |

They may also be denoted by the formulae :—1. aaaa; 2. aaet; 3. aeta; 4. aect; 5. etaa; 6. etet; 7. ecta; 8. ecet.

By the simple expedient of dropping the first syllable of the verse, we obtain eight more types, like the former in all respects, except that the lines have one syllable less at the beginning :—

- |               |               |               |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 9. — — — — .  | 12. — — — — . | 15. — — — — . |
| 10. — — — — . | 13. — — — — . | 16. — — — — . |
| 11. — — — — . | 14. — — — — . |               |

They may likewise be denoted by the formulae :—9. taaa; 10. taet; 11. teta; 12. tect; 13. etaa; 14. etet; 15. ecta; 16. ecet.

Examples of these sixteen types are as follows :—

1. To-live with-her and-live with-thee : 39.
2. And-love to-live in-dimple sleek : 30.
3. But-come, thou-goddess fair and-free : 11.
4. And-if I-give-thee honour due : 37.
5. The-frolic wind that-breathes the-spring : 18.
6. By-hedgerow elms, on-hillocks green : 58.
7. Whom-lovely Venus, at a-birth : 14.
8. To-ivy . crownèd Bacchus bore : 16.
9. From the-side of-some hoar-hill : 55.
10. And by-men heart-easing Mirth : 13.
11. Sport that-wrinkled Care derides : 31.
12. With two-sister Graces more : 15.
13. Haste-thee, Nymph, and-bring with-thee : 25.
14. Cheerly rouse the-slumb'ring morn : 54.
15. Some-time walking, not unseen : 57.
16. Tower'd cities please-us then : 117.

It will be sufficient, for the purpose of showing the method of analysis, to consider lines 11–68 of Milton's "L'Allegro." The first ten lines are not in the same metre.

The cæsura is always at the end of the second group, except where it is marked with (1) or (3), to signify its occurrence at the end of the first or third group. As before, the letter *a* denotes the use of a Cadence for an Ascent in the first foot, and the letter *c* denotes a like substitution in the third foot.

Grouping the lines by pairs, the table is as follows :—

11, 12.—3, 2.	31, 32.—11, 7.	51, 52.—1 <i>a</i> c, 13.
13, 14.—10, 7.	33, 34.—11, 10.	53, 54.—5, 14.
15, 16.—12, 8.	35, 36.—3, 6.	55, 56.—9, 12.
17, 18.—6(1), 5.	37, 38.—4, 11.	57, 58.—15, 6.
19, 20.—14(1) <i>f</i> , 11 <sup>1</sup> <i>f</i> .	39, 40.—1, 4.	59, 60.—10, 1 <i>a</i> .
21, 22.—10, 7.	41, 42.—1, 7.	61, 62.—10, 4.
23, 24.—2 <i>a</i> , 6.	43, 44.—11, 11.	63, 64.—11, 14.
25, 26.—13, 12.	45, 46.—9 <i>f</i> , 3 <i>f</i> .	65, 66.—12, 11.
27, 28.—10, 10.	47, 48.—11, 12.	67, 68.—7, 3 <i>a</i> .
29, 30.—10, 2.	49, 50.—10, 2 <i>a</i> .	

<sup>1</sup> The addition of *f* signifies that there is a feminine or double rime.

In the course, then, of these fifty-eight lines, the following types are employed, each being marked by a number denoting the frequency of its use.

1: 4. 2: 4. 3: 4. 4: 3. 5: 2. 6: 4. 7: 5. 8: 1.  
9: 2. 10: 9. 11: 9. 12: 5. 13: 2. 14: 3. 15: 1. 16: *nons*.

This table shows at a glance the careful way in which the poet has perpetually varied his verse, so that, in the course of these fifty-eight lines, he has employed fifteen out of the sixteen possible types. The preponderating types are seen to be Nos. 10 and 11. The examples of these are as follows:—

Type 10: lines 13, 21, 27, 28, 29, 34, 49, 59, 61; the formula being Tone, Ascent, Extension, Tone (*taet*). Three such lines occur consecutively, in ll. 27–29, and give a character to the verse such as is easily recognised—

Quips, and-cranks, and-wanton wiles,  
Nods, and-becks, and-wreathed smiles,  
Such as-hang on-Hebe's cheek.

Type 11 is equally common; it occurs in lines 20, 31, 33, 38, 43, 44, 47, 63, 66. Of these, line 20 has a feminine rime.

As he-met-her once a-Maying : 20.  
Sport that-wrinkled care derides : 31.  
Come, and-trip-it as ye-go : 33.  
Mirth, admit-me of thy-crew : 38.  
From his-watch-tower in the-skies : 43.  
Till the-dappled dawn doth-rise : 44.  
Through the-sweetbriar, or the-vine : 47.  
While the-plowman near at-hand : 63.  
And the-mower whets his-scythe : 66.

Lines 43 and 44 form a beautiful couplet, very characteristic of the joyous mood which is supposed to be here expressed:—

From his-watch-tower in the-skies,  
Till the-dappled dawn doth-rise.

As in the case of Gray's *Elegy*, there is here no example of the sixteenth type; and for a like reason, viz. the occurrence of three successive Cadences, the type being represented by three

Cadences and a Tone. By searching through the remainder of the poem, we shall discover just *one* example, in line 117—

Tower'd cities please-us then.

It would be a long task to show how the methods above indicated may easily be employed for subjecting the scansion of our poets to a far more precise analysis than they have ever yet received. We have here, in fact, a most powerful and minute searchlight which, if well directed, might easily enable us to distinguish the work of one poet from another, and even the work of a poet in a serious mood from that of the same man when in a jocose or pleasant one.

#### ‘DACTYLIC’ AND ‘ANAPAESTIC’ VERSES.

By way of illustrating the method in another way, I propose to say a few words on dactylic and anapaestic verses, as they are called in almost all textbooks on the subject of prosody. The result is easily seen to be that English verse admits neither dactyl nor anapaest; and that writers have given these wholly inappropriate names to lines which have only the most superficial resemblance to the classical verses with the same name.

A good example is furnished by Byron's celebrated lines at the commencement of the “Bride of Abydos”—

Know ye the land, etc.

Most writers pretend that these lines are dactylic, and Edgar Poe went so far as to run all the lines together, and to call them a series of consecutive dactyls. This requires that the lines should be read in the following ridiculous manner:—Know ye the—land where the—cypress and—myrtle are—emblems of; and so on. Nothing can be more hideous or artificial than such groups of words as ‘land where the,’ ‘myrtle are,’ ‘emblems of,’ and the like. A poet who really scanned his lines according to such a method would hardly deserve a hearing.

If, on the other hand, we do not run the lines all together after this fashion, then we find that line 2, ‘Are emblems of deeds,’ etc., actually begins with a weak, short, and unaccented syllable! The idea of a dactylic line beginning after such a sort is nothing

short of ridiculous. This dilemma has given rise to the gratuitous supposition that English dactylic verses may contain anapaests also, and that it makes no difference! Moreover, 'Are emblems' is not an anapaest; and 'Are emb-' is an iambus.

Instead of showing wherein all the fallacy of such notions lies, it will be a shorter way, and a more profitable one, to scan the lines by a natural instead of an artificial method; and to pause, not at the end of imaginary and non-existent dactyls, but at the end of each accent-group. Scanned thus, the lines are as follows:—

Know-ye . the-land-where . the-cypress . and-myrtle  
Are-emblems . of-deeds-that . are-done-in . their-clime.

That is, the first line consists of a Cadence and three Extensions; whilst the second consists of three Extensions and an Ascent. Hence it is obvious, on the face of it, that the prevailing accent-group, determining the rhythm, is neither a dactyl nor an anapaest, but an Extension. And, if we must needs bestow upon this accent-group a fine Latinized Greek name, the right name is certainly an *amphibrach*. The classical amphibrach consists of a long syllable preceded and followed by short ones; whilst the English Extension consists of a strong syllable, preceded and followed by weak ones. With this hint, it will be possible to scan these nineteen lines in a far more satisfactory manner.

I may take occasion, at the same time, to use the brief notation; employing *e* for Extension, *t* for Tone, *a* for Ascent, and *c* for Cadence.

Thus line 1 consists of *c. e. e. e.*; and line 2 of *e. e. e. a.* But when we come to line 3, a new difficulty arises, which must be disposed of before we can proceed in peace. How is line 3 to be read? I read it thus:—

Where . the-rage-of . the-vulture . the-love-of . the-turtle.

Here the accent on the first syllable is extremely slight, and Edgar Poe is right as far as this, that it forms a sort of connecting link with the preceding line, and has been introduced as a super-numerary or extra syllable which, for practical purposes, does not count; and the introduction of it was made much easier by the fact that the preceding line ended in an Ascent, i.e. it terminated with a *strong accent*, requiring a clear pause; so that

the preliminary *Where* is, for practical purposes, received into that pause and made easy of utterance.

It thus appears that line 3 really consists of four Extensions, preceded by a lightly accented syllable which does not interfere with the swing of the verse. This insertion of additional syllables at the beginning of a line is a strongly marked feature of this "amphibrachic" verse. It requires a good ear and careful handling, or the verse easily becomes lame and clogged. This is readily exemplified by the following experiment.

We have agreed that, in line 3, the accent on *Where* is slight, and the accent on the next word, viz. *the*, is *nil*; so that line 3 practically begins with two weak syllables, saved from producing discord by the strong accent at the end of line 2.

Let us try the effect of putting *two* weak syllables at the beginning of line 2. Instead of *Arc emblems* let us write *Arc as emblems*. Now read lines 1 and 2 in succession, and the discord is obvious. We get *three* successive weak syllables together, viz., the *.tle* in *myrtle*, the *Arc*, and the *as*. I will just observe here, that the first practical rule in English poetry is this: Never use three consecutive weak syllables, unless you desire to ruin your verse.

We require, at this point, a new symbol, to designate the syllable *Where*. As it is slightly accented, it is a slight Tone; it can therefore be denoted, just for the present, by *ʹ*; where the dash reminds us that the word does not count as forming a true accent-group; so that the line does not contain *five* strong or primary accents, but only *four*. I accordingly write it as *ʹ. e. e. e. e.*

In line 4, there are, in the same way, only four accents; though, if it were read as prose, and without a lilt, there would be five. Now-mélt . into . sádness . now-mádden . to-críme. By the lilt of the verse, the slight accent on *into* is suppressed, or nearly so; the four words—*Now-mélt-in . to-sádness*, rapidly pronounced, run into the time of two Extensions, and may be so considered.

With this explanation, line 4 practically becomes *e. e. e. a.*

Now-mélt-in . to sádness . now-mádden . to-críme.

I here pause to observe that *this frequent suppression of secondary accents* is a strongly marked feature of all English "amphibrachic"

or "extensional" verse.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes poets are so daring as to neglect, after this manner, accents that come near to being primary; but it is a dangerous thing to do. The line then halts miserably. There are several atrocious examples in the "Ingoldsby Legends," where the metre is of less consequence, on account of the burlesque nature of the stories. The student who tries to scan lines honestly will soon discover that some lines can only be scanned on the supposition that a considerable amount of force has to be used to compress them into their proper form. This is not the fault of the student, but of the author. The ear of some authors is not always all that it should be.

Line 5 consists of *c. e. e. a.*

Knów-ye . the-lánd-of . the-cédar . and-víne.

In line 6 we again have to neglect no less than *three* secondary accents, viz., the accents on *Where*, *ever*, and *ever*; so that the line is only conventionally permissible, though it is not on that account to be necessarily condemned. It gives variety, and breaks the long run of extensions. It is meant to be scanned with but four *primary* accents, viz., *ℓ'. e. e. e. a.*; but it may be lingeringly read with seven, viz., as *ℓ'. a. ℓ'. c. a. ℓ'. ℓ.*, without producing any unpleasant effect.

Whère . the-flów'rs . èver . blóssom . the-béams . èver . shine.

This may be rapidly uttered, with an approximate suppression of the secondary accents, nearly as follows:—

Where . the-flów'rs-ev . er blóssom . the-béams-ev . er shine.

Line 7 consists of *ℓ'. e. e. e. a.*

8.—*e. e. e. a.*

9.—*ℓ'. e. e. e. a.*

10.—*ℓ'. e. e. e. a.*

11.—*ℓ'. e. e. e. a.*

12.—*e. e. e. a.*

13.—*ℓ'. e. e. e. a.*

Line 14.—*ℓ'. e. e. e. a.*

15.—*e. e. e. a.*

16.—*ℓ'. e. e. e. a.*

17.—*ℓ'. e. e. e. a.*

18.—*e. e. e. a.*

19.—*ℓ'. e. e. e. a.*

<sup>1</sup> A common result is that the verse must be read *one* way, if it is to be scanned by the usual old method; and quite *another* way, if the natural method be adhered to.



Where . the-light-wings . of-Zéphyr . opprésed-with . parfúme  
 Wax-fáint-o'er . the-gárdens . of-Gúl-in . her-blóom;  
 Where . the-cítron . and-ólive . are-fáirest . of-frúit,  
 And . the-vóice-of . the-níghtin . gale-néver . is-múte : 10  
 Where . the-tínts-of . the-éarth-and . the-húes-of . the-ský,  
 In-cóLOUR . tho'-váried . in-beáuty . may-víe,  
 And . the-púrple . of-ócean . is-déepest . in-dýe;  
 Where . the-vírgins . are-sóft-as . the-róses . they-twíne,  
 And-áll-save . the-spírit . of-mán-is . dívine ? 15  
 'Tis . the-clíme-of . the-éast-'tis . the-lánd-of . the-Sún—  
 Can . he-smíle-on . such-déeds-as . his-children . have-dóne?  
 Oh-wíld-as . the-áccents . of-lóvers' . farewéll  
 Are . the-héarts-which . they-béar,-and . the-táles-which . they-  
 téll. 19

This metre differs widely from the ordinary lines in which the weak and strong syllables are alternate. Without a liberal use of Extensions, such lines can hardly be written at all. Hence the poet is not required to make one line very different from another. The Extension is the most melodious of the four English accent-groups, and can longer be tolerated. But too much of it becomes monotonous; and this explains why Byron's introduction contains only nineteen such lines, after which the metre is changed. One device for avoiding monotony in this metre is to employ feminine rimes rather freely, a device not unknown to Mr. Swinburne. Byron employs it above, in lines 1 and 3.

#### ENGLISH HEXAMETERS.

If, as I have already said, there are neither dactyls nor anapaests in English prosody, it follows that our English hexameters must be conventional. It will easily be guessed, by such as have followed my explanations so far, that the only way to introduce apparent dactyls is to use Extensions freely. But this is not the only difficulty, for it so happens that English not only has no true dactyls, but it has no true spondees! This difficulty is evaded by the use of Cadences as a substitute for a spondee. Hence it is that such a word as *Egypt* has been called a spondee. It is really a *Cadence*, in which the second syllable is long and can be drawled out; and this is considered as being good enough.

Moreover, Vergil and others frequently end their lines with a trochee; and this makes a Cadence perfectly acceptable at the end of a line; a fact which our writers must rejoice in.

For the rest of this paper, I crave indulgence. The subject is one of some difficulty; and I beg leave to remind the reader that, by the nature of the case, he cannot be otherwise than deeply prejudiced against the explanation which I here offer. He will probably, at first, be somewhat shocked; and, unless he can free himself from preconceived ideas, may perhaps remain so. Nevertheless, I may as well endeavour to set forth what I believe to be the truth.

Kingsley's hexameters, in his "Andromeda," are as good as most; but they are purely conventional. It is necessary to observe, however, beforehand, that a conventional dactyl can be produced in a very cunning manner, which may easily deceive the unwary. In the second line, we have the word *Aethiop* so used. If pronounced as a trisyllable, it really has *two* accents, viz., a strong and primary accent on the first syllable, and a weak one, hardly perceptible except to the skilled observer, on the *third*. Strictly, then, it consists of a Cadence and a Tone, and could be so used in a verse, if need were. It would even now be permissible, at any rate in a burlesque verse, to say—

" Pray take a sword, and straightway lop  
The head from yonder Aethiop!"

But even this is not the whole story; there is another point to be observed about this peculiar word. It so happens that the *i*, before the *o*, can be sounded as a glide, so that the word, if truly treated as in an ordinary line, really becomes a Cadence; and in this manner the final syllable can be wholly deprived of its stress. In this view, it is really a spondee rather than a dactyl; but it may be allowed to be a dactyl by courtesy. I mention this beforehand, because such a word, in true scansion, should be marked as a *Cadence*. We have excellent authority for this; for it is used as a Cadence (forming part of an Extension) by Shakespeare. He has:

Juno but an-Ethiope were. (LLL., iv. iii. 118.)

And, on the other hand:

Shows-Julia but a-swarthy Ethi. ope. (Two Gent., ii. vi. 26.)

I now give the analysis of ll. 1–20 of Kingsley's "Andromeda," which are quoted at length below; premising that there are several difficulties in the way, owing to the various attempts made to produce sham spondees and sham dactyls, by manipulation of secondary accents. I do not say that the effect is bad, but it renders the lines very hard to analyse with precision. As before, it should be particularly noted that nearly all secondary accents are rigidly and systematically suppressed.

Line 1.—*c. a. a. t'. e. e. e.* Here *past Crete* can be taken as an Ascent; but there is a slight accent on *past*. And there is a slight accent on *on*. In fact, *a. t'* is put for *e*.

Line 2.—*c. e. e. e. c. c.* I take *Aethiop* as a Cadence. Strictly, it is *ct'*, as explained above.

3.—*c. e. e. e. e. e.* Here the poet is fairly landed, at last, in a crowd of consecutive Extensions; though I strongly suspect that he did not observe it. The line is well enough, but it was written by ear. As an Extensional line, it is good; but the dactyls are poor enough, viz. Skilful with—needle and—loom and the—and so on.

4.—*c. e. e. e. e. e.* 5.—*c. a. c'. c. t. e. e.* Here *neither* has a slight accent. *Broad-browed* is meant for a spondee; it is really a long-drawn Cadence.

6.—*c. e. e. e. e. e.* 7.—*c. e. e. e. e. e.* 8.—*c. e. e. e. a. e.* The effect of the final words is fairly good; but when we say *the blue salt water*, there is no real accent on *salt*, as it is overpowered by the accent on *water*. As a matter of fact, *salt-water* is an Extension, with a long first syllable.

9.—*c. e. e. e. e. e.* 10.—*c. e. a. e. e. e.* 11.—*c. e. c. e. e. e.* Here *ships they* is really a Cadence, despite the pause between the two words. If the pause be insisted on, *ships* forms a tone, and *they* a half-tone, or slightly accented syllable.

12.—*c. e. e. e. c. e.* 13.—*c. e. e. e. e. e.* 14.—*c. e. e. e. c. e.*

15.—*c. e. c. e. c. e.* 16.—*c. e. c. e. e. e.* 17.—*c. e. e. e. e. e.*

18.—*c. e. e. e. e. e.* Here the accent on *swam* is destroyed by the superior accent on *out*.

19.—*c. e. e. e. e. e.* 20.—*c. e. e. e. e. e.*

O'ver . the-séa . past-Créte . òn . the-Sýri . an-shóre-to . the-  
 southward,  
 Dwélls-in . the-wéll-till'd . lówland . a-dárk-haired . Aéthiop .  
 péople,  
 Skílful . with-néedle . and-lóom-and . the-árts-of . the-dýer . and-  
 cárver,  
 Skílful . but-féeble . of-héart-for . they-know-not . the-lóreds-of .  
 Olýmpus,  
 Lóvers . of-mén ; . neíther . bróad-browed . Zéus . nor-Pállas .  
 Athénē, 5  
 Téacher . of-wísdom . to-héroes . bestówer . of-míght-in . the-  
 báttle ;  
 Sháre-not . the-cúnning . of-Hérmes . nor-list-to . the-sóngs-of .  
 Apóllo.  
 Féaring . the-stárs-of . the-ský-and . the-róll-of . the blúe .  
 salt-wáter,  
 Féaring . all-thíngs-that . have-life-in . the-wómb-of . the-séas-and  
 . the-rívers,  
 Éating . no-fish-to . this-dáy . nor-plóughing . the-máin-like . the-  
 Phóenics : 10  
 Mánful . with-bláck-beak'd . shíps-they . abíde-in . a-sórrów . ful-  
 réigion,  
 Véxed-with . the-éarthquake . and-fláme-and . the-séa-floods .  
 scóurge-of . Poséidon.  
 Whélming . the-dwéllings . of-mén-and . the-toíls-of . the-slów-  
 foot . ed-óxen,  
 Drówning . the-bárley . and-fláx-and . the-hárd-earn'd . góld-  
 of . the-hárvest,  
 Up-to . the-híllside . vínes-and . the-pástures . skirting . the-  
 wóodland, 15  
 Inland . the-flóods-came . yéarly ; . and-áfter . the-wátters .  
 a-mónster,  
 Bréd-of . the-slíme-like . the-wórms-which . are-bréd-from . the-  
 múds-of . the-Níle-bank,  
 Shápeless . a-térror . to-sée-and . by-níght-it . swám-out-to . the-  
 séaward,  
 Dáily . retúrning . to-féed-with . the-dáwn-and . devóured-of . the-  
 fáírest,  
 Cattle . and-children . and-máids-till . the-térri . fled-péople . fled-  
 inland. 20

These twenty lines reveal the whole of the secret. As long as the lines are fairly good, they consist of a few Cadences, combined with a large number of Extensions; the occasional use of a Cadence in the middle of a line produces somewhat of a spondaic effect. The suppression of secondary accents is not offensively frequent.

The normal line is obvious; it consists of a Cadence and five Extensions, simply. Examples occur in lines 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20; or in ten lines out of twenty.

The chief variety is due to the use of a Cadence for an Extension in the third or fifth group; examples are lines 11, 12, 14, 16. In line 10 an Ascent is employed in the third group, and produces a somewhat similar effect. In line 15 a Cadence occurs in both of the above-named groups. It should also be noticed that a considerable number of secondary accents occur, which, on the one hand, do not count in the scansion; whilst, on the other hand, a skilful reader will contrive to preserve them.

Longfellow's hexameters are, from the necessity of the case, of a similar character. The first line of "Evangeline" is of the above prevalent type, viz. a Cadence and five Extensions—

This-is . the-forest . primeval . the-murmur . ing-pines-and .  
the-hemlocks.

But Longfellow uses Cadences much more freely, and frequently makes no attempt to give weight to the Cadence's second syllable; thus, in the first six lines, he has such "spondees" as *voices*, *harpers*, and *rocky*. Thus the fifth line is:

Loud-from its-*rocky* caverns, the-deep-voiced neighbour . ing-  
ocean (c e c e c e).

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XI.—THE CONSTRUCTION OF *EYA* WITH THE  
CONJUNCTIVE VERB IN OLD BASQUE. By  
EDWARD SPENCER DODGSON.

[*Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society on Friday, February 11, 1898.*]

ΑΡΙΠΝΟΤΩΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ ΙΔΕΙΝ. (*Bacchylides.*)

“Che or si or no s'intendon le parole.” (*The Oxford Dante*, p. 65.)

INTRODUCTION.

MONSIEUR ANTOINE D'ABBADIE said to me at Durango in September, 1891, “Basque Grammar has still to be written, and it should be written in English.” This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received; and, until the project be carried out, it is of little use to address an English audience upon questions belonging to this subject. However, Prince L. L. Bonaparte more than once laid his views on Basque before the members of the Philological Society and those who read its valuable Transactions. Therefore, with all due respect for the works and the memory of so eminent a Bascologist, I ask leave to call attention, as in duty bound, to a detail on which he expressed a view that it is easy to show to be untenable. The most important Basque book to discuss from a grammatical view is the New Testament (*Testamentu Berriá*) of 1571, translated by Jean de Leizarraga and his company. Here we can test all vagrant theories by appeal to the French of Calvin, as printed from 1561 onwards, till the appearance of this very fine, and usually most faithful, version composed by the courageous and patient son of Berascoiz (now *Briscois* in French), near Bayonne. A reprint of this precious volume will soon be published under the care of Dr. Hugo Schuchardt, the clever philologist of the University of Graz. It is to be regretted, however, that this edition will be neither a complete facsimile nor a rectified text, but what a Basque would call *bién artecho*, that is, “about half-way between the two.” Yet the misprints in the thirty copies of the original which may

be consulted in European libraries are sufficiently numerous, and in some places sufficiently grave, to be a real ΣΚΑΝΔΑΛΟΝ, especially when one is reading aloud to those who understand Basque. An emended text, with a list of the mistakes of the first printer, Pierre Hautin of La Rochelle, as an appendix, would give greater pleasure to the general reader, as well as to scholars capable of appreciating the skill of the editor.

#### DESTRUCTION.

The Prince affirmed, and appears to have persuaded others (to judge from a blockish letter in Gascon published in *L'Avenir* of Bayonne in February, 1896, criticizing my Analytical and Quotational Index to every form of the Verb used in the works of Leizarraga),<sup>1</sup> that the termination *NEZ* in verbal forms following *EYA* = *si, utrum, if, whether, to see if, etc.*, consisted of *N*, the usual conjunctive ending, and the negative *ÉZ*, with *EDO* or *ALA*, the words for *OR*, conveniently left out; so that *EYA . . . EZ* would mean *if . . . or not*. Basque presents some remarkable cases of violent contraction, but nothing so unaccountable as this would be. The use of *EDO EZ* or *ALA EZ* = *or not* is as common in Basque as in such English sentences as *Is the dowsy almsperson*<sup>2</sup> *a German or not*? Here is an instance of it in a simple interrogative of the Indicative Mood: St. Mark, xii, 14, *Bidezco da tributaren Cesari emaita, ala ez?* = *Is the giving of tribute to Caesar lawful (etymologically wayful), or not?* = *Est-il loisible de donner le tribut à César, ou non?* And here is another, and more convincing case, where it is in a dependent clause, governed by *iakiteko* (= *to know, to find out, to ascertain*), and introduced by *eä*. In Genesis, xxiv, 21 . . . , where Calvin has "voulant savoir si l'Eternel auroit fait prospérer son voyage, ou non," Pierre d'Urte translates thus: *iakiteko eä Eternalak dohatsau egin zukéon*

<sup>1</sup> Some parts of this work, intended to shorten and facilitate the study of the Leizarragan verb, have been published in the *Revue de Linguistique* (Paris, 1890), in the *Bulletin de la Société Ramond* (Bagnères de Bigorre, 1893 and 1894), and in the *Actes de la Société Philologique* de M<sup>r</sup> le Comte H. de Charencey (Alençon, tomes xxii and xxv). The greater part of the rest is ready, and awaiting the good offices of some enterprising publisher or some wealthy patron of learning and research. The name *Leizarraga* means *Ashfield*.

<sup>2</sup> This word does not occur in Dr. J. A. H. Murray's "New English Dictionary," vol. i, Oxford, 1888, but is used twice in a printed advertisement about the Dulwich College Almshouse, signed by Henry Langston, Vestry Clerk, and dated February 4th, 1898; posted on the notice-boards round St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, during February, 1898.

*haren bijaja, edo ez*. Here it will be seen that *édo ez*, so far from being crushed into an unaccented *ez*, and then tacked on to *zukien* (= *auroit*), is actually separated from that verbal form by its object, namely, *haren bijaja* (= *son voyage*). The same comment applies to this author's words in Gen. xxvii, 21, *iakiteko ea hi aicen ene semea Esau bera, edo ez*, where Calvin wrote, "*afin que je sache si tu es mon fils Esau même, ou si tu ne l'es pas.*" It is only fair to say that in this same book, c. xxxvii, v. 32, D'Urte put *Eçagutçac oraï eä hire semearen arropa den, ala ez* for the French: "*reconnoi maintenant si c'est la robe de ton fils, ou non.*" Now, if D'Urte had any warranty for condensing *den, ala ez* into *donez*, why did he not do so? For this plain reason: he wished the true force of *ou non* to remain in evidence. But it is easy to see that it is used in quite different circumstances from those where the construction *EYA . . . . NEZ* occurs. It would not, however, be easy to find in Leizarraga's New Testament any place where *si . . . . ou non* in Calvin's French is translated by the construction of *NEZ* with *EYA*, which is to be examined. The nearest approach to it that now occurs to me is in St. Luke, iii, 15, *eya hura liçatenex* Christ, translating "*asçauoir s'il ne seroit point le Christ.*" Here one has only to notice that, the preceding words being, *eta guciéc bere bihotzetan pensutzen çutela Ioannesez*, i.e. "*& que tous pensoient à Jean en leur cœur,*" it is pretty clear that the *ez* of *liçatenex* may safely be treated as on the same footing as that of *Ioannesez*, where it means *about Iohannes*; and further that, if the final *ez* is the negative and renders *ne . . . . point*, Leizarraga, on the theory that I am combating, would have no means of distinguishing it from the same syllable as rendering *ou non*. This seems to bring out the point very clearly. Moreover, the negative with the verb is always a prefix. Therefore *ez* here is not *point* at all. Take a case like St. Luke,<sup>1</sup> xiv, 28, *eya acabatzeco baduenez ? = . . . . s'il a pour l'acheuer ?* with *assez* understood as the accusative. If *ez* were the negative here, what becomes of the *ba*? It can be, it is true, a superfluous affirmative, but in that case it is preceded by *ez*, as a verbal prefix, and becomes *pa*. Here the *ez* follows, as

<sup>1</sup> In the Gospel of St. Luke the following instances of the construction with *eya . . . . nez* occur: *cenez*, xxiii, 6; *baduenez*, xiv, 28; *leçaquenez*, vi, 7; *liçatenex*, iii, 15. With the exception of the last case, already explained as not hindering my line of argument, the French original has no trace of a negative with which it would be possible to associate the final *ez*.



a suffix. If it be the conditional *ba*, equal to French *si*, as it often is, e.g. after *baldin*, or *baldim*, it is a superfluous repetition of the sense of *eya*. We must look at all cases where *eya* is followed by this prefix. But this does not immediately affect the question. Let us consider the four cases of this construction which occur in the three Epistles of St. John and those of St. Paul to Timothy. In 1 St. John, iv, 1, Calvin has *s'ils sont de Dieu*, and Leizarraga translates, word for word, *eya Iaincoaganic diradenez*. In Timothy we find (1, v, 10) *eya obra on orori ardura iarreiqui ičan çayonez*, rendering *si elle a songneusement suyui toute bonne œuvre*; and (2, ii, 25) *eya noizpait Iaincoac vrriquimendu eman dieçaqueenez*, to suit *pour essayer si quelque fois Dieu leur donnera repentance*; and (1, v, 10) *eya haourrac haci dituenéz, eya estrangerac alogeatu dituenéz, eya sainduén oinac ikuci dituenéz, eya affligituac aiutatu dituenéz*, as the equivalent of *si elle a nourri ses enfans, si elle a logé les étrangers, si elle a lavé les pieds des saints, si elle a subvenu aux affligés*. Here then, it is clear, there is not a vestige of *ou non* in the French. To see the process reversed we might take from the *Revue de Linguistique*, tome xxx, p. 208, this sentence from a document of the end of the eighteenth century, *Erradaçu orai hea Francia bethi errepublica ičan cenetz?*<sup>1</sup> which Mr. Julien Vinson translates quite rightly, *Dites-moi maintenant si la France a toujours été (en) République*, without dreaming of *ou non* at the end. Neither is there any more need to think to see it lurking in the *EZ* at the end of the verbal forms in question in those Epistles, than in this from page 283 of *Fableac edo Aleguiac Lafontenenetario berechiz hartuac* (Fables or Allegories taken selectionally from those of Lafontaine),<sup>2</sup> *Bortha hexi den-ez yakiñ ere gabe*<sup>3</sup>; = *without even finding out*

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the cases to be cited in proof of the fact that the *tz* in *bai-etx*, *ez-etx* is nothing but the mediative or adverbial case-ending *z*. So that *bai-etx* would mean *by yes, yes-ly, oui-ment*; and *ez-etx*, *by no, not-ly, non-ment*. In many places it is clear that *z* had, as in German, the sound of *tz*. In many other words, however, *z* is equal to *ss* as in *mass*.

<sup>2</sup> No. 257 in the Bibliographie Basque de J. Vinson, 1891. A badly punctuated translation in vulgar Labourdin of the Fables of Lafontaine by Goyhetche, Curé of Urruña, and uncle of Pierre Goyetche, Maire of Sara. The latter dictated the Labourdin Verb to Prince L. L. Bonsparte, receiving from him as a reward a handsome pair of candlesticks, which he showed me with great pride when I occupied for a month in 1888 the same chambers as the Prince had been wont to. What is to become of the Prince's Basque books?

<sup>3</sup> *HEXI*, the root meaning *shut, close, hedge in*, explains the Basque for *house*; *eche, etche, esse, ese*, and other variants. *Arr-see, arr-ase*, means a *stone wall or enclosure*. It reminds one of Gaelic *dun* = a *fortress*, from the verb *dun* = to *shut*. It is possible that *Esad*, the name of a village in France famous for its *dolmen*, is an old Basque word.

*whether the door be shut*, or these from the Holy Gospel of St. Mark, viii, 23, *deus balacussanez = s'il voyoit rien = whether he saw anything*, and xii, *sommaire 14 Tributa pagatzeco denex = as to whether the tribute is to be paid*, where the French has merely *Du tribut*. In these instances it will be observed that *eya*, *hea* (as some write it), is conspicuous by absence, and gives no temptation to supply an imaginary *or not* to balance the phrase. If *EZ* in *DENEZ* in the summary were forced to mean *or not*, the rest of the clause would be unintelligible. It must mean, and can only mean, *as to, about*, as a case-ending governing postpositively the whole clause, like a preposition with the article and infinitive in Greek. Therefore, just as *ez* can be used without a preceding *ea*, so can *ea* fulfil its functions without any *ez* in its train. Thus we find in Pierre d'Urte's *Elorkia* or *Genesis* (circa 1700), published at the Clarendon Press on the 1st of June, 1894,<sup>1</sup> c. xvii, v. 17, *eä ehun urteren adiñetako gizonari sor ahal dakikeön arraza?* where Calvin's French (*La Sainte Bible*, Geneve, 1705; 3025, g. 10, in the British Museum) has, "*Naitroit-il un fils à un homme âgé de cent ans?*"; and c. xviii, v. 21, *ela ikussico dut . . . ea egin duten ossoki enegana etorri izan den oyhuaren arabera*, meaning "*& je verrai, s'ils ont entièrement fait toutes les choses dont le cri est venu jusqu'à moi.*"

## CONSTRUCTION.

If then this *EZ* be not the negative, what is it? It is a pleonastic addition to the final conjunction *N*, reminding the reader, the speaker, or the listener of the introductory *EYA*, but adding nothing to the sense. Thus far its semasiological power, which is the same whether *EYA* precedes it *or not*. For its position in the sentence, it is something like a snipped-off verbal prefix in German. Structurally it is euphonic *E*, used as a link-letter before *Z*, which is the common mediative, instrumental, or adverbial termination and case-ending. So that, if it were to be translated at all, it would mean *about, as to*; as if one were to say (1 St. John, iv, 1) *about if they are from God*. This pleonastic outgrowth from *EYA*, *if*, has its counterpart in the use of Castilian and Portuguese *SI*. One finds such expressions as *por si*, or this on p. 119 of *Sevilla Prehistórica*

<sup>1</sup> The Trinitarian Bible Society, 25, New Oxford Street, London, W.C., will, I hope, publish this year a small and cheap reprint of this book, with the necessary improvements. I have at least besought them to undertake it.

(Sevilla, 1894), "*la cuestión referente á si era el padre ó la madre quien ejercia la jefatura de la familia*," or this in *El Porvenir* (Sevilla, noche del 14 Enero, 1897), "*habia tanteado la opinion de varias republicas americanas sobre si estaban dispuestas*," or this on page 83 of *A Tecedeira de Bonaval*, "*dicindo de si chegou*." It is hardly necessary to say that, whereas in Spanish or English the expletive must precede the *SI*, in Basque it must follow, as a postpositive particle attached to the verb depending on *EYA*. Again, in Old Biscayan we find that the termination *NEZ* after *EA*, the very Hellenic-looking equivalent of French-Basque *EYA*, becomes *NZ*: a fact which effectually disposes of the theory that the vowel in *NEZ* is that of the negative *EZ*. *E* is the essential letter of the negative in fact, for *E* by itself is found meaning *NOT*, as a prefix to certain forms of the verb; whereas *Z*, which is merely the adverbial, mediative ending, cannot alone bear this meaning, except (so far as I can recall at present) in these three contracted forms, namely, *naysTOT*=*no la quiero*, *I do not want it*, in the *Dialogos* of Rafael Micoleta, reprinted from the manuscript of 1653 at Seville in 1897 (see *La Revue de Linguistique*, 1898), where the *S* is equal to the *Z* of the ordinary negative *EZ*, sometimes written *ES*; and *nazTA UENAC* and *nazTOANA* in the *Refranes y Sentencias*, mostly in Biscayan, printed at Pamplona (*Iruña*) in 1596 by Pedro Portalis, mentioned by Manuel de Larramendi in his Dictionary (1745), and reprinted for Mr. W. J. Van Eys at Geneva, 1896, from the sole surviving copy. In the two earlier forms the prefix *NAZ* is a blending of *NAI*=*will, wish, assent*,<sup>1</sup> and *EZ*; the *E* disappearing after the *AI*, which becomes shortened into *A*. Even here the *Z* is only etymological in the sense that it alone survives from the primitive *EZ* which gave the negative force to the compound. It merely hands on the work of its extinct partner. And what may happen after a vowel does not always take place after a consonant. For the accent on *ÉZ*, preserved in the contraction *NAZ*, thanks to the curtailed *NAI*, cannot disappear when preceded by a consonant. One has but to refer to the bilingual Catechism and Confessionary of Martin Ochoa de Capánaga (Bilbao 1656, and Vizeu 1893) to find (collected on pp. clxix-clxxiv in the second edition) the following fourteen forms: *CEENZ*, *DABEENZ* or *DABENZ*, *DAUQUEENZ*, *DENZ*, *DEUSENZ* or *DEUSEENZ*,

<sup>1</sup> Which may possibly be the Greek affirmative *NAI*, since *yes* is an assenting action and expression of the will. Compare the German *bejahen*.

*DEUSTEENZ, DITUCENZ, EBEENZ, EUQUENZ, es TABENZ, esTAUQUEENZ, IAQUEENZ.* A perusal of the passages where these forms occur shows that each is preceded by *EA*, and that no such words as *Ó NO* occur in the Castilian translation placed alongside, though this is quite literal enough to make one expect it, if any negative were latent in the ending *Z*. It shows moreover that the *Z* is no less a pleonasm than the *EZ* of *Leizarraga*, because these *zedded* forms occur mixed up with simple forms of the conjunctive in *N* equally preceded by *EA*, expressed or understood. Thus, p. 91, *Si ha tenido duda en los misterios de nuestra santa fe advertidamente ó si ha creído, ó echo contra ella alguna cosa interior, ó esteriormente*, translates *EA* *dudarie edugui DABENZ Fedeco misterioetan gogoagaz, vorondateagaz, EA* *sinistu DABEN, edo eguin DABEN ecer, edo pensamentuagaz, edo obragaz*, where it will be seen that *EA* . . . . *DABENZ* (for *si ha*) is on exactly the same footing in the construction as *EA* . . . . *DABEN* (for *si ha*). Indeed, it is as impossible to find any negative in *NEZ* when used as a complement to *EYA*, as in the other *NÉZ*, with an accent, at the end of a form like *ÇAITUZTENÉZ* (1 St. John, ii, 26). Here this termination is to be analyzed thus: *N*, relative pronoun, nominative, plural, governing the active auxiliary *ÇAITUZTE*, and itself declined by the demonstrative pronoun *ÉZ*, in the instrumental or *circumulative* (to borrow a term from the Armenian grammarians) case, in the plural number, meaning altogether *touchant ceux qui, de illis qui, concerning those who*. Or in the tail of *DAUDENEZ* as used in St. Luke, vii, summary 32 *Merkatuco haour iarriric daudenez*, where the French has *Enfants assis au marche*. Here the *NEZ* is the relative with, not the demonstrative or definite article = *about the*, but the indefinite form of the same case; *haour* . . . . *ez* meaning *about children*, *merkatuco* = *of, or at, market*, *dauden* = *who stay*, *iarriric* = *sitting*. The construction of the entire phrase is thus: *ueber Kinder die auf dem Markt sitzen*, or, more nearly, *about market children who remain seated*.

#### INDUCTION.

The conclusion therefore is that *NEZ* in the French *Heuskara* of *Leizarraga* (anno Domini 1571), and *NZ* in the Biscayan *Euskera* of *Martin Ochoa de Capánaga* (1656), as a conjunctive suffix to the verbal forms preceded by *EYA*, is in no wise a negative, but a pleasant

pleonastic complement, to carry out the sense of that interrogative or conditional particle. A request to do anything is often expressed in Basque by using the instrumental or mediative case of the action desired. Thus, *he asks you to come* is put *he asks you about coming, othoizten zaitu yileaz*. This, after all, is but the French *il vous prie de venir*, Latin *de venire*, about coming. This takes one half-way to the pleonasm: *I will ask about if I can come*.<sup>1</sup>

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O SONETO 53<sup>2</sup> DE LUIS DE CAMOENS.

Mudãose os tempos, mudãose as vontades,  
 Mudase o ser, mudase a confiança,  
 Todo o mundo he composto de mudança,  
 Tomando sempre nouas qualidades,  
 Continuamente vemos nouidades,  
 Differentes em tudo da esperança,  
 Do mal ficão as magoas na lembrança,  
 E do bem (se algum ouue) as saudades :  
 O tempo cobre o chão de verde manto,  
 Que ja cuberto foi de neve fria,  
 E emfim conuerte em choro o doce canto.  
 E a fora este mudarse cada dia,  
 Outra mudança faz de mór espanto,  
 Que não se muda ja como soia.

Senhora Carolina Wihelmina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, 159 Rua de Cedofeita, O Porto, is about to publish a critical edition of the Sonnets of the great Portuguese poet, first printed in 1595 A.D.

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IOAN IN LEIÇARRAGA'S TRANSLATION OF ST. MARK, xv, 24.

It is the nature of Dictionaries to be incomplete. This seems to be more especially true of such Basque Lexikons as have been published. It is known that a good half-dozen, including that of Pierre d'Urte at Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire, remain unprinted. In none of these, I believe, does *IOAN* occur except in an intransitive sense meaning *go, gone*. Some authors, e.g. d'Urte, *Etorkia*, c. ix, v. 4, and *passim*, have written it *goan*. Yet in Leiçarraga's New Testament of 1571 (217, d. 2, at the British Museum), and in the 24th verse of the 15th chapter of St. Mark, the French of Calvin, "en iettant sort sur iceux *pour sçauoir* qu'en

<sup>1</sup> Don Tomás Mendizábal (= *broad mount*), a Basque from Eugi, Navarra, Spain, was present at the reading of this essay, and supports the arguments therein brought forward.

<sup>2</sup> An original misprint for 52.

emporterait chacun," is rendered thus: *çorthé egotziric hayén gainéan, noré cer ioan leçaqueen*. Unless *ioan* is here a misprint for *eroan* = *take*, it is evidently used as an active and transitive auxiliary to *leçaqueen*. The latter can only be an active, transitive verb. In the edition of 1828 the clause was altered into *cer içanen çuen bakotchac*. This shows that it was then feared that *ioan* might not be understood. It has been said that *eroan* is the causative form of *ioan*, just as *eraman* is that of *eman* = *give, given*; or *er-agin* = *faire faire*, of *egin*. *Eraman* and *eroan* are almost synonymous, meaning *enlever, exporter, ramener*. It is even possible that Basque *eraman* comes from French *ramener*, which it translates in Gen. xxiv, 6 and 8, just as *irakur* = *read* may be taken from *recurrere*. If you *make* a person *give* you a thing, or *make it go away from* him or her, the result is the same: it is carried off and taken away from its owner. It seems, however, that one need not consider *ioan* in this place a slip of the pen or a printer's blunder for *eroan*, though this be so near akin. In an almanac entitled *Eskualdun Gazetaren Almanaka 1898 garren urtheko* (Baïonan) one finds "*Auzoko chakhur batek ene haragitegitik puska bat edo bertze joaiten badaut*." This can only mean: *if a neighbour-dog carries off for me some morsel or another from my meat-stall, joaiten* being the locative or inessive case of the indefinite verbal noun *joa-ite* = *going*, like English *a-going*. Here, as qualifying the transitive verb *badaut*, it governs the accusative *puska* = *bit*. Its sense must be *to run off with*. Moreover, in the unique copy of *Ama Virginaren Iragaitça* (*The Passing of the Virgin Mother*), which is preserved in the King's Library at the British Museum, and numbered 58a in the *Bibliographie Basque* of Mr. Julien Vinson (Paris, 1891), the lines *Apostolu Jaunec Josaphatera Joan guten Maria Berec ehorstera* must needs signify: (*My*) *Lords the Apostles carried away Mary to (the valley of) Jehosaphat to give her funeral honours themselves (in person)*. *Maria* is the régime, the accusative, the direct object of the transitive verb-compound *joan guten*. On p. 26 of the same southerly little book, which ought to be reprinted for its linguistic interest as a specimen of early eighteenth-century French *Heuskara*, the words *Galberiora Gurutcean joaites* must mean: *by the carrying of the Cross to Calvary*. Here you see *gurutcean*, short for *gurutcean*, the objective genitive, or possessive case, serving as direct object to *joa-ite*, with the definite article declined mediatively or instrumentally, *az*. We are familiar with *enter* in English both



a transitive and as an intransitive verb. Its Basque equivalent *sar* has the same duplicity. Before, however, deciding that my new opinion that a Basque can say *go it!* no less than an Englishman, might safely be submitted to the scrutiny of comparative philologists, I consulted a well-known Labourdin Basque author, Dom Basile Joannategi, of the Benedictin Monastery of Nostre Dame de Belloc sur Arran, near Urte, Basses Pyrénées, upon the question. His very name suggested that he might answer *sur place!* This was his reply: "Ahurtico Comentuan 1898<sup>eo</sup> Urtharrilaren 7<sup>an</sup> Nere adiskide ona, Le mot *juaitoa* est très usité dans la Basse Navarre, et même le Labourd, pour *eremaitoa* (enlever, emporter) surtout dans le langage familier; sic: *Debrico juan balu!* à un enfant, on lui dira pour lui faire peur; ou *gizon horrec sakelan juanen hau*. Les Souletains ne lui donnent guère cette signification; Les Guipuzcoans moins encore." *O* followed by *a* often sounds like Castilian or German *u* in Basque, especially at the end of words. Thus *arno* = *wine*, when bearing the definite article *a*, becomes, in pronunciation, *arnua* = *wine-the*.

N.B.—As an admirer of Elizabethan English, I protest against the apostrophes which the printer has foisted into my genitives. Of what use is a sign that has no sound and implies no pause? Shakspeare knew it not.—E. S. D.

4 specimen of Heuskarian construing, being a literal translation of some Basque verses written by Mr. E. S. Dodgson at Santander, Spain, on the 26th of June, 1896.

NIK      MAITE      DUDAN      HEUSKARARI.  
*I            love        do-I-which    Basque-(tongue)-the-to.*

## 1.

Nik      atzo      gab-e-a-n  
*I        yester    night-the-on*

Nion      iduri      zeite-la  
*I-it-said    seeming    it-was-me-to-that*

Zu-re-ganat-ze-a-n  
*To-you-ward-ing-the-in*

Zeru-rat      hel-du      ninze-la  
*Heaven-to    arriv-ed    was-I-that*

## 2.

Gaur-ko egun-e-a-n  
*This-day-of day-the-on*

Ez-in bait-zaitu-t eriden  
*not-possibly because-you-have-I found*

Min zait bihotz-e-a-n  
*pain it-is-me-to heart-the-in*

Infernu-a daki-t zer de-n  
*Hell-the it-find-out-I what it-be-may*

A Basque sentence is telescopic. The end is shot out from the beginning, and the object is seen before that end is reached. The words are written from left to right; but the thought travels from right to left. As the train which conveys them starts, each passenger turns his back to the engine; and a mental telegram is forwarded to his destination to prepare for his arrival in good order.

In an Irish book entitled *Teanga Thioramhuil na h-Eireann* (Dublin, 1897) = *The National Tongue of Eire-land*, the author, Mr. T. O. Russell, says on page 28: *Tá teanga na mBasg, muintear veg chomhnusigheas a vFrainc agus a Sbáin, beo agus faoi vláth a n-aimhdheoin gach iarrata deuntar le Frainc agus le Sbáin chum na teanga sin do dhibirt . . . .* that is to say: "There is the language of the Basques, a small tribe which inhabits France and Spain, alive and still flourishing in spite of every effort which is made by France and by Spain to exterminate that tongue." *ἵνα μὴ βασκανθῶσι* (*Aristoteles*).

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XII.—ON SOME FRESH WORDS AND PHRASES  
IN THE SOMERSETSHIRE DIALECT. By  
F. T. ELWORTHY.

[Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society, February 11, 1898.]

WHEN last I had the honour of dealing with this subject before you, I called attention to the developments in local speech which appeared to me to follow in the wake of universal elementary teaching. Subsequent experience proves that, while no doubt in the end all dialects will be killed out, yet, during the process, certain changes have become persistent, and that grammatical inflections then pointed out as exceptional have now become the rule. I allude especially to the past tense and past participle of strong verbs. Until the Board Schools, nearly all verbs were weak, and formed their past tenses and participles by the addition of the weak inflection: for instance, *strive* made *struy-vud*<sup>1</sup>; *weave* made *wai-vud*; *strike* made *strik-vud*; *heave* made *hai-vud*; *dig* made *dig-vud*; *ring* made *ring-vud*, etc., and many more. In fact, in my Grammar written in 1876-7, I gave a list of all the strong verbs, or those which make their past forms by changes of vowel, at that time known to me; and in all these years I have only been able to make two or three doubtful additions; so that it may be accepted as proved, that as a rule, all verbs were weak, and that, with very few exceptions, verbs which in literary English were inflected by *umlaut* or modified in final consonant, were in our dialect simply inflected by the weak *ud*, while the *en* inflection, in *stolen*, *broken*, etc., was unknown. A glance at p. 46 (188 in Trs.) of my Grammar will show this. Even to-day, the old people who have not come under the prevailing influence, still use this form. A man not over sixty, who was splitting fire-brands, said to me not long ago: "You zaid, you didn want em too small, zo I 'ant *u-clai-vud* em same's do, most times, vor volks

<sup>1</sup> Glossic spelling is used where pronunciation is important.

about." Another younger man, who had probably been to school, said of another lot: "They do clavy shockin bad, but there, I've *u-cloa'rud* the wist o'm."

This precisely illustrates what is taking place now, and I venture to quote myself from the Introduction to my *Word-Book* written about twelve years ago, when compulsory learning the three R's was beginning to show its effects:—

"When the dialect of West Somerset was first brought into notice, and its pronunciation recorded by the aid of some of the most accomplished and painstaking of living phonologists, a carefully-prepared list was made (see *W. S. Gram.*, p. 48) of verbs which, originally strong, have the weak termination super-added to the past participle, and also in the past tense when a vowel follows, or when the verb ends in *r*. At that time as stated (*ib.*, p. 49), this list was exhaustive, and probably elementary teaching had not then had very much time to influence and work changes. Now, however, the children have all learnt to read, and have been taught the 'correct' form of all the verbs they use. The girl would come home, and her mother would say, 'Lize! you didn ought to a-wear'd your best shoes to school.' Eliza would say, 'Well, mother, I *wore* my tothers all last year, and they be a-wore out.' In this way parents become familiar with the strong forms of literary verbs, but they have no notion of dropping the past inflection to which they have always been accustomed, while at the same time they wish to profit by their children's 'schoolin.' Consequently the next time the occasion arrives, Eliza is told she should have *u-woa'urd* her tother hat, etc., and thus wor'd and a-wor'd, *woa'urd*, *u-woa'urd*, soon become household words with the parents; and the same or a like process is repeated by them with respect to other words all through their vocabulary. All children naturally copy their parents' accent, tone, and sayings; indeed, I have often recognized children's parentage by some family peculiarity of speech quite as much as by physical resemblance. Consequently the school-teaching sets the model for written language, and home influence that for every-day talk. The result is, that at the present moment our people are learning two distinct tongues—distinct in pronunciation, in grammar, and in syntax. A child, who in class or even at home can read correctly, giving accent, aspirates (painfully), intonation, and all the rest of it, according to rule, will at home, and amongst his

fellows, go back to his vernacular, and never even deviate into the right path he has been taught at school. By way of illustration to these remarks, attention is asked to the list of strong verbs now used with the weak inflection superadded, which is not now given as exhaustive, but as only containing words actually heard."

Let this list here set down in the same order as noted, containing thirty-two fresh words (with two intransitive forms added), be compared with the former one above referred to (W. S. Gram., p. 48, ii, 198 in Trs.), containing ten, and it will be conceded that Board School teaching is scarcely tending to the destruction of peculiarities of spoken English, at least by the present generation.

<i>beespai'k</i>	<i>beespoa'kt</i>	<i>u-beespoa'kt</i>	to bespeak
<i>spring</i>	<i>spruung'd</i>	<i>u-spruung'd</i>	to spring
<i>dhing'k</i>	<i>dhau'tud</i>	<i>u-dhaut'ud</i>	to think
<i>taak'</i>	<i>taak'tud</i>	<i>u-taak'tud</i>	to attack
<i>vursas'uk</i>	<i>ursæo'kt</i>	<i>u-vursæo'kt</i>	to forsake
<i>dig</i>	<i>duug'd</i>	<i>u-duug'd</i>	to dig
<i>ping</i>	<i>puung'd</i>	<i>u-puung'd</i>	to push
<i>ruy'z</i>	<i>roa'uzd</i>	<i>u-roa'uzd</i>	to rise (intrans.)
<i>struy'k</i>	<i>stræo'kt</i>	<i>u-stræo'kt</i>	to anoint
<i>strik</i>	<i>struuk't</i>	<i>u-struuk't</i>	to strike (hit)
<i>shee'uk</i>	<i>shæo'kt</i>	<i>u-shæo'kt</i>	to shake
<i>struy'v</i>	<i>stroa'rud</i>	<i>u-stroa'rud</i>	to strive
<i>dæ</i>	<i>duun'd</i>	<i>u-duun'd</i>	to do
<i>ai'v</i>	<i>oav'rud</i>	<i>u-oav'rud</i>	to heave
<i>wai'v</i>	<i>woa'rd</i>	<i>u-woa'rd</i>	to weave (trans.)
<i>wai'vee</i>	<i>woa'rud</i>	<i>u-woa'rud</i>	to weave (intrans.)
<i>waæ'uk</i>	<i>woa'kt</i>	<i>u-woa'kt</i>	to wake (trans.)
<i>waæ'ukee</i>	<i>woa'kud</i>	<i>u-woa'kud</i>	to wake (intrans.)
<i>beeges'n</i>	<i>beeguun'd</i>	<i>u-beeguun'd</i>	to begin
<i>waæ'ur</i>	<i>woa'urd</i>	<i>u-woa'urd</i>	to wear
<i>dring'k</i>	<i>druung'kt</i>	<i>u-druung'kt</i>	to drink
<i>ring</i>	<i>ruung'd</i>	<i>u-ruung'd</i>	to ring
<i>spæ'n</i>	<i>spuun'd</i>	<i>u-spuun'd</i>	to spin
<i>sting</i>	<i>stuung'd</i>	<i>u-stuung'd</i>	to sting
<i>zwing</i>	<i>zwuung'd</i>	<i>u-zwuung'd</i>	to swing
<i>zee</i>	<i>zau'd</i>	<i>u-zau'd</i>	to see
<i>shee'ur</i>	<i>shoa'urd</i>	<i>u-shoa'urd</i>	to shear

<i>string</i>	<i>struung·d</i>	<i>u-struung·d</i>	to string
<i>zing·k</i>	<i>zuung·kt</i>	<i>u-zuung·kt</i>	to sink (trans.)
<i>zing·kee</i>	<i>zuung·kud</i>	<i>u-zuung·kud</i>	to sink (intrans.)
<i>zwaas·ur</i>	<i>zwoa·urd</i>	<i>u-zwoa·urd</i>	to swear
<i>zwòm</i>	<i>zwaam·d</i>	<i>u-zwaam·d</i>	to swim
<i>zik</i>	<i>zaw·tud</i>	<i>u-zaw·tud</i>	to seek

In the foregoing list it will be noted that the verb to *strike* has two very distinct meanings, and that the difference is well marked by the pronunciation, although in both the double inflection is used. Another curious distinction is, the two compounds of *think* in the past tense—

He bethink't her the very mait her made use o', means he *begrudged* it; while I never *bethoughted* nort 'all 'bout it, means never *recollected*. [*Beedhing·kt*, *beedhaw·tud*.]

Whether or not this latter should be classed as a development, there is some doubt.

To this list may now be added *ang* (hang), *uung·d*, *u-uung·d* (trans.), *uung·gud*, *u-uung·gud* (intrans.), and *u-gau·und* (gone), which has taken the place of *u-géo* (ago, p.p. not adv.).

A man said, on September 26, 1890, of his apple crop, "They be all a-zold, and very zoon they'll be all *u-gau·und*." Until recently this would have been all *a-go*.

"Mr. — says how the hay turner idn not *u-duun·d*, and he on't be *u-duun·d* vore to-morrow night. He was ter'ble a-droved up way work, zo he wadn able not vor to do un."

<i>Fee·d</i>	<i>fee·dud</i>	<i>u-fee·dud</i>	to feed
<i>Lee·ud</i>	<i>lai·dud</i>	<i>u-lai·dud</i>	to lead

still retain the weak forms, in spite of the general tendency.

This form, then, may now be considered as the rule, and, although in Tusser (106/15) we read of a "slained corps"—

"Down thence he went to hell, in vsing of his will,  
His power I meane, his slained corps in tumb remaining still"  
(Of "Christes descension")

—I think its complete adoption in the West may be set down to the credit of compulsory education.

Opportunities of studying folkspeech are not so frequent or opportune as they were when the present writer was younger and able to get about more with keepers and farmers; and, therefore, although he has no doubt plenty more examples might be obtained, their record must be left for younger observers.

To one fact he is able to testify: education, so called, has had no influence out of school upon our use of negatives. Double ones are the rule; single, the rare exception. The word *never* seems to be incomplete without one or more complementary negatives. The common phrases, "I never will," or "I never saw such a thing before," would be, "I never 'ont," or "I never did'n zee no jis thing avore"; indeed, almost any sentence in which *never* occurs will be found to contain a treble negative: "No, I never should'n, not have *u leok'ud* vor no jis thing." "I be *saa'f* they on't never not be able vor to do it vor no jis money," which, being politely rendered, is "I am certain they will not be able to do it for any such sum." Throwing in negatives *ad libitum* seems to be a matter of course; and their piling up or multiplication adds no force to, and takes nothing from, the statement reduced to its least denominator.

All this goes on out of school among the children; and it is only the younger generation of parents, who have learnt Board School English with all its socialism, that correct their children from their own superior knowledge: thus they try to bring them to their own level of affectation, and so in a way stem this flowing tide of bilingual speech. In country villages there is growing up a double form, the spoken vernacular and the English of the Standards, by no means to be considered as standard English. On the other hand, in the towns, and among the factory population, there is a distinctly growing tendency to ape the cockney, both in speech and manners. 'Arry' and 'Arriet,' with their vulgar dress and second-hand slang, are becoming painfully evident. The stale jokes of London music-halls become current in our West Country from six to nine months after date. If the nett result of County Councils is to make the country dearer to live in, the nett result of compulsory education in the country has been, while imparting a little, very little, knowledge, most deleterious to the manners of the youth of both sexes. I must, however, make one important qualification. Quite recently I have been struck on two different occasions with "Beg pardon, zir," instead of "What d'ye zay?" In both cases the politer form, clearly of Board

School growth, came from two of the roughest of farm labourers. I do not wish, in making this digression, to rail against teaching the people; on the contrary, I have for many years taken the deepest interest and an active part in it. At the same time, while seeing much good from compulsory learning in the promotion of self-respect, I cannot be blind to the seamy side, and perceive self-respect run riot in conceit; still, I try to go on in the hope that the dangerously little knowledge implanted by our elementary schools may, in time, produce something better than the current priggish product. Neither must I let these general strictures go unqualified. Our schools have done great good on the whole, and, among much chaff, have turned out much right good grain.

Another curious development in speech has come about, which does not seem to be the direct outcome of Board School teaching, though possibly it may have sprung from that source as a politer form than the plain old English names of the male animals. It has, perhaps, been taught or implied that such names as Bull, Stallion, Boar, Cock, Ram are indelicate; at any rate, we must no longer call a spade a spade, but there is a very distinct tendency to fine them down, by a weakening process, so that at last the generic word for the animal has commonly got to be used to express the entire male, when in ordinary speech the strong and distinctive male name would until lately have been used.

Many examples of this have recently come under my notice, not only among my own servants, but from others who would not have thought of "spakin fine to maister." In discussing the ordinary arrangements for maternity in a cow, it was suggested that she should be sent to another place, with the remark, "Mr. — do always keep a thorough good *bullick*, there id'n not the fuller o' thick he've a-got now, not no place here about." A bull is now, like a cow, a *bullick*: "Her's a capital sort of a *bullick*." Again, I heard it said, not to myself: "'Tis time vor to take away the *sheep* (ram), now, vrom they there ewes." "Mr. — have a-bought two rare *sheep* to Mr. —'s zale; he's ter'ble purticklar what *sheep* he do put long way he's ewes."

I was told, "Nobody don't keep nother pig (boar) not no nearer'n Mr. — to — Farm."

Of a tenant of my own I heard it said: "He do always keep a pig (boar) of his own." This was said of a man who breeds a large number of pigs.

Precisely the same form is used in speaking of a stallion; he is now *par excellence* a *horse*. Since this was written I have heard: "Mr. — 'v' always a-got a good oss." This was in speaking of a stallion.

Nearly always now, and on two or three occasions within the past few weeks, a cock has been spoken of as a 'bird' in my own hearing.

Some time ago we had a number of unfertile eggs, and I was told: "I reckon thick there *bird* idn a-woth nort." Another time the same man said: "Nif don't keep a good lot o' *birds*, can't do much way pultry: tid'n zo much the hen; tis the *bird*."

A few weeks ago I bought, from a distance of a mile or two, a number of live chickens. On delivery, I remarked to the seller that they were nearly all pullets: "Ees, there id'n not but one or two *birds* in the lot."

Of a turkey-cock I had agreed to exchange with a friend, as is usual, it was said by my servant who tends them: "One *bird* and dree hens is a plenty vor we."

This is really quite a curious change. Hitherto a cock for stud purposes has always been a 'stag,' but that name is now seldom heard where Board Schools predominate.

The other day I had a present of a pair of swans, one of our old ones having died. I went to select the pair from a brood of six, of the then year's cygnets, which were nearly full grown. The man who caught them said: "I hope they be a pair; but I can't tell a *bird* from a hen."

However bilingual the people are becoming, and whatever may be the consequences of the universal learning, there is no sign yet among real working people of any change in the use of the invariable prefix to the past participle. "Somebody've a-bin an a-stold all my plants" would be heard now, spoken even by finished scholars.

Fondness for any person or thing is expressed by such a phrase as "Her's ter'ble a-tookt up way un," or "My Bill was ter'ble a-tookt up way they there riders," meaning that he was much pleased with the circus show.

Another curious form of this *a-* prefix is a quasi-literary one, only that the recognized form places it *before* the pres. participle, as in "all a-growing and a-blowing," whereas we drop the participial ending, and say: "I ant a-got none o' they there taties a-grow," or "The clover's all a-blow." I do not remember this form in any other connection.

Among the words I have heard and recorded since the publication of my Word-Book are :—

*Badful.* “Such badful dreams I do have, night times.”

*Bad-luck* = the flower purple orchis.

*Barker* = a whetstone, scythe-stone.

*Barras* = a coarse kind of canvas.

*Be-as-tl* = be as it will, i.e. however, notwithstanding. “I tell ee I ba’nt gwain vor do ’t, be-as-tl.”

*Bee-baw* = hide and seek. Of a rabbit it was said: “He ’ont bolt, he’s on’y to bee-baw.” The meaning was that it kept peeping out and drawing back. A farmer who was furtively watching was described also as being “on’y to bee-baw.” The speakers and occasions were different.

*Bellis*, v. = to drive, to disturb “There idn no rabbits here, they be to much a-bellised about.”

*Blasting* = to split rock by heaping up a blazing fire against it, and then throwing water upon the heated rock. “A blast of furze” is the regular name for a bundle of furze, such as is used for heating old-fashioned brick ovens. We wonder if this is the original form of *blast* before gunpowder was used. (This sense not in H.E.D.)

*Blicker* = to flare or sparkle up after smouldering. “The vire id’n a-douted, keeps on blickerin.”

*Bout* = a very coarse woollen cloth, made for the packing of Cornish mine pumps, known in Cornwall as ‘engine shag.’

*Brin* = linen (? coarse). “Shall receive the quantity of brin set against their names.”—Wellington Vestry Book, February, 1789. Cf. *brin thread*.

*Brompton Ralph Clover* = ‘Colt’s Foot.’

*Broom-dance.* See *Notes and Queries*, 1896 [8th S. x], pp. 26–100.

*Can’l-matches*, i.e. candle-matches = wax vestas. January 26, 1898.

*Carlin* = blackguard, rascal, in Bird-Keeper’s Song.

*Chinaman’s burches* = *Dialytia spectabilis*.

*Chissom* = to sprout. “The zeed taties had a chissomed out beautiful.”

*Chory* = to do odd jobs. Cf. ‘charwoman.’ “There I baint fit vor no hard work like, I can’t do no more’n jis chory a bit.”

*Creudly* = to crouch or huddle over the fire. “Poor old blid! hers on’y fit vor to creudly in over the vire.”



*Crumpetty* = doubled up, crumpled. "No! he id'n not able vor to travel very var; he's a-come main crumpetty like."  
 "I be most zo bad myzul; I can't travel nother, same's use to." See *Travel* in W.S.W.B., p. 773.

*Daddicky* = unstable, feeble, tottering. "Poor old fuller, he's a-come main daddicky." July, 1890. The idea is that of a bruised reed.

*Day* = time. "They fine un vive shillins and the 'spenses, but then they gid'n day vor to pay it, and I count they ont git not very much out o' ee." 1892.

*Doan* = damp. "Ter'ble doan weather, we've a-ad now gwain on 's month." 1890.

*Drow in* = to give money at an offertory. "Well then, they 'ant a-drowed in very well to-day, 'ave 'em now?" 1891.

*Dukin-time* = Monmouth rebellion, tradition still retained. "I've a-yearad em zay, 'ow they do'd it in the Dukin-time."

*Eye* of a gate = the iron upon which the gate hangs, that which turns upon the hook. Also of any tool, as a hammer, mattock, shovel, the hole into which the handle is fitted. "Th' eye o' my bisgy's a-brokt."

*Fightable* = inclined to fight, bellicose. "——'s a mortal coose fuller; zay a word to un, he's fightable in a minute."

*Flower* = a nosegay. "Her 'ad a-got a flower sure 'nough. Could smell the boy's love (southernwood) in un, eens her went along."

*Flumes* = hectic flush. "Her've a-got the flumes, poor blid!"

*Genarly* = generally. "For all the Defendants genarly, and Counsel Feed at the Expense of the Parishioners." Wellington Vestry Book, August 8, 1775. *Sevarly* by same hand. Cf. *contry* (contrary), *vegetles* (vegetables). General clipping usual. "'An't a-bin a ferret's saison." This extended is "I have not been ferreting this season."

*Go-cup* = common celandine.

*Green-sojur* = kind of winter apple.

*Halse* = hazel. Halse parish. Interesting quotation, 1586, J. Hooker, trans. Giraldus' Hist. of Ireland, in Holinshed, ii, c. i, p. 178: "He caused a number of flakes and hurdels to be made of *halson*, allers, and withie rods." J. Hooker, uncle of the "Judicious," was an Exeter man.

*Hape* [*hæ-up*] = to check, to drive back. "They'd zoon 'ave it all, nif did'n hape em a bit." Oct. 16, 1888. Cf. *haup back*.

*Hartle*, v.t. = to cut the back sinew of a rabbit or hare so as to push the other leg through, thus making a loop. The regular word. "Jim, look sharp 'm artle they there rabbits 'n car em in." December, 1889.

*Hove*, *flat hove*, *round hove* = to hoe weeds from any crop. "They there turmuts be a-come to flat-hovin a'ready." "Jan Baker zaid ow he'd help round hove my taties."

*In*. In speaking of church service, if late, to inquire if it has begun, the invariable method is, "Is prayer in?" So at the end, "Is prayer out?" Banns, too, are 'axed out' when published three times.

*King agin* = stronger, superior, far better. "My mother's a king agin he's (husband's) mother vor all her's dree year older." 10/92.

*Lady's needlawork* = Red Valerian.

*Lappin-crook* = chimney crook, called also *loopin-crook*.

*Lappin-gate* = clap-gate, kissing-gate.

*Lich-way* = a true footpath, an unassailable church-path over which a corpse has been borne to burial. "I tell ee, tis a proper *lich-way*; you cant stap 'm. Why, I can mind how th' old dame Good was a-card thick way."

*Limb* = features. "Thy face, I tell ee, 's the best *limb* thee's a-got." 10/92.

*Limpsed* [*lump'sud*] = paralyzed. "Poor old fuller! he's a limpsed in both 'is 'ands."

*Louse*, not worth a = common expression. 1670. Diary of J. Covell (Hakluyt Society), p. 215. "Several sorts of them not worth a lowse."

*Marchant*, Face like a brandy. Common description of a red face.

*Moon* = a stooping gait. "Well, Jan, hots the matter way ee? Why, the moon's a grow'd out o' yur back."

*Mowing-grass* = grass let up for hay. "I zeed'n comin droo the mowin grass." July, 1888.

*Narry* = ne'er a one. "How cunst drave like that there? why, thee as'n a-got narry whip."

*One of* = native of. "My brither, he married one o' *Ba-nun* (Bampton)."

*Out* = lent on mortgage. "He've a-got a sight o' money out."

*Out to halves*. A common advertisement in local papers—partnership in sheep. One finds the ewes, the other keeps them, and at the time agreed they halve the increase. "Jimmy's

purty well off; he've a-got a good many sheep out to halves, to my knowing." March, 1894.

*Owl's noon* = midnight. Old saying. 10/92.

*Oownself* = selfish. "Ter'ble ownzul sort of a fuller." August, 1891.

*Pee-cloth* = the first napkin used for a new-born infant. Much virtue is believed to exist in the first urine (like fasting spittle). The cloth is carefully preserved to anoint eyes, nose, ears, and nipples of the child.

*Peternate* = penetrate. "'T'll peternate the ground for yards." Said of a gas escape. May, 1889.

*Pig's hair grass* = couch-, *Triticum repens*. "All over this here pig's hair grass." September, 1888.

*Pinnikin* = puny, weak. "Poor pinickin little thing, not wo'th savin'."

*Pixy-leaded*. Very common. Led astray by the pixies—not quite the same as hag-ridden.

*Poor ground*, *poor-plats* = allotments, garden plots. "You an't a-tried the poor ground." September, 1890.

*Rare* = underdone. So in America, even among educated people.

*Rewer* = hay-collector. "Thick there rewer's so good's any rake." July, 1888. Advertised in *Somerset County Gazette*, August 18, 1888, among implements.

*Roosecock* = a red cock. "So hurd's a roosecock." 1890.

*Rose*. "Zing old Rose and burn the bellis." See *Notes and Queries*, January 28, 1893, p. 77; March 4, 1893, p. 173. See "Ingoldsby Legends," 2nd ser., 1852, p. 255.

*Sloodgering* = rough, dirty work. "Rough sloodgerin's all her's fit vor."

*Snag* = the common sloe. *Snag-gin*, a cordial made from sloes, called 'sloe-gin' by the 'Trade.'

*So often* = every now and again. The postman at Foxdown, speaking of his spring balance for weighing parcels, said, "They be a-tested every zo often." July, 1892.

*Soap and suds* = goody-goody. "Her's a proper old zoap 'en zids, her is."

*Sparky*, *sparkèd* = spotted, party-coloured. A sparkèd cow: a cow curiously marked—was said to be 'sparky-facèd.' January 30, 1898.

*Sparky-milky-dashle* = variegated milk-thistle. 10/92.

*Tucky-lacky* = at everyone's beck and call—a drudge. "Poor maid, her's 'tacky-lacky' to all the tother sarvants."

*Tad* = a large quantity. "I've a-got a middlin tad here, sure 'nough." July, 1888. Said of a big load of hay. Cf. dimin. *taddick*. W.S.W.B., p. 733.

*Take up* = to wean. "I auvis takes up my calves pon a Zunday; I never did'n do no other ways, and I never did'n lost nother one in my live." August, 1888.

*Thatches* = vetches. In a bill dated November, 1888, this occurs six times: "cutin thatches."

*Through-stone* [*drèr stoa'un*] = slab in a walled grave above the last interment.

*Tit* = a small cushion-kneeler. Sexton at All Saints' Church said: "Tak'th ever so long to clean all they there tits." July, 1890.

*Toad-stabber* = any blunt, cutting instrument. Of a blunt knife it was said, "Purty old toad-stabber. I wid'n vine un," i.e. 'find it.' A very common phrase, meaning "I would not stoop to pick it up, if I found it."

*Tunnigers* = heaps or stacks of turf set up to dry.

*Twist* = ironwork, part of a hinge, an *eye* flattened out to be nailed or screwed to the bar, the eye being driven in. Hence a pair of hooks and twists, or hooks and eyes.

*Unhover* = to drive out of hiding-place: e.g., "They unhovered the otter above Tone bridge." Common in otter-hunting.

*Vair*; *vary* = weasel. Cinderella's slipper was of *vair* (fur), not *crre* (glass). This accepted derivation was first suggested by me in a letter to *The Spectator* in 1877 or 1878. Compare *mini-ver*, also *veyres* in Higden's *Polichronicon* Trevisa, R.S., i, p. 335.

*Vilpence* = fivepence, always; never *fippence*.

*Vore spare* = fore spring, i.e. shoulder of pork.

*Wassail* [*wausaay-ul*]. In February, 1890, two men were summoned by the Excise for carrying guns at Holcombe Rogus without license. "They pleaded that they had some cider given them, and went out to shut the apple-trees." Many versions of wassailing doggrel are used.

*Wet wedding-day*.

"Zo many drops,  
Zo many whops."

*Whitass* = stonechat.

*Widderskins* = right to left, 'widerschein.'

*Winter-hedge* = drying-horse, clothes-maiden.

*Wolfy* = rank, rancid. " 'Tid'n no odds in the butter, nif the crame be a bit zour, zo long 's 'tid'n not wolfy like."

*Yallick* = to thrash. " I 'll yallick thee, s' hear me, hon I catch thee." " Her yallick 'n proper, her did."

*Yark* = bright, lively. " He do look yark like, but he 'ont eat nort." Said of a sick pony. May, 1892.

*Yauly* [*yaa'lee*] = to roar, to bawl. " 'There was th' old Mark Hake yaalin and whoopin and th' old Willy White hollerin ; you never did'n zee no jis noise, not in your live." December 20, 1888. To *see* a noise or a stink, is the common form.

*Zeb'm-sided* fuller, viz. : " Inzide, outzide ; rightzide, leftzide ; vorezide, backzide ; and thy blind zide."

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### XIII.—SOME OLD-ENGLISH WORDS OMITTED OR IMPERFECTLY EXPLAINED IN DICTIONARIES.

By W. H. STEVENSON, M.A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

[*Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society on Friday, April 1, 1898.*]

ENCOURAGED by the reception accorded to the explanation of several O.E. words given in the *Crawford Charters*, edited by my friend Professor Napier and me, I venture to put upon record a few more notes of a similar nature. They are the results of a long study and careful sifting of the O.E. charters and kindred records. As most of our texts of the charters are derived from post-Conquest chartularies, wherein the language is frequently modernized by the scribes, I have thought it advisable to add an indication of the age of the MS. in parenthesis after each reference. In default of the occurrence of an O.E. word in the glossaries, it is difficult to establish its precise meaning, and there must, I frankly admit, always remain a considerable element of uncertainty as to the exact signification of the numerous words recorded in the charters that have failed to secure a place in the glossaries. Some of them we can safely define from Middle English or even from modern dialects, but it is necessary to utter a warning against the unquestioning acceptance of the meanings herein assigned to the words dealt with. This uncertainty must be my excuse for the atmosphere of hypothesis surrounding several of the following notes. But I am encouraged to advance these notes despite their ambiguity by the consideration that a writer, although he may fail to grasp the real meaning of a word, may yet put some one else upon the right trail. Moreover, every Old-English word has a distinct value for the illustration of Continental Germanic cognates, often found lurking in obscure dialects, and even as a potential link in the great chains that bind Germanic to the other members of the Indo-Germanic family of languages. Some of the words here dealt with are additions

to the O.E. lexicons, whilst others merely supplement or correct the current definitions. In the matter of agricultural terms I am occasionally able to record a special meaning of a common word that has escaped the lexicographers, owing to the knowledge gained in my professional work on mediaeval records, which are necessarily very largely concerned with manorial and agricultural matters. Incidentally light is, I think, shed upon the etymology of some current English words. The book that I have used as representing the work of lexicographers, is generally Dr. Sweet's excellent *Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon*. Finally, I wish to record my thanks to my two dear friends Professor Napier and Mr. Henry Bradley for many hints derived from talking over with them at various times several points connected directly or indirectly with these notes. In saying this I do not wish to throw the shield of their great authority over any philological blunders I may have committed.

The following is a list of the abbreviations used :—

C.S. = Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*.

C.D. = Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*.

D.B. = Domesday Survey (A.D. 1086).

Förstemann = *Altdeutsches Namenbuch von Ernst Förstemann*, Nordlingen, 1856, 1872 (second edition of vol. ii).

Beiträge = *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, ed. by Paul, Braune, and Sievers.

The references are usually to pages and lines; the page-references are separated by semicolons, the line-references merely by commas.

**Bel-tīd**, f., a canonical hour (at which the bell for prayers rang). A.D. 816, Council of Celchyth, c. 10 (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii, 584), on death of a bishop, "singuli servorum Dei diem ieiunent, et xxx diebus canonicis horis expleto synaxeos æt vii beltidum 'Pater noster' pro eo cantetur." The passage is corrupt, but the meaning intended to be conveyed is probably, "each servant of God shall fast one day, and a Pater Noster shall be sung for him [i.e. the bishop] on thirty days at the canonical hours," which are glossed by "æt vii beltidum." Cf. Archbishop Ecgbert's *Excerptions*, c. 28 (Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii, 101): "Canonicas horas ut tempore statuto simul celebrent, ipse [episcopus] præcaveat. Prima est nocturnal synaxis . . . . septimam namque synaxim completorium vocitamus." In Ælfric's *Colloquies* (Wright-Wülcker, p. 101) the monastic

pupil says, regarding his daily duties, "manega þinge ic dyde on þisse niht; þa þa cnyll ic gehyrde, ic aras on minon bedde and eode to cyrcean, and sang uhtsang (*nocturnam*) mid gebroðrum," etc. *Tið* is frequently applied to the canonical hours. The Winteneý version of the *Rule of St. Benedict* and Wulfstan use *tið-sang* to express "canonical hour." See Frederick Tupper, junior, "Anglo-Saxon Dægmæl," in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, x, 137, etc. (1895), a reference that I owe to Professor Napier. In the *New English Dictionary*, s.v. Belt, there is an interesting account of the erroneous connection of *beltidum* with a "belt of prayers."

**Cærsihte**, "overgrown with cress" (O.E. *cæsse*, *cæsse*). A.D. 975, *C.S.*, iii, 646, 19 (contemporary? charter, *B.M. Facs.*, iii, 31): "in cærsihtan wyll" (at Madeley, co. Stafford). This is one of a somewhat numerous class of adjectives derived from tree or plant names by means of the suffix *ihte* or *ehte*, O.H.G. *oht(i)*, M.H.G. *-eht*, *eht*, Mod. Germ. *-icht* (Kluge, *Nominale Stammbildungslehre*, § 218; Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, ii, § 353). As the suffix does not produce umlaut, it is probable that the *i* in the O.E. forms is reduced, as in other unaccented or secondarily accented syllables, and it therefore probably represents, like the O.H.G. form, a suffix *ah(i)* or *oh(i)*, and should therefore be written *ihte* or *ehte* (from Germanic *ah(i)-* or *oh(i)-*).

**Egþwīrf**, masc. or neut., "an agricultural implement, part of the tackle of a harrow, O.E. *eg(e)þe*, or a beast, *weorf*, allotted for harrowing?" The word occurs in 963-984, *C.S.*, iii, 367, 38 (twelfth century), in an inventory of the agricultural stock and implements on a manor.

**For(e)yrð**, fem., "a headland of a ploughed field" (see under "land," below), A.D. 854, *C.S.*, ii, 74, 27 (*circa* 1150), "on þa for yrþe"; 943, *ib.*, ii, 524, 11, 12, 14 (late MS.), "oþ þære for yrþe . . . be þære for yrþe . . . ongea[n] þa for hyrde"; 955-959, *ib.*, iii, 113, 32 (late MS.), "on þa foryrðe eastewerde"; 958, *ib.*, iii, 232, 33 (late MS.), "west be heafdan æt þa fore yrðe"; 961, *ib.*, iii, 296, 22, 28 (*c.* 1150), "on þa foryrþe . . . on þa foryrþe." This is, of course, a compound of *yrð*, "ploughing," and the preposition *for* (or *fore*). Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, iii, xlii, has indexed one instance of the compound, which he explains as "probably the early arable, which is first ploughed." It is difficult to see how the word, if it bore this meaning, could appear in the descriptions of boundaries.



That the meaning of the word is *headland* is proved by the use of it in the Latinized forms *forertha*, *forerda*, *forerdum*, etc., with this meaning in our mediaeval Latin deeds. The word can be found in any chartulary or collections of deeds. I have myself met with it in hundreds of instances. Ducange has registered it only under the later form *forera*. As the headland was ploughed after the other *lands* upon which it abutted, it is clear that the first part of the word *foryrð* refers to the position of the land so named, not to the time of its ploughing.

**Furlang**, neut. It is curious that what is probably the original meaning of this word has escaped the notice of the O.E. lexicographers, although it was in use until the time of the enclosures of open fields. Before the enclosures, all the arable land of a village community lay in one, two, or three *fields* (this word meaning just the opposite of our *field*, that is, it meant a great stretch of unenclosed arable land). Arthur Young, in the last century, still used *field-land* in contradistinction to enclosed land. These great open fields were divided into various patches for the convenience of ploughing. In every such patch the furrows ran parallel with one another, and the patch, the length of the furrow or plough-drive, was called a *furlong*, which was divided in *lands* (q.v.) or ridges for draining purposes. The *furlongs* abutted upon one another at all sorts of angles, as required by the conformation of the arable land. The measure known as a *furlong* was derived from these bundles of parallel *lands*, as has been shown by Mr. Seebohm in his *English Village Community*. In mediaeval deeds one frequently meets with the, to modern ideas, contradictory statement that five, six, or more acres lay in one *furlong*. The word *furlong* is now generally understood to stand for *furh-lang*, the length of a furrow or of the plough-drive. As most of our agricultural terms go back to O.E. originals, it is not surprising that this original meaning of *furlong* is recorded. The records are somewhat scanty, as it is naturally not the sort of word that would occur in the O.E. glossaries. But the charters yield the following examples:—A.D. 962, *C.S.*, iii, 323, 27, 29 (twelfth century), “on þæs langan furlanges eastende . . . an furlang”; 967, *ib.*, iii, 486, 7 (c. 1100), “butan an furlang hina herð [=erð, yrð] landes”; 973, *ib.*, iii, 607, 17 (c. 1150), “on ðæt lange furlang.” Thousands of instances of the use of the word in this sense might be cited from post-Conquest deeds and terriers.

**Land**, neut., "a ridge in a ploughed field" (Latin *p*). The word is used in numerous English dialects to mean of the rounded ridges into which land used to be ploughed *seliones* of our mediaeval Latin records (from Old French *sillon*, mod. *sillon*, "a furrow"). The modern introduction of drainage has been followed by level ploughing, so that a modern ploughed field is not a succession of undulations or *lands*. There is a diagram of these *lands* in Evans' *Leicestershire Dialect*, E. s.v. *land*. That *land* had also this meaning in O.E. is proved by the compound *hēafod-land*, the *land* at the head of the furrow, lying at right angles with the other *lands*, which was ploughed last of all, being used previously for turning the plough round during the ploughing of the other *lands*. But *land* itself came to have with the meaning of *porca* in the charters:—A.D. 931, *C.S.* 358, 14 (*circa* 1150), "þonne lið be westan wege x ecer 8on easteran lande" (= then by the west way 10 acres pertains to the more eastern (*eastorran*) *lande*); 943, *ib.*, ii, 522, 41 (late), "þæt reade land, fram þæt readen lande"; 956, *ib.*, iii, 96, "to 8am sceortan lond" (to the short *land*); 956, *ib.*, iii, 10 (twelfth century), "on þæt scorte land"; 959, *ib.*, iii, 25 (thirteenth century), "bufan 8am hlince æt þæs gæredan lande" (above the *linch* or ploughed hill-slope at the end of a pointed or *gore*-shaped land).

**Oxan gang**, masc., *an oxgang*, an eighth of a *plough* (that is, as much land as could be ploughed by one team of oxen), a North-Midland and Northern term. A *ploughland* corresponds to the *hide* (O.E. *hīd*) of the South, which was divided into four *yardlands* or *virgates* (O.E. *gierde*, sing.). The following instances occur:—A.D. 963, *C.S.*, iii, 346, 20 (late MS.), "hillum twegra [MS. *tyesra*, an easily explained misreading of O.E. letters] oxena gang, and on Lundby twegra oxena gang"; 972-992, *ib.*, iii, 370, 5, 7 (thirteenth century), "an hide tænes oxan gang." The last quotation is interesting as showing that the *oxgang* might be a constituent of the *hide*, a fact which has been denied by modern antiquaries (e.g., Mr. J. H. R. in *Domesday Studies*, i, 196, a denial in which I wrongly acquiesced in the *English Historical Review*, v, 143).

**Sceald**, adj., "shallow." The meaning is inferred from M.E. *scheald*, *schold*, "thin, shallow" (Stratmann-Bradley, p. 1) and the Lowland Scotch *shaul*, which has lost the final *l*, as proved by Barbour's form *schauld*, *schald*. Skeat, s.v. *shoal*,

concluded that the *d* in the latter words is excrement, and that they have lost a final guttural. The quotations given below will, I think, show that these conclusions are erroneous.' This O.E. *sceald* would, with the (so-called M.E.) lengthening of the root-vowel before the *ld*, yield a modern *shold*, just as *beald*, *would* are represented by *bold*, *wold*. If we assume loss of final *d* (cf. *mole* for *mold* from \**moldwarp*?), we have at once a more suitable etymology of *shoal* than Skeat's derivation from Icelandic *skjálgr* [O.N. *skialgr*] = O.E. *sceolh*, O.H.G. *scēlah*, Mod. Germ. *scheel*, "cross-eyed, oblique." The former is really the root-meaning of these words, as shown by the O.E. and O.H.G. cognates. There is great difficulty as to the assumption that O.N. *sk* could appear in English as *sh*, and this etymology is unsatisfactory on the grounds of phonetics and of meaning. The same remark applies to Skeat's derivation (also given by Vigfusson) of *shallow* from this Icelandic *skjálgr*. In the absence of O.E. forms we cannot determine whether *shallow* represents an O.E. *wo*-stem (\**scealu*, gen. \**scealwes*, etc.), an *o*-stem (\**scealig*, gen. *scealgas*, etc.), or, if a substantive originally, a *gwo*-stem (producing by Sievers' law \**scealh*, gen. \**scealwes*: cf. *hollow*, O.E. *holh*, gen. *holwes*, O.H.G. *skēlah*, M.H.G. gen. *skēlawes*). But whatever the suffix may be, we cannot be far wrong in concluding that *shallow* is from the root of *sceald* (Germanic \**skal-pó*-; the suffix *po* = Indo-Germ. -*tó* appears in many adjectives with an original past-participial passive function, Kluge, *Nominale Stammbildungslehre*, § 221). Now for the instances of this O.E. *sceald*. It may aid us in understanding some of these forms if we bear in mind that in and after the eleventh century the -*an* of the weak adjective form is represented by -*e*, so that *scealdan* appears as *scealde*. It will be noticed that in every instance here cited the meaning *shallow* suits exactly, for all the compounds relate to fords, streams ("burns," "fleets"), or springs ("wells"), etc. A.D. 821, *C.S.*, i, 507, 4 (late copy), "æt Scealde fordan," ? Shalford, co. Surrey, called *Shaldeford* in 1332, 1337 (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 272, 401); 839, *ib.*, i, 593, 7 (c. 1150), "æt Scealdan fleote," Shalfleet, Isle of Wight; 904, *ib.*, ii, 271, 7; 273, 17 (c. 1150), "iuxta Scealdeburnan," Shalbourne, co. Wilts, *Scaldeburne* in D.B.; i, 73, col. 1; 939, *ib.*, ii, 464, 38 (late copy),

It may be noted that Blind Harry, *Schir William Wallace*, x, 44 (Scottish Text Society), used *schauld* as a noun meaning the shallow part of a river-bed.

"benefan scealden forð," in co. Somerset; 940, ib., ii, 485, 35, "on Scealdan ford," in Exton, co. Hants; 944, ib., ii, 559, 33 (twelfth century), "on Scealdan ford," Shalford Farm, Brimpton, Berks; 949, ib., iii, 33, 11 (c. 1225), "on Scealdan fleet," Shalfleet, Isle of Wight; 959-975, ib., iii, 402, 1 (c. 1150), "æt Scealdeburnan," Shalbourne, co. Wilts; 978 for 968, ib., iii, 501, 4; 502, 11 (c. 1150), "æt Scealdeburnan stoce," Stoke near Shalbourne, co. Wilts; 1046, *Cod. Dipl.*, iv, 108, 24 (c. 1150), "be Scealdedeninga gemære," Shalden, co. Hants; 1062, ib., iv, 157, 7 (late copy), "to Scealdeforda," Shalford, co. Essex, "Scaldefort," *D.B.*, ii, 94b, 95. c. 1150, "Shaudeford," *Calendar of Ancient Deeds*, A. 810. 1231, "Shaldeford," *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 63; 440; 1062, *Cod. Dipl.*, iv, 158, 10 (late copy), "to Scelden mere," in Nazeing, co. Essex; 1316, "Shaldeford" in Greenham, co. Berks. *Nomina Villarum*, p. 365a; 1331, *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 108, "Shaldewell, Shaldford"; 1379, ib., 336, Henry de "Shaldewell." A Schallufen, co. Northumberland, is recorded in the *Newminster Chartulary*, p. 24. The "to Scealdemæres hamme" of 909, *C.S.*, ii, 291, 5 (c. 1150), at Tichbourne, Hants. looks like a man's name. But there is no name-stem *sceald*, although one appears in Mr. Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, and it is probable therefore that this represents a "to scealdan mere" with a late gen. sg. added. In 1477 there is a reference to a manor of "Shallecombe," apparently in the Isle of Wight (*Calendar of Ancient Deeds*, B. 3, 244). In 921 (= 931?), *C.S.*, ii, 310, 25 (fourteenth century), "to scealdan crundle," at Collingbourn, co. Wilts, occurs. "Sealdwell," co. Northampton ("Sealdewelle," *D.B.*, i, 220b, col. 1), and "Scalford," co. Leicester ("S'aldeford," *D.B.*, i, 234b, col. 1; 236b, col. 1), may be derived from *sceald*, but the initial *sc* instead of *sh* are difficult to explain. A Continental analogue of *sceald* may perhaps be found in the name of the river *Scheldt*, which is called *Scaldis* in Caesar and Pliny. Here it may be noted that there was an English *Scheldt*, apparently the name of a sandbank or shoal near Cromer, co. Norfolk. It occurs in 1326, when the King ordered ships of Spalding, co. Lincoln, Blakeney, Snettisham, Hunstanton, and Holme, co. Norfolk, to guard the coast "in the parts of 'Sheld' and Saint Edmundesnesse" (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, p. 613, that is, St. Edmund's Point at Hunstanton. This English *Scheld* is mentioned in the interesting fifteenth-century sailing instructions for a voyage round this Island, found

by Dr. James Gairdner and edited by Mr. E. D. Morgan for the Hakluyt Society in 1889. Förstemann, ii, 1300, quotes, without explanation, a ninth-century *in Scaldi* in Hanover or Westphalia, and a Frisian *Scaldmeda* of the eleventh century (from *mēde* = O.E. *mǣd*, "meadow"?). Binz, "Zeugnisse zur germanischen Sage in England" (*Beiträge*, xx, 149), connects the Old-English names in *sceald* with the dialectal *shalder*, "a broad, flat rush" (Halliwell). Cf. Britten and Holland, *Dictionary of English Plant Names*, E.D.S., p. 425: "*Shalder*, a kind of broad, flat rush, growing in ditches. *Som[erset]*. Jennings, Hal[liwell]. Mr. Elworthy tells us the roots of *Iris Pseudocarus*, L[inneus], are so called in *Som[erset]*. Mr. Friend writes it *shelder*." As this is a particular kind of rush, and as Binz does not explain the difference in formation between *sceald* and *shalder*, we may safely reject his derivation. The name of this rush does not, apparently, occur in M.E., but it is possible that we have a trace of it in *Schaldremere*, which occurs in 1286 as the name of one of the meres (now vanished) near Whittlesea Mere, co. Cambridge (*Cartularium de Rameseia*, i, 214). But this mere is called *Schelfremere* in a forged charter of 664 (*C.S.*, i, 35, 21, 22) and *Scælfremære*, *Scelfremære* in a charter of 1022 (*Cod. Dipl.*, iv, 12, 31), and it is difficult to decide which is the correct form. The *shalder* probably derives its name from *sceald* in the sense of "flat." The adj. *sceald* forms part of an O.E. word applied to seaweed, to reeds, and to thickets. This is the word *sceald-þyfel*, which occurs in the pl. form *scald-þýflas* in the Epinal Glossary, 58, glossing *alga* (= *algæ*?), and as *scaldhyflas* and *scaldhulas* in the Corpus Glossary, 125, 1491, where it glosses *alga[s]* and *paupilius* (= *papyrus*?). Mr. Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, iii, 543, says that *sceald-þyflas* translates *fruteta*, "thickets or shrubs," in Gregory's *Dialogues*. The Corpus Glossary, 125, gives *sondhylas*, "sandhills," as a synonym. Possibly this applies to beds of rushes on sand-dunes. The meaning of the compound seems to be "low, flat shrub." If the forms in the Corpus Glossary are not to be attributed to scribal errors, the compound might have produced a M.E. *\*shaldel*, and there is a bare possibility that *shalder* may be a corruption of this, but this is a somewhat hazardous guess. Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, ii, 997, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 615, and Graff, *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz*, vi, 484, derived O.E. *sceald-þyfel* from O.H.G. *scalt*, "holy,"

recorded as *sgalto* in the Keronian Glossary. Grimm, at the latter reference, admitted that this was uncertain, and Kögel, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, i, 144, maintains that the O.H.G. word does not mean "holy," but merely "shutter," because it has a synonym *skiupo* in the glossary. The glosses are "catus, sacer, *skiupo*, *sgalto*" (Steinmeyer-Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, i, 82, 14, 15), and they hardly support Kögel's characteristically sweeping statement, although they certainly throw doubt on the meaning of *scalt*.

**Scryb(b)**, f., "shrub, underwood"; \**scrybbehte*, "overgrown with shrubs." The word *shrub* is derived by Skeat and by Bradley, in his edition of Stratmann, from an O.E. \**scrobb*, which has been evolved from the name of Shrewsbury, O.E. *Scrobbes-burh*, Chron. B, E, 1016. The gen. *es* is strong presumptive evidence that this town derives its name from a personal name, and when we find a Norman, "Richard son of *Scrob*," mentioned by Florence of Worcester, i, p. 210, in 1052, we may, I think, conclude that the root is a Germanic personal name, despite the *Scrob-sætan* of Chronicle C in 1016. The personal name has come down to us in the form of (*Le*) *Scrope* (Scroop), which proves that the root-vowel was long. The gemination of *Scrobb* is, no doubt, the Germanic consonant-lengthening in hypocoristic forms of personal names, though it might, of course, arise from the assimilation of *bn* by what is known as "Kluge's law." In the case of *scrybb*, on the other hand, we have the much commoner West-Germanic *j*-gemination (root-form *scrubjo*). From *scrybb* our modern *shrub* may be descended in the same way as O.E. *rysce* has produced *rush*; *mycel*, *much*; *stybb*, *stubb*, etc. Morsbach, *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, § 129, an. 4, holds wrongly that Mod. Eng. *u* = O.E. *y* can only arise from unrecorded unumlauted forms, or from the results of "analogy-working." See Professor Napier's letter in the *Academy*, 1892, i, 447. But this development of *u* from O.E. *y* is one of the most puzzling problems of English phonology, and it is really only the O.E. word that I am concerned with. It is given in Bosworth-Toller with a reference to a will printed in *Cart. Saxon.*, iii, 603, 28, from a MS. of about the year 1000 (*British Museum Facsimiles*, iii, pl. xxxv). In the latter work the passage is printed *andlang sorybbe*, but Mr. Birch remarks that the word may be read *scrybbe*. An inspection of the facsimile shows that *scryb-* or *soryb-* occurs at the end of the line, and that the *e* or *o* has become somewhat

defaced, so that it may be read either way. The will, it may be noted, is that of the widow of the famous Ealdorman Beorhtnoð, the hero of the Maldon lay. Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Anglicum*, p. 525, who prints *scrybbe* without comment, quotes a register of Bury St. Edmunds in the Cambridge University Library (Ff. 2, 33, fol. 2), a late thirteenth-century MS. If this confirms the reading *scrybbe*, we may conclude that that was the form written in the original MS. of the will, since this MS. would, no doubt, be much more legible when it was copied into the register.<sup>1</sup> We have in this case a good instance of the narrow escape from oblivion of certain O.E. words, once in general use and still actively represented in Modern English. Middle English and Modern English, and our dialects, show us that many hundreds or thousands of words are unrecorded in our O.E. MSS., numerous as they are. But to resume. There was not only an O.E. *scrybb*, but an adjective formed from it by means of the suffix *-ehte*, which was commonly used to form adjectives from tree and plant names. (See above, under *cersihts*.) The existence of an O.E. *\*scrybbehte* is, I think, proved by the *Calendar of Close Rolls of Edward II.* In the forthcoming volume, under 1324 (p. 332), there is a reference to a *Shrubbetheslade* at Wroxall, Somerset. This, no doubt, represents an O.E. *\*(æt) scrybbehtan slæde*, "a valley overgrown with shrubs." In 1324 it was arable land, part of the demesne-lands of the manor, so that the shrubs must have disappeared long before then.

**Strōd**, *-es*, neut., "marshy land (overgrown with brushwood or trees?)," 889, *C.S.*, ii, 202, 13 (tenth century): "Haec sunt prata quae ad illam terram pertinent," i, *et [= æt] Bioccan lea and an suð healfes strodes an cyninges medum* (now *Strood*, co. Kent); 938, *ib.*, ii, 442, 34 (c. 1150), *andlung dices on þæt strod; east andlang strodes; of þæm strode* (at Rimpton, Somerset); 956, *ib.*, iii, 144, 22 (contemporary), *strod wic* (at Annington, Sussex); 956, *ib.*, iii, 106, 8 (c. 1150), *on stroð* (at Rimpton, Somerset); 972, *ib.*, iii, 588, 3 (contemp.?), *on secg lages strod* (at Powick, co. Worcester). The word is not uncommon in local names. It appears in three forms: (a) *strode*, (b) *strood*, (c) *stroud*. The first occurs in *Bulstrode* Park, near Beaconsfield, Bucks; *Gostrode*,

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was in type, Mr. F. J. H. Jenkinson, the University Librarian, has kindly examined the MS. for me, and he reports that it reads not *sorybbe* or *scrybbe* but *peribbe*. Here the long *s* has been copied wrongly as *p*, but as the next letter was copied as *e* it was more probably *e* than *o*.



a hamlet of Chiddingfold, Surrey; Higher and Lower *Strode*, in Ermington, Devon. The second form occurs at *Strood* Farm, Egdean, Sussex; *Strood* Green, near Little Idehurst, Sussex; *Strood*park and *Strood* Green, parish of Slinfold, Sussex; *Strood*, west of Warnham, Sussex; *Shovelstrood*, in East Grinstead, Sussex (1317, *Shelvestrode*, *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 504, identified with the *Calcrestot* (for O.E. \**Cealfra-strōd*?) of *D.B.*, 22b, col. 1); *Denstrood* or *Denstroud*, in Bleau Forest, near Canterbury, co. Kent; *Strood* or *Stroud*, near Herne, Kent; *Strood*, Rochester, Kent. The third form, *stroud*, appears to be the commonest. It is found at *Stroud*, co. Gloucester; *Stroud*, near Rochford, Essex; East and West *Stroud*, near Chew Stoke, Wilts; *Stroud*, near Belchalwell, *Stroud*, near Lidlinch, and *Stroud*, near Stoke Gaylard, Dorset; *Stroud* Copse, Wytham, *Stroud*, near Cumnor, and *Stroud* Farm, in Holyport, parish of Bray, co. Berks; *Stroud* Common, in Langrish, parish of East Meon, and in Steep, with adjoining *Stroud* Farm, and *Stroud*bridge Farm, Hants; *Stroud* Common, near Pottorn, co. Wilts; *Stroud* Common, near Silton, Dorset; *Stroud* Green, near Croydon, Surrey; *Stroud* Green, near Thorpe and Egham, Surrey; *Stroud* Green, Titchfield, Hants; *Stroud* Green, Hornsey, Middlesex; *Stroud* Wood, near St. Albans, co. Herts; *Stroud*wood in Bishopstoke, Hants; and *Stroudley*, in Stokenchurch, co. Oxford (called "Studley Green" in the New One-Inch Ordnance Map, but *Stroudley* in the Old). These *Stroud*-forms suggest an O.E. \**strād* as their origin, but in the case of *Stroud* in Gloucestershire, and possibly in the other cases, the form is a mispronunciation of M.E. *stroud* = *strōd*.<sup>1</sup> The variation of pronunciation is represented in the two modern spellings *Denstrood* and *Denstroud* in Kent. The Gloucestershire *Stroud* is called "the wood of *La Strode*" in 1200 (*Rotuli Chartarum*, 516), and in 1221 a man from there is called "Henry son of Richard de la *Strode*" (Maitland, *Pleas of the Crown*, co. Gloucester, p. 83), and in 1338 a Robert de *Stroode*, probably deriving his name from the same place, is named (*Cart. S. Petri Gloucestriae*, iii, 235, 19). The Kentish *Strood* occurs in 1199 and 1208 as *Strodes* (*Rotuli Chartarum*, 3, 179). From its modern form we may conclude that, like the Gloucestershire *Stroud*, it represents an O.E. *strōd*. As the second member of a compound this would

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Furnivall informs me that some of the *Strouds* are pronounced *Strood* locally.



naturally be shortened, and, with the M.E. lengthening in open syllables, applied irregularly to the second member of a compound, we may perhaps account for the *strods* of *Bulstrode* and *Gostrode*, so that only the Devonshire *Strode* seems to point to an O.E. *strōd*. We may therefore conclude that the vowel was long in O.E. The M.E. forms do not throw any light on this question. I have noted the following instances:—c. 1200, *le strod de Apelton*, at Acaster, co. York (*Cart. S. Germani de Selesby*, i, 327, 8); 1207, grant of permission to make a fishpond in the manor of Dogmersfield [co. Hants], at *Radestrod'* (*Rot. Chart.*, 171a); 1244, land called *Strodland* at Cranfield, co. Hunts (*Cart. Mon. de Ramessia*, i, 438); c. 1250 (?), *Noperstrode* (for *Neper-*) in Maisemore, co. Gloucester (*Cart. S. Petri Glouc.*, ii, 262); 1298, 1301, *Thomas atte Strode*, co. Surrey (*Parliamentary Writs*, i, 75b, 353); 1305-6, an acre of waste in Windsor Forest at *Aylmoresstrode* = O.E. \**Æðelmæres-strōd* (*Inquis. post Mortem*, 34 Ed. I, No. 81); 1312, Henry de *Bucstrode* (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, p. 493); 1321, *La Brodestrode*, in Windsor Forest (*ib.*, p. 311). In O.H.G. the word *struot*, corresponding to an O.E. *strōd*, glosses *palus* three times in the Paris Virgil Glosses (Birlinger, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xix, 314 = Steinmeyer-Sievers, ii, 700), and the word occurs in German local names (*ib.*). Fürstemann, ii, 1393, thought that the word means in German names "woodland" or "thicket." In a communication printed by Birlinger (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xx, 152) it is stated that in German names it is sometimes applied to marshy woods, copses, and thickets, and to brooks, and it seems to have been used in England in reference to the first three. It is, of course, dangerous to argue that a Germanic word in England must have had the same meaning as its Continental representative, for meanings develop, and the root-meaning falls into disuse and oblivion. This process is well illustrated by words relating to watery or swampy places. Thus, from Germanic \**auwjo* (from \**agujō* by Sievers' law), formed by a derivative suffix from *ahwō*, "water," and therefore meaning "watery (land)," we derive O.E. *ieg*, O.N. *ey*, "island," whilst its O.H.G. representative *ouwa* means "swampy land," and in Mod. German *aus* means simply "meadow," though it is assumed that the O.H.G. word once meant "island." So also O.H.G. *bruoch*, Mod. German *bruch*, Dutch *brook* mean "swamp," instead of "brook," their English cognate. Cf. also Mikkola's connection of O.H.G. *bah*, O.N. *bekkr* [O.E. *bæc?*], "beck, brook," with Slavonic *bagno*,

"swamp" (Bezenberger's *Beiträge*, xxi, 218). Therefore Johannes Schmid (*Vocalismus*, ii, 282) derived O.H.G. *struot* from a form of the Indo-Germ. root *srew*, "to flow, be wet," whence "stream." From the form assumed by Schmid was derived a Celtic "*sredo* (-á?), Strom, Guss," whence Old Cornish *stret*[h], glossing *latez*, Mod. Cornish *streyth*, that is *stréʒ* (Whitley Stokes, *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, in Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*, ed. 4, ii, 318). According to modern views, it could be connected directly with the root *srew*, by the monophthongizing of the long form *srōw* into *srō*. The view that *strōd* meant "swamp" is supported by the existence of a derivative, or perhaps a second form (neuter *es/os* stem?) of the word. I have not found an O.E. instance, perhaps because it was a North Country term only. The word in question is familiar to us as *Struther* in Scotch names and in *Anstruther* in Fifeshire. That the root-vowel represents an old *ō* is proved by Chaucer's *Strōther* (Reeve's Tale, 94=4,014), the name of a town (village) "fer in the North," which Chaucer rhymes with *oother* (O.E. *ōðer*). This place has been identified with *Langstroth Dale* in North-West Yorkshire, which is not a village name, and as there were other *Strothers* in the North the identification is hardly conclusive. For instance, there was a *Langestrothir* in Filton, co. Northumberland (*Newminster Chartulary*, p. 70). This chartulary contains a mention (c. 1200?) of "a piece of waste land in the west field of the town of Wytton, which piece is called 'Harlaustrothur'" (p. 8), and of a *Softrestrother* in Stannington, co. Northumberland (p. 275). In 1334 *Chaldestrothere* in the same county occurs (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p. 565). In 1452 "le struthir," in Cunynghame, Ayrshire, occurs (*Registrum Magni Sigilli*, Scotch Rolls Series, Nos. 583, 1876). In 1486 *una marressia* (marsh), *vulgariter nuncupata* "a strudire," *iuxta le Berresdike*, at Lochmaben, co. Dumfries, is mentioned (ib., No. 1,650). Here the use of the indefinite article goes far to prove that *struther* was a common noun, meaning "marsh." This is supported by, and in its turn supports, the conclusion that *strōd* meant "marsh or swamp." The simple form *strōd* perhaps occurs in *Sir Gawayne*, line 1,710, where the hunted fox, after leaping over a spinny,

"Stelez out ful stilly by a *strothe* rande,"

that is, by the margin of the *strōd*. Dr. Morris, by what is apparently merely an unsupported guess as to the meaning of the passage, explains *strothe rande* as meaning "rugged paths."

Mr. Bradley, in his edition of Stratmann, doubtfully suggests that the word is O.N. *storð*, fem., which is given by Vigfusson with the meaning "young wood, plantation," and, poetically, "the earth (grown with brushwood)." The passage is somewhat obscure, but it seems to imply that the fox when he was in the "strothe rande" was out of the wood (the spinny?), to which he was driven back again. This O.N. *storð*, which can scarcely be a metathesis of *strðð*, owing to the vowel-length, adds further complexity to the group of words we are dealing with. In the second volume of the *Nottingham Borough Records*, p. 442, I derived from this O.N. *storð* a place in Sherwood Forest called "Carberton *Storthe*" in 1334-5, and "Carberton*stroth*" in 1342-3, but, as it was described as a *placea* or plot of open ground, and was arable land (Thoroton, *Antiqq. of Notts*, 436b), and as it was near one of the great woods of the Forest, it is more probable that it represents O.E. *strōd*, shortened in composition. Or was there also an O.E. *\*strōd* (< Germ. *\*strupō-*, Indogerm. *aru-tō*)? The latter form exists in the Welsh *frut*, "river" (Holder, *Alt-keltischer Sprachschatz*, i, 1,500).

**Styfic**, "a clearing in a wood." The meaning is given on the strength of the derivative verb *styfcian*, "to root up," and of the substantive *styfcung* (*styfecinc*, C.S., iii, 486, 12; *styfycung*, Earle, *Land Charters*, 248, 11), given by Sweet with the suggested meaning of "cleared ground." The simpler form *styfie* occurs in a Westminster charter dated 986, in the boundaries of Hampstead, co. Middlesex (*Ordinance Survey Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Charters*, iii, 34): *to Bedegares styuic leage* (C.S., iii, 694, 10, where it is given corruptly from another MS. as *spicleage*). Another *styfic-leah* is represented by *Stukeley*, co. Huntingdon, which occurs in Domesday as *Stirecle*, and in a spurious charter of 974, C.S., iii, 638, 2, as *Stirecleia* (Latinized). The word also occurs in *Stiffkey*, co. Norfolk, called *Stiuecai* in D.B., ii, 122, 122b, 233 (= *Styfec-ieg*?). Bosworth-Toller and Sweet mark the root-vowel in *styfcian*, *styfecung* as long, the former comparing doubtfully O.N. *stýfa*, "to chop off, curtail," but it seems more plausible to connect the words with *stybb*, "a stub, stump of a tree," stem *stuhjo-*, which stands in *ablaut*-relation to *staff*, O.E. *stæf* (Sievers, *Beiträge*, xvi, 237). This stem *stuh-*, plus the suffix *-ic*, would give regularly an O.E. *styfic*. Cf. for the function of the suffix, Kluge, *Nominale Stammbildungslehre der altgermanischen Dialekte*, § 213.

**Trūs**, masc. or neut., "brushwood." A.D. 978, *C.D.*, iii, 169, 10 (c. 1100, Worcestershire), "and vi foðra truses ælce gearc." This word does not, apparently, occur in Mid. Eng. It is met with frequently in the sixteenth century in the *Nottingham Borough Records*, vol. iii. In 1514 there is mention of a "trowsyng ax" (p. 454); in 1573 payment is made for three days' "woorke fellyng of trouse for the falle [cutting for the use of the burgesses] in the Nere Coppy," i.e. Coppice (149, 32); for carriage of "trouse" to a close that was "plesyd" (150, 3), i.e. the hedges whereof were pleased; "for fellyng of trouse for the hedges" (151, 3), etc. Fitzherbert, in his *Husbandry* (E.D.S., 126, 9), enjoins his reader to "lay thy small *trouse* or thornes, that thou hedgest withall, ouer thy quicksettes, that shepe do not eate the spryng nor buddes of thy settes." The word is still in use in Cheshire with the meaning of "hedge-trimmings." This Cheshire *trous* is derived by Mr. Arnold Wall (*Anglia*, xx, 125) from the Old Norse *tros*, "rubbish, droppings from trees" (Vigfusson's definition is "*droppings, rubbish*, leaves and twigs from a tree picked up and used for fuel"). Mr. Wall truly remarks that "the diphthong [in *trous*] is anomalous." The O.N. word evidently means "rubbish" only, and as it does not agree in vocalism with *trous*, we may safely reject the connection and derive this word from the O.E. *trūs*.

**Wisce**, neut., "a piece of meadow." A.D. 898, *C.S.*, ii, 219, 20 (contemporary?), "an miclan wisce [accusative] vi æceres mæde"; 943, *ib.*, ii, 522, 41 (late), "on ceab-wisce, of ceab-wisce"; 980, *C.D.*, iii, 175, 34 (c. 1150), "to stucan wise"; 995, *ib.*, iii, 283, 10 (c. 1100), "on myclan wysee v æceras." In the Ledger Book of Battle Abbey, A.D. 1516-17 (Public Record Office, Miscell. Books of Augmentation Office, No. 56), I have noted (fo. 5) a "pecia terrae" called "Menewysssh" (= common *wish*, O.E. *ge-māne*), a piece of land called "Borderswysssh" (fo. 10), a meadow called "Hodisdaliswysssh" (i.e. a *wish* in Hodisdale). This word is the origin of many local names in *wish* in Sussex (e.g., Wish Oak, Battle; Wish Tower, Eastbourne), and of the surname Wish. It occurs in Low German as *wische* = "meadow," which, according to Kluge, *Etymol. Wörterbuch*, s.v. "Wiese," represents an older \**wiska*, in ablaut-relation to O.H.G. *wisa*, "meadow."

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TO THE

## PHILOLOGICAL TRANSACTIONS,

1895-8.

By J. W. M. GIBBS.

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Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON, Esq., Treasurer, in account with the Philological Society. Cr.

1897. CASH RECEIVED.		1897. CASH PAID.	
Jan. 1.	£ s. d.	Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.	£ s. d.
To Balance .....	62 9 5	By Printing—S. Austin & Sons.....	80 0 0
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31. To sums received in 1897—		„ Meetings—Expenses of Rooms, and	
For Arrears .....	2 2 0	„ Refreshments.....	9 12 9
„ Entrance Fees .....	3 3 0	„ Bankers' Charges .....	0 3 6
„ Subscriptions, 1897 .....	54 12 0	„ Hon. Secretary's Clerk .....	2 2 0
In advance.....	3 3 0	„ Treasurer's Expenses, including the	
		„ Dictionary .....	2 2 0
		„ Balance at Bankers .....	30 5 11
		„ Less outstanding cheque ...	3 2 3
			<hr/>
Received from Members for copies of the		„ „ in Treasurer's hands .....	27 3 8
Society's Dictionary .....	21 10 0		<hr/>
			27 12 2
			<hr/>
			121 12 5
			<hr/>
		Paid to Clarendon Press for Members'	
		copies of the Society's Dictionary	25 7 0
			<hr/>
			£146 19 5
			<hr/>
			<hr/>

We have examined this Account with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is correct.

(Signed)

DANBY P. FRY,  
HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.

APRIL 10TH, 1898.





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